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NOTICES

To all Members of the Royal Central Asian Society.

Members of the Royal Central Asian Society are no doubt aware that a national memorial to the memory of our late President, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, has been approved by His Majesty the King, and funds are now being raised for that purpose.

It is not often that those who are responsible for a national memorial to a public character have no doubt whatever what form that memorial should take.

In Lord Allenby's case they have had no doubt whatever. Lord Allenby took immense interest in ex-Servicemen of all three defence Services, and was President of the Allenby Services Club and Veterans' Association in Bedford Row, London, which provides beds, food, recreation, and, above all, advice on obtaining employment to all ex-Servicemen residing in or passing through London, and in doing so fills a really felt want. The money raised will be devoted to the support and extension of this Club.

Lady Allenby enthusiastically supports the form of the memorial, and His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is patron of the appeal.

Your Council feel that members of the Society, for which he did so much, would like to subscribe to this memorial to their late President.

Individual subscriptions will be limited to £1, and should be sent to the Secretary of the Society at 77, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, who will forward the total sum received to the Memorial Fund as a special contribution from the Society. The lists will be closed on June 1, 1937.

Philip Chetwode, F.M.
John Shea, General.

Note.—*Cheques to be made out R.C.A.S.A.M.F. and crossed Lloyd's Bank Ltd.*

Members are reminded to send in their changes of address to the Office.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

NOMINATION FORM.

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....

....

(Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address)

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, *we recommend* *him/her* *for membership.*

Proposed...

Seconded...

His/Her *connection with Asia is:*

ARAB CHIVALRY

By MAJOR J. B. GLUBB, O.B.E., M.C.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on November 25, 1936.

In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman, the Rt. Hon the Earl Winterton, said that the first award of the Lawrence Memorial Medal had been to Major Glubb. Major Glubb was in charge of the Desert Patrol of Transjordan and had won the confidence of the Bedouins. It was largely due to his influence that Transjordan had remained comparatively peaceful during the unhappy disturbances in Palestine. He would now ask Major Glubb to give his lecture on Arab Chivalry.

THE word chivalry possesses many different meanings in England. With most of us it conveys a vaguely sentimental, romantic impression, mingled with ideas of knights in shining armour, plumes, tournaments and coats-of-arms. Alternatively, we use it to-day to signify a courteous attitude towards women. In reality, however, these are only the superficial and incidental trappings of chivalry, which is in its essence a code of life dating back to the dawn of civilization.

In order to explain the sense in which I propose to use the word chivalry, I must take you back to an earlier age. In early times, then, the great majority of men lived either by animal breeding or by agriculture. In England, and indeed in Europe as a whole, the two vocations could be combined, owing to the fact that the damp climate produced everywhere sufficient grass for grazing. Thus the agriculturalist could, in addition to ploughing and harvesting, keep sheep or cattle, and there was sufficient grass near the settlement to enable these animals to live without going far afield.

In large areas of other continents, particularly Asia and Africa, this was not the case. Here the rainfall is so light that grazing is scanty, or so variable that some area or other must every year suffer a drought, leaving no grazing for animals at all. Thus the agriculturalist, who could not leave his ploughed fields, was unable to find grazing near by to enable him to keep flocks of animals. The two professions, therefore, that of stockbreeder and of agriculturalist, never became united. The inhabitants of these countries remained, for thousands of years, divided into two distinct halves, the graziers and the cultivators, the nomadic and the settled. These two distinct manners of life produced entirely different characters and entirely different communities, often

at bitter enmity, and regarding one another with contempt and aversion.

When an Englishman, in these days, comes into intimate contact with Arab nomads, he discovers in their customs, perhaps rather unexpectedly, an amazing similarity to the customs and outlook of European chivalry of the feudal period; it is for this reason that I have used the word chivalry in the title of this lecture. I mean, under this heading, to consider the nomadic, as opposed to the agricultural, way of life.

It is perhaps significant that there is no word in Arabic for chivalry, although we find the Arabs living in the spirit of mediæval knights. The reason, doubtless, is that this was not to them a system of conduct which they could look at and study. To the nomads it is the only way of life they know; not being sufficiently well read to study other systems, they found no need to produce a name for their own system. If, to a settled or agricultural inhabitant of those countries, you described the distinguishing features of chivalry, he would merely remark that you were describing the bedouin way of life. And I must ask you also, before we proceed any further, to try as much as you can to divest your minds of the romantic associations which we connect with the words chivalry and knights. As I mean to use the word, it refers to the customs of nomads—a distinctive but practical and everyday system of life and government, just as much as democracy or communism.

The Nomadic and the Agricultural Ways of Life

In studying the characteristics of the nomadic and agricultural communities, we may begin with their attitude to war. Now the settled agriculturalist has all his wealth bound up in his dwelling, his fields, his trees and other immovable objects. Should he abandon these to an enemy, he at once becomes a starving fugitive. This compels the agriculturalist to a stubborn defence, should he be attacked. On the other hand, agriculture is a laborious task, leaving little energy or time for other violent exercise, and moreover it occupies most of the year with seasonal tasks, making the farmer unable to absent himself for long periods or to travel far afield. Thus we may expect the agriculturalist to be peculiarly stubborn in defence, but to show no relish for military glory or foreign adventures. These two characteristics lead to two more—firstly he regards war with distaste, and, if attacked, his only desire is to win the war as quickly as possible by fair means

or foul. Secondly, his sole object being defence, not glory, he lives in villages or communities, and, in order to attain security, he realizes that every member of the community must be obliged to serve in the defence. Thus, with the agriculturalist, the highest ideal is service of the community. The characteristics of agricultural communities in war are, therefore:

(1) Stubborn defence.
(2) Dislike of military adventures.
(3) The determination to win in war by fair means or foul.
(4) The ideal of service to the community.

The nomadic outlook on war is exactly the reverse. His worldly wealth does not consist in immovable houses, orchards or fields, but in highly mobile horses, camels and sheep. It is therefore unnecessary for him to die in the last ditch to defend this property in face of a superior enemy when, more often than not, he can save his wealth completely by a rapid retirement. Not only so, but flocks are such unwieldy things that, in a pitched battle, they would probably stampede, disperse or be slaughtered in large numbers, even if their owner were eventually victorious. All these considerations point to the fact that, in the defensive, the nomadic system will nearly always be to evade attack by a superior enemy by a skilful retirement, certainly not to dig in and fight to the last ditch as the villager must.

And here I may perhaps make a slight diversion from war to policy. The villager will fight desperately to save his village and his fields, but once conquered, he can only submit. Tied to a certain piece of land on which alone he can make a living, he is obliged to submit to the humiliations imposed by his conqueror. If he be allowed to remain on his land, he will perforce bow his head to oppression, over-taxation, blows, insults, or even the violation of his women. The nomad, on the other hand, if he finds himself surprised by overwhelming numbers, will probably not fight at all. His unwieldy flocks make a desperate resistance impossible. He will ride out to the enemy commander and offer his submission. But this he does with his tongue in his cheek. No sooner are the hostile forces withdrawn than, rather than submit to humiliation, he will pack up and migrate as fast as possible to some far country where he can once more be a free man. Thus we find that the nomad, although so weak and unstable in defence, possesses a much more independent mind than the villager, and is more tricky, more haughty and more resentful of insult.

Passing to the offensive, the contrast between the nomad and the

villager is equally great. The villager is tied to his fields by an endless round of labours. The nomad has very little work to occupy his spare time and is, of course, always mounted on a horse or camel and inured to long journeys. He is thus admirably fitted for offensive military expeditions, both because he has not enough work to occupy his energies and because he is naturally hardy and mobile. Thus military adventures become the pride, the glory and the pastime of the nomad. Moreover, these adventures being largely offensive, the life of the community does not depend on their success in the same way that the life of the village depends on a successful defence. Thus the highest ideal of the nomad is not service of the community, but personal distinction. This factor, as we shall see later, is the very essence of chivalry. The ambition of the warrior is not to serve his country, but to perform noble deeds himself. Glory, not the safety of the community, is his object.

This, essentially the nomadic outlook, is the origin of all chivalric warfare. The method employed in fighting is more important than victory. This competition in performing glorious deeds becomes the life passion of the nomad and results in the formulation of a severe and complicated code of rules for war, much of which we have inherited in what we call sport. There is no glory to be derived from attacking a man who is asleep, or from defeating a man worse armed than oneself. Hence the system of personal challenges and combats, the rules of jousting, the thirst for military glory, and also a naïve readiness to surrender and admit defeat when outnumbered (because victory was not the main object of the war), a lack of resentment or hatred between the combatants in a war governed by strict rules and a ready generosity to acknowledge the noble acts performed by the heroes of the other side, provided that they also are knights who fight for glory rather than victory. The corollary is, however, a noble scorn for villagers who fight to win and not according to the rules.

But a less attractive side to this nomadic outlook on war is selfishness, jealousy and boasting. Nomad knights are essentially individualistic. Their object not being to serve a cause but to attain personal distinction, a man's enemies are often those of his own household. He feels little resentment against a distant enemy of another tribe. But he is often torn by the bitterest jealousies for the other members of his own tribe who perform nobler deeds than himself. This intense jealousy of one another is distasteful to modern Europeans who study the bedouin mentality, though it can probably be matched by the

jealousies and struggles for precedence of the European nobles of the feudal age. It is an essential, though unattractive, quality of chivalry.

The Treatment of Women

The second sphere in which the chivalrous or nomadic way of life is distinguished is in the treatment of women. The agriculturalist is doomed through life to hard, monotonous physical labour. One could therefore perhaps hardly expect him to encourage his wife to sit at home while he spent twelve or fourteen hours a day ploughing or reaping. Thus we find the women of the village in primitive communities are usually heavy drudges, engaged in monotonous outdoor labour. Perhaps, also, the agricultural way of life makes for a dull, unimaginative mentality.

In this respect again we find the nomadic viewpoint directly opposed to the agricultural. Compared to the former, the nomad had little heavy manual labour to perform. On the other hand, his life passion was personal glory, and perhaps it is natural when men seek personal distinction that they should desire to secure the recognition of their powers by women. Again, the virtual exemption of women from heavy labour enabled them to retain their beauty and perhaps to give more time to its embellishment, thereby rendering them more desirable than the heavy and horny-handed women labourers of the village.

Suffice it to say that, to the villager, woman is the servant, the menial and the producer of children alone. To the nomad she is the plaything, and the judge and arbiter of man's glory, courted, sung and praised. It is interesting to note that, while the nomadic woman was thus far better treated than the village woman, she was not the equal or companion of man. The respect and admiration which she commanded was due essentially to the fact that she was absolutely different to man. Man was essentially the warrior and statesman, woman the beauty. " Equality " of the sexes means nothing in chivalry. The two sexes are different creations. A woman never sought to share the labours or counsels of man—such an idea was inconceivable and opposed to the whole sexual outlook of both sexes.

Other Characteristics of the Nomads

The pursuit of glory and also the vicissitudes of the nomadic life led to the development of other qualities, the chief of which was perhaps generosity. The maintenance of life in a nomad community depending on herds of animals was liable to extreme vicissitudes.

Firstly, the clumsy size of the great flocks in a community always at war rendered them peculiarly liable to be looted by an enemy, thereby introducing an element of instability into life, which resulted often in a man being one day the richest in the tribe, and the next day entirely destitute. But this destitution in itself was by no means hopeless, because a lucky raid might again render the victim wealthy. The bedouins have a saying that the wealth of this world is like dirt on the hands, always coming and going. At the same time, the necessity of being able to load up all one's possessions every day on camels made the accumulation of reserves of wealth almost an impossibility. This state of society induced a detached manner of looking on worldly wealth and a completely improvident outlook on the future. At the same time, the thirst for personal distinction encouraged men to perform the most extravagant actions to appeal to the imagination, and gave rise to altogether fantastic standards of generosity. And thus we find nomads, after undergoing incredible hardships for a quite trivial gain, prepared to give away all they possess merely in order to perform a theatrical gesture. The attitude of the villager was entirely different, and his plodding and laborious life, combined with the possibility of accumulating reserves of wealth in a fixed dwelling-place, made him essentially thrifty and provident.

Hospitality is the most obvious form assumed by this desire to shine in generosity. Needless to say, every nomad keeps open house, or rather open tent, at all hours of the day and night. Indeed the tent is normally divided into two equal halves, one for the family and one for guests. Moreover, custom prescribes that guests, who may be complete strangers, must be fed and waited on for three days before the host can enquire where they came from or what is their business.

The same generosity is extended by nomads to all poor persons. No human being, however poor, old, deserted, weak or diseased, is neglected in a nomadic tribe. Amongst bedouins it is impossible to die of hunger, and a bedouin sheikh may often be seen himself, after a feast, distributing meat, bread and rice to a crowd of destitute children or sending selected morsels over to the tents of old women or widows camped near by.

Thus the typical nomadic qualities may be summarized as:

(1) Seeking glory in war by the performance of individual resplendent deeds, not necessarily by winning the battle.

(2) The worship of women, who are expected to be essentially feminine, the idol and plaything, not the companion of man.

(3) Fantastic generosity and hospitality, due in the first place to the uncertainty of ownership of property, which consists entirely of livestock and which thus produces a curiously detached attitude to worldly possessions, and, secondly, to the same desire for personal distinction and glory as inspires the nomad in war.

(4) An illogical passion for performing fantastic *beaux gestes* appealing to the imagination.

To illustrate these four characteristics, I will try and tell you a few bedouin stories. Their number is infinite, and bedouin poets and minstrels through the ages have been constantly composing fresh ballads and recording new deeds of prowess. Such were the troubadours of mediæval Europe, and indeed the very word troubadour is derived from the Arabic verb *taraba,* to make music. I have endeavoured, however, to select a few stories from many centuries ago, others of modern times and a few in my own experience, to illustrate that which has been permanent for centuries in the nomadic outlook on life.

War.—The object of nomad warfare, as I have said, is not to win a victory but to perform deeds of prowess.

The pitched battles between bedouins were almost identical in procedure with the contests in mediæval Spain, or the exploits of Richard Cœur de Lion. When the armies were lined up opposite one another, champions would canter into the space between, and ride jousts against one another with lances. This practice has only been discontinued in the last twenty years.

In the lesser operations of inter-tribal warfare, the same desire for glory and personal distinction may be traced, together with the same observance of the rules of chivalry and the absence of hatred between the two parties. To attack a camp at night, for example, was bad form, involving as it did a risk of injuring women or children; a wounded man was picked up and cared for by the other party and provided with food, water and a camel, to enable him to return across the desert to his tribe when his wounds were healed. Hostile raiders, when captured, were handsomely entertained, and remained as guests with their captors until sufficiently rested to set out for their homes. The principle running through all these rules and inspiring all nomadic warfare was the basic principle of all chivalry—namely, that to fight honourably is more important than to win the battle.

Woman was everywhere the arbiter of man's deeds of prowess. When riding against one another with the lance, the horsemen were

in the habit of calling out the names of women, either of their loves or, curiously to our ideas, their sisters. Women, borne in gaily decorated camel litters, were carried into battle, where they formed rallying points for the fighters when pressed. The girls in the heat of battle would stand up in their litters, let their long hair fall over their shoulders, bare their breasts, sing the ballads of past heroes, or urge on the wavering warriors by name. Needless to say, these girls were never interfered with by the men of either party.

Camels played likewise a vital part in nomadic warfare, and provided the pawns in these contests. To carry off the enemy's flocks was the sign of victory. The camels, as the fruits of victory for which so many men have died, carry something of the romance of regimental colours; individual sheikhs have famous flocks, bred from generation to generation in their families, all of a distinctive colour or type, and to preserve which perhaps many generations have died. Each chief will give his flock a special name, which it is his pride and honour to guard and which he uses as an alternative war-cry to the name of his sister. An individual battle-cry usually consists of the name of the sister, sweetheart, or of the camel flock, followed by the personal name of the speaker. Thus are mingled in battle such cries as: "I am the brother of Joza, Feisal"; "I am the brother of Silfa, Dhari"; "For the eyes of Hamda"; or "The horseman of the Aliya—El Nuri," the Aliya being a flock of camels.

Sultan ibn Suweit was a famous sheikh of the Dhafir three or four generations ago. It is related that, somewhere on the Hejaz border, many hundred miles from the Dhafir camp, a girl was once looted by raiders and her camel carried away. The name of Sultan ibn Suweit was known throughout Arabia, and, in her resentment at her ill-treatment, the girl cried out, "Oh, that Sultan were here to defend a woman." The gossip of the desert repeated the story till it crossed Arabia to the Dhafir camp. Sultan swore that no maiden should appeal to him in vain, and crossed three hundred miles of desert with a raiding party to obtain redress for an unknown girl.

Two of the most powerful tribes of Southern Arabia are the Ateibah and Qahtan, whose sheikhs, Ibn Humaid and Ibn Hadi, were, in former days, always at war. Once upon a time Ibn Hadi had a most beautiful daughter, who resolutely refused to marry any of the numerous suitors who presented themselves for her hand. The then Ibn Humaid was a famous raider and had carried plunder and devastation through the camps and flocks of Qahtan. His prowess was the

talk of every camp and every fireside in Arabia. In Ibn Hadi's tent many long and anxious debates were held, how to resist the daring assaults of Ibn Humaid and Ateibah, and the Qahtan sheikhs swore to sacrifice their camels as thank-offering if their daring enemy should fall into their hands. One day yet another importunate suitor presented himself at the tent of Ibn Hadi to solicit the hand of his daughter, and her father came in to consult her. But she answered that she would never marry at all, unless she could find a bedouin chief, the most gallant in war, the most generous, the most handsome and the most witty of the Arabs. The suitor retired discomforted.

But a Sulubbi, a tinker of Arabia, a menial who goes from tribe to tribe unmolested mending pots and pans, had overheard the conversation. "There is only one man, my little mistress, who answers the description you gave," whined the tinker, "and that is Ibn Humaid." "Oh, if only I could see him once," said the maiden; "but he is an enemy and Qahtan have sworn to sacrifice their camels if they could kill him." The tinker wandered off and one day told the story in the camp of Ateibah, who repeated the girl's words to Ibn Humaid. That night he slipped away from camp unnoticed, and riding alone for several days across the desert, reached the camp of Qahtan. At night, with only his sword drawn in his hand, he slipped into the camp and crawled into the tent of the chief Ibn Hadi, where his daughter was sleeping alone behind curtains. Waking her quietly, he announced who he was, and they remained talking in whispers until the dawn appeared. Then the girl implored him to go, saying that he was courting death, but he refused, and soon the arrival of broad daylight made escape impossible.

In bedouin camps the chief makes coffee early in the morning and the men of the tribe collect in his tent to drink it and discuss the affairs of the day. Soon the tribesmen began to collect in Ibn Hadi's tent, until all the leaders were present, talking and drinking coffee, and divided only by a curtain from their bitterest enemy, Ibn Humaid of Ateibah.

Then the girl stood up and, looking over the curtain dividing the tent, said to her father, "O Father, I ask you to grant me a request." "It is granted before you ask it," said her father, with whom she was a favourite child. Turning to the assembled chiefs of the tribe, she said, "You are witnesses of my father's promise." Then, looking at her father again, she asked him to spare the life of Ibn Humaid. The old man told her not to be silly; Ibn Humaid had done great

damage to Qahtan, and anyhow was two hundred miles away in the midst of Ateibah. When she answered that he was in the tent, Ibn Hadi leaped to his feet, but the girl cried out, "O Qahtan, you were witnesses of my father's oath." The old men of the tribe intervened, saying that it was true, the girl's request had been granted. Ibn Humaid came out as the honoured guest, and Qahtan, to fulfil their vows, killed their camels when Ibn Humaid fell into their hands, for the marriage feast.

That is substantially a true story, only two generations old.

Such stories could be multiplied for hours on end—but the characteristics of all are the same—war, not for victory, but to perform great deeds of which woman is the arbiter.

No discussion of Arab chivalry would be complete without a reference to Saladin. While it is true that Saladin was a Kurd and that he fought primarily for religion, not for glory, yet the spirit of chivalry appeared in many of his actions. The story is well known of his first siege of Kerak. Within the castle a knight, Humphrey of Toron, was about to wed Elizabeth, sister of the King of Jerusalem, when Saladin's army arrived before the fortress. Hearing of the occasion, Saladin forbade firing on the tower of the castle in which the bridal chamber was situated, while the chatelaine of the castle sent out bread and wine and meat from the wedding banquet to the Muslim commander.

Or the story of Richard Cœur de Lion, who, having relieved Jaffa from the sea, found himself defending the town without a horse. When the rival armies drew up before the gates, the king turned out undaunted on a wretched screw borrowed in the town. But soon an orderly arrived from the Saracen army with two chargers sent by Saladin for Richard's use in the battle.

A typical example of chivalry is that of the French commander at Fontenoy who invited the gentlemen of the English guard to fire first. Nowadays this and similar incidents are often held up to ridicule, as also are bedouin methods of warfare, by persons who have only a superficial knowledge of their spirit. In order to understand any of these incidents, we must again recollect the object of nomadic warfare—not primarily to gain the victory, but to perform noble and resplendent deeds.

Generosity.—Let us now pass to the third characteristic of nomad civilization—namely, generosity. Many Europeans who visit the East conceive a very low opinion of the poorer Arabs, because, they allege, they ask for money. The first reply to this complaint is, of course,

that Europeans make the mistake of giving money away—it is essentially from English people that the poorer Arabs demand "buck-sheesh." Even so the better class, even of the very poor, do not indulge in this habit. With all this, however, it must be admitted that even the bedouin view of other people's money is less rigid than our own. But the average European who resents being asked for money gets less than half the true picture. For if bedouins ask for money, they give it away with unreckoning generosity. The fact of the matter is that the nomadic life, with its constant vicissitudes and inability to accumulate wealth, breeds a detached attitude towards the goods of this world. The meanest and poorest of nomads will literally kill the last animal he possesses in the world in order to provide a banquet for a guest who may be a complete stranger and may quite probably be a rich man who customarily over-eats. But nothing can prevent the half-starved nomad from killing his last goat or sheep to entertain his guest. On the Northern Hejaz frontier there are nomads so poor that they have no tents, and live in caves or beneath the shrubs of the desert. But these people, if they see a traveller or a stranger, will run out and waylay him, and compel him almost by force to turn aside in order that they may kill the last sheep they own in the world to make a meal for him.

A typical nomadic scene is that given in Genesis xviii. Abraham "sat in his tent door in the heat of the day. And he lift up his eyes and looked, and lo! three men stood by him; and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself to the ground, and said, My lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant. Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched and wash your feet and rest yourselves under the tree. And I will fetch a morsel of bread and comfort ye your hearts; after that ye shall pass on; for therefore are ye come to your servant. And they said, Do as thou hast said. And Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it and make cakes upon the hearth. And Abraham ran unto the herd and fetched a calf tender and good and gave it to a young man and he hasted to dress it. And he took butter and milk and the calf which he had dressed and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree and they did eat."

The whole of this description is identically a daily scene to-day in Arabia. But note particularly that Abraham ran to meet the men and invite them, although they were complete strangers, and persuaded

them to stop, saying only that he will fetch a little bread and water. But no sooner had he induced them to sit down than he runs off and kills his best calf. And finally, having prepared the banquet, he himself stands to serve them while they eat. For the nomads to this day carry hospitality so far that the host, having ruined himself to provide a feast for a complete stranger, will not eat with him, but insists on remaining standing to wait on him.

In hospitality, as in everything else, the nomad carries his virtues to fantastic extremes. The story is well known of Hatim ibn Abdulla, of the tribe of Tai, before the appearance of Islam, who killed his mare in a year of famine to provide a banquet for the poor, all his sheep and camels having been previously slaughtered to entertain his guests.

In the tents of sheikhs it is common for slaves at dinner to stand outside and call, " Let anyone come to dinner who wants to eat. Anybody who does not come can only blame himself." Even with the desert police in Trans-Jordan, if we have a small party, the men will call in the darkness outside for all who hear to come in and eat.

Ibn Muheid, a great sheikh of Anaizah, made himself famous through one winter of drought and famine because his slaves called every night before his tent for all who were hungry to come and dine, and it is still a saying in Arabia, " Ibn Muheid who calls out at dinner." Our Lord's parable of the man who compelled men from the highways and hedges to come in to his feast is no exaggeration of bedouin hospitality.

To provide only enough food for the guests would be considered extremely mean by nomads. Even in Ramadhan, when the whole tribe is fasting, bedouins will kill a whole camel or two or three sheep to provide lunch for an honourable guest, although most of the food will be wasted, as nobody can eat it during the fast.

But they will not even limit their fantastic hospitality to human beings. The semi-historical hero, Antar ibn Sheddad, on the occasion of his wedding, is said to have slaughtered hundreds of camels on the hills in order that the wolves and the vultures might also join in the festivities. The knight of Syria, in the same story, is surnamed Magri al Wahash, or the entertainer of wild beasts, because, when he plundered his enemies for glory, he did not wish to demean himself by becoming rich on the proceeds, but customarily turned the animals loose in the desert to provide a feast for the wild beasts. Similarly, I myself know a man called Ma'ashi al Dhib, or the Diner of Wolves,

who, if a wolf howled behind his tent, used to take out a kid and tie it up in the desert. "No guest," he said, "shall call on me in the evening without dining."

I myself recently gave an entertainment in camp to His Highness the Amir Abdulla of Trans-Jordan. The camp was pitched not far from the village of Wadi Musa near Petra, and a number of villagers, perhaps five hundred, arrived in the evening to pay their respects to His Highness. We had not reckoned on so many, but my men, who are all bedouin tribesmen, were not going to expose themselves to the spiteful tongues of mere villagers. Not only did they provide dinners of mutton and rice for five hundred Arabs, but, by a final touch of bravado, they served boiled rice and butter to the horses and donkeys of all the visitors also.

Protection of the Weak.—In addition to the three main qualities of nomad chivalry—namely, glory in war, worship of women, and generosity—the bedouins possess other customs of a similar nature, with the same imaginative appeal. One of these is their passionate defence of the weak or of any person appealing for their protection. The sick or the crippled, strangers, widows or orphans place themselves under protection of a bedouin, who will often risk his life to defend them, even from his own tribe or relations.

An example of this may be found in the war of Basoos, one of the most famous Arab tribal wars before the appearance of Islam, about 1,300 years ago. At that time, one of the greatest bedouin chiefs was Kulaib ibn Wail, sheikh of the tribe of Ma'd. He was married to Jalila, daughter of Marra ibn Dahal, whose son Jassas was thus brother-in-law of Kulaib. But Jassas had a widowed aunt, called Al Basoos, under his protection. One day while Kulaib was watching his camels drinking at the well, a camel belonging to Basoos, the old aunt, pushed its way into Kulaib's flock, trying to get to the water trough. Kulaib, the chief, struck the camel with the flat of his spear and drove it away, limping, to the tent of its owner. The old lady was irritable and ran to her protector, Jassas, brother-in-law of the sheikh, calling for justice. Jassas seized his arms, leaped on his mare, and galloping through the camp, overtook the chief Kulaib and killed him in his tent. Tradition relates that forty years of war between the two sections of the tribe was the result of Jassas' rash championing of the cause of an old woman's camel.

A not dissimilar story occurred not many years ago in the Ruwalla. The Mashhur family are connections of the Shaalan, the sheikhs of the

Ruwalla. One of the sheikhs demanded something from an old woman of the Sherarat, a low-caste tribe of tinkers whom the bedouins regard with contempt. The woman appealed for help to Ibn Mashhur, who not only championed the cause of a tinker woman against the sheikhs, but rescued her from the alleged oppression of which she complained. I have said before that the bedouins call the names of their sisters as battle-cries, but the Mashhur, to commemorate this knightly act, now call themselves " Brothers of Rabda," the name of the old woman whom they protected.

Another interesting nomadic custom is the protection of any person who appeals for sanctuary to the tent. I myself once became involved in a diplomatic incident in this connection. In the year 1929 a civil war was in progress in Ibn Saud's territory, certain tribal chiefs, notably Feisal al Duwish of Mutair, having rebelled against Ibn Saud. By the end of the year Ibn Saud had obviously got the upper hand, and the rebels showed signs of wishing to take refuge from punishment by entering 'Iraq. The British and 'Iraq Governments, anxious to avoid complications, issued stringent orders that none of the rebels were to be allowed to cross the border, and I was sent to camp on the border with some fifty bedouin police. The rebels were camped on the frontier a few miles from us and Ibn Saud was advancing from the south with a large army, pushing the rebels towards us. To all their requests for admission, however, we returned a resolute refusal. One morning I found a bedouin clinging to the pole of my tent, crying loudly that he demanded the sanctuary of the tent. He was a man of the Ajman tribe, one of the rebels particularly wanted by Ibn Saud for a peculiarly flagrant act of plunder and treachery. The position was complicated, because to Arab standards an appeal to the sanctuary of the tent was difficult to resist. But on the other hand, the British and 'Iraq Governments had given a pledge that we would give sanctuary to none of the rebels. At last I decided to do what I could, and told the man to ride off quickly to the north and mix with an 'Iraq tribe close by. Ibn Saud, I thought, would not hear of the matter in the middle of the campaign. The next day Ibn Saud himself appeared with his whole army and camped a few miles away, making our fifty men look rather small. The intelligence system appeared to be good, for an hour later four cars drove up to my tent, full of soldiers, slaves and retainers and the king's private secretary, charged with a strong protest against my harbouring of his rebels contrary to the pledges given by my Government. I hedged as well as I could,

and eventually persuaded the party to go away. But soon after they returned once more with a yet more peremptory message. This was difficult. I had told the wretched man that I would save him, but I was perfectly aware that my Government would not support me. I decided to be honest, and admitted candidly that the man was with us, but I explained that he had sought the sanctuary of my tent and I was sure that the king would recognize the impossibility of my giving him up with honour. Ibn Saud immediately abandoned his demand, and in long negotiations which ensued between him and the Government regarding other rebels who took refuge in 'Iraq the king never mentioned the name of my protégé, nor did my Government ever know that I had thus broken the pledges given by them. Arabs are obstinate litigators, but if you appeal to their generosity you will rarely be disappointed.

I remember, in 1924, noticing a boy with the Beni Sahhr in Trans-Jordan who obviously came from some tribe near the Persian Gulf. He told me the following story. He had accompanied a large raid of Wahhabis from Central Arabia, who had attacked the Beni Sahhr the year before, killing many of the tribesmen and driving off much loot. Our youth, who came from the Mutair tribe, was wounded in the action and fell unconscious from his camel. He did not recover his senses until next morning, when he found himself lying stripped naked on the ground in front of the Beni Sahhr tents. Scrambling dizzily to his feet, he walked rather shakily towards the tents. A man was sitting in the nearest tent who, as soon as he saw him, seized his rifle and ran out to kill him, crying for revenge for his brother who had been killed in the action the day before. But in his excitement the man worked the bolt nervously, and two rounds jammed in the breach. The wounded boy staggered past him and fell into the tent. The man at once put down his rifle, spread a carpet and began quietly to make coffee for the guest. Once he had entered the tent he was safe, and in fact he remained with the tribe for several years.

An attractive custom which Arab nomads possess is the establishment of perpetual friendly relations as the result of a kind act. Early in the last century an internal struggle for precedence took place in the Shammar tribe between two rival chiefs, Ibn Ali and Ibn Rashid. The Ali family were successful and Abdulla ibn Rashid and his brother were driven penniless from the tribe which they had aspired to lead. They reached what is now Trans-Jordan, their worldly goods consisting of one camel between them, and dismounted at the tent of Al

Khuraisha, the sheikh of the tribe. The sheikh was away, but the laves entertained the guests hospitably. Unfortunately, during the ight their camel died, exhausted by their flight from Central Arabia, nd in the morning they were obliged to continue their journey on oot. A short way from the camp they met a bedouin riding towards he tents. He stopped them and asked the news, whereupon they nformed him that they were travellers, that they had spent the night n Al Khuraisha's tent and that their camel had died. The rider nquired whether the host had not supplied his guests with another, ut Ibn Rashid answered that the host was away. Thereupon the ider dismounted and, couching his camel, compelled them to mount; hen, admitting that he himself was the chief, he swore that no guest f his should arrive riding and leave his tent on foot. Many years ater, as a result of an alliance with the then Ibn Saud, Abdulla ibn ashid came back to Hail, drove out his rival, Ibn Ali, and became mir of Shammar. As long as he or his descendants reigned, a period f over fifty years until 1920, the Khuraisha family were regarded by hem as friends and allies, the recipients of honour and gifts, in emory of that camel given by the Khuraisha to Abdulla ibn Rashid.

The bedouins pride themselves also on their honesty in preserving e property of their friends left with them for safe custody. It is lated of Imru-al-Qais, a famous poet before the rise of Islam, that s father had been murdered by other members of his tribe. He uggled in vain to obtain revenge, but the rival faction were too ong for him, so he decided to appeal for justice to the Byzantine overnment. Before leaving his country, he deposited his armour and eapons in the custody of one Samwel, Amir of Jauf. After Imru-al-ais' departure, his enemies advanced to Jauf and demanded from the mir the surrender of his armour. The latter refused, but by singular luck his son, on a hunting expedition, fell into the hands of the emies of Imru-al-Qais. These then addressed Samwel once more, reatening to kill his son if the armour were not surrendered. But mwel replied that to lose a son would cause a short-lived pang of rrow, to betray a trust would be an eternal shame. The boy was led, but the armour was kept.

A notable incident of honour took place a few years ago between tribes of Anaiza and the Huwaitat. Audah Abu Taya, sheikh of Huwaitat and the ally of Lawrence, led a raid on Anaiza. As the uwaitat charged down the enemy, one of the latter threw himself the mercy of Audah. The latter assured him that no harm would

come to him, but the man asked a sign from Audah which he could show to any members of the raid who encountered him, as proof that the chief had granted him his life. Audah hastily took the kerchief from his head and threw it to the man, riding on bareheaded in the battle. Several years later, Audah received a message from a man of Anaiza that he was looking after a flock of goats for him. Left with Audah's kerchief after the battle, the man was unwilling to make away with his protector's property, so he sold the kerchief and bought a goat. After many years of breeding the goat had produced a flock, when a desert traveller was entrusted with a message for Audah. The latter had long ago forgotten the whole affair, had never known the man's name, and their two tribes were still at feud!

His Highness the Amir Abdulla last year told me a pleasing story of the Arab memory for a kindness. The late King Husain was, before the war, Sherif of Mecca. Although the Turks were at the time rulers of the Hejaz, the tribal control of the bedouins was left pretty much in the hands of the Sherif. The Sherif Husain and his son, Sherif Abdulla, as they then were, were travelling one day in the desert with a caravan carrying their tents and supplies and an escort of bedouins. The Sherif decided to ride ahead to choose a shady spot for the midday halt, and trotted on with Abdulla till they came to some trees by a well, where they decided to dismount and await their followers. Some camels were grazing near by, in charge of a small bedouin boy and his smaller sister. With the freedom of bedouin children, they came over to ask news of the travellers, obviously failing to recognize them. The Sherif enquired their tribe and was told the Bugum. "Are you not afraid," asked Sherif Husain, "to graze so near the boundaries of the Ateibah tribe, who might well loot your camels?" The small boy was lying on his back waving his feet in the air. "Silly old fool," he answered, "you don't understand." He was a very vulgar little boy. But the Sherif replied that perhaps he was a fool, but he did not see why. The little boy was slapping the soles of his feet and laughing in a most vulgar manner. "Because," he said, "don't you know that as long as old Husain's in the saddle we have nothing to fear from raiders." At this stage the caravan and escort came in sight, and the little boy, to his terror, discovered that he had been talking to the Sherif himself. But Husain was so pleased at this unconscious testimonial that every year after until his exile he summoned the boy and his sister to Mecca, and sent them home with gifts of food, clothing and money.

I have said, as the fourth characteristic of nomad chivalry, that they love dramatic gestures appealing to the imagination.

One of the most remarkable customs in this connection is that of the "jaha," or deputation. For many offences, particularly those involving offences against personal honour or dignity, the damages awarded under tribal law are so heavy as to be almost impossible for a poor man to pay. Such offences would be personal violence or insults offered to the tent or to women. A nomad will often refuse absolutely to accept any settlement of such a case. In these circumstances there is nothing for it but to collect a deputation of all the sheikhs of the tribe, who arrive in state at the tent of the offended party. He prepares a banquet for them, which they refuse to eat until he has promised to grant their request. The sheikhs mediate, point out the advantages of a reconciliation and assure the offended party of the contrition of the aggressor. Those who accuse the bedouin of being greedy must appreciate that in many cases poor men who stand to receive very large damages for some offence of this nature will freely pardon the aggressor at the request of an honourable deputation.

But the same spirit of *beau geste* will occur even in minor matters of everyday occurrence. A man may bring a violent complaint against another for an unpaid debt, but if the defendant can humble himself to say "I ask you to excuse me, O brother of Wadhha" (naming his sister), the plaintiff will quite probably let him off the whole. Similarly, a poor man will advance to a sheikh and say, "I ask a boon, O Long of Life," and the chief will quite probably grant it with a noble gesture without knowing what it is. Remember Herod's oath to the daughter of Salome, which resulted in the beheading of John the Baptist. Herod was a native of Trans-Jordan.

Summary

To sum up, we may say that the code of chivalry is an outlook on life produced by nomadism and showing the following characteristics:

(1) The glorification of war, which is undertaken with the object of performing deeds of prowess, not primarily to win the victory.

(2) A romantic respect for women, who are looked upon as the playthings of men and the arbiter of their conquests. Thus the woman is expected to be essentially feminine, the complement, not the companion, of man.

(3) A flamboyant generosity, magnanimity and solicitude for the

weak, because these qualities are opportunities for the display of glorious deeds appealing to the imagination.

(4) The corollary of these virtues are the faults, firstly, of boasting, *jealousy and rivalry between men of the same tribes and families*, leading to crimes of jealousy and violence.

(5) Secondly, a neglect of the public interest in the search for personal glory.

(6) An utterly improvident outlook on life, continual poverty combined with rash expenditure and a contempt for hard work and thrift, which produce no glory and have no imaginative appeal to the restless nomad.

The converse way of life is that of the village community or town, which produces:

(1) The ideal of public service to the community.

(2) Hatred and fear of war, combined with a desperate defence when attacked. The object being to win the war and obtain security, no means are considered foul in the attempt to secure victory.

(3) An absence of admiration for women as such. In primitive settled communities she is the drudge and the child-bearer. In more advanced communities she may become the companion, not the opposite complement, of man.

(4) An admiration for regular, honest labour and a tendency to thrift and accumulation of wealth.

Thus it is essential to divest our minds of the unnatural romantic atmosphere with which we have surrounded decadent chivalry in Europe, and to regard the nomadic and the agricultural as the two original contending manners of life, each possessing its faults and virtues.

A Theory

But the study of primitive men or of distant countries becomes merely an academic exercise unless we can connect it to some extent with our everyday life. I propose therefore to set before you a theory which may serve to connect these bedouin knights with our daily existence.

I suppose we may say with safety that the Roman or classical civilization was the first which spread over Europe. I think that we may classify it as a typical "agricultural" civilization according to our definition. The troops were disciplined and fought in legions, the

ideal was the service of their country, not personal distinction. The Romans were not particularly anxious to observe any very noble rules of war; their object was to be victorious. But in the middle of the seventh century the nomad Arabs suddenly burst upon the ancient world, which they overran in a few years from the Pyrenees to the Punjab, bearing with them their code of chivalry, which makes so vivid an appeal to the imagination. For six hundred years the bedouin code of chivalry held sway over Europe and part of Asia and Africa, that is to say, a period approximately equal to that of the Roman domination before it.

Then the so-called renaissance began to make its appearance, and the rediscovery of classical literature with its emphasis on service of the state. To-day we see this classical outlook carried to its extreme in both Communism and Fascism, where the individual is reckoned a mere cypher in the vast state machine, and where war is regarded as a horrible necessity, justifying the use of the most foul and inhuman methods with the sole object of winning the victory. This is the direct opposite of Arab chivalry.

But there are yet more striking confirmations of the view that our ideas of chivalry are due to the Arabs alone. The Moslems, as you know, conquered Spain and even reached Tours in Southern France. It can be no coincidence that Spain and Southern France were the homes *par excellence* of European chivalry.

The code of chivalry probably spread to England through the Norman conquest and the long wars with France, but it was less perfectly observed in Germany, which was far away, and in Italy, where the classical civilization never died. Chivalry never reached Russia from Europe. May we attribute to this fact the ease with which Germany, Russia and Italy have accepted the ideal of the totalitarian state, which is still resisted in France and England and is meeting with such a desperate opposition in Spain? If so, the individual liberty which we still prize may be partly ascribed to the remains in us of the spirit we borrowed from the bedouins of Arabia.

But there is another direction in which Arab chivalry has affected us in England. The stresses of the times have perhaps made it more difficult, perhaps impossible, to observe rules in war. We cannot afford to lose, and we seem almost ready to admit that every means, however foul and inhuman, must be employed to win victory in war. But in England we have relegated our chivalry to the field of sport, where we consider it a peculiarly English quality. Are we right? It

bears a remarkable resemblance to our nomad code—honour before victory.

There is, before concluding, one error which I wish to avoid. To speak too much of bedouins is apt to convey the impression that all the Arabs are tribesmen to-day. This is far from being the case. The Arabs are absorbing modern European civilization perhaps all too quickly. That they will soon be overtaking some of the European nations in many material directions is not to be doubted. They have been slow starters, because they are essentially individualists, but we, of all people, will not admit that individual freedom is a handicap in the long run. But although the Arabs are rapidly becoming an educated and a modern nation, I believe that much of the spirit of chivalry and individualism remains with them. I have told you that the nomads scorned to attack a man asleep or at a disadvantage, and fought for honour more than to attain victory.

My diplomatic experience is not extensive. But I have been authorized at times to treat with the Saudi Government on trivial matters, such as camel thefts. I thought at first that they were very difficult people. But then gradually I realized that I myself was jealous and suspicious of them. When I tried to be frank and open with them I found that they did the same with me. Since then our relations have been more than cordial. I have now realized that I was formerly as much or more to blame than they. Above all, therefore, in all dealings with Arabs we should, I think, observe the highest standard of honour and chivalry—remembering that we owe to them the code which we consider so peculiarly English—the code which insists that to play the game is better than to win the match.

Sir Ronald Storrs: Are the classical poets still recited by the bedouins, and are there new poets following in the old tradition?

The Lecturer: The bedouins are completely ignorant of the classical Arab poets, but there is a perfect plague of new poets; there seems to be one in every tent.

Sir Percy Cox: What can one do when the poorest of the bedouins, a man without a tent to shelter him, insists on killing his goat to entertain the stranger?

The Lecturer: It is hard to know what to do. Though it goes very much against the grain, one is almost forced to try to persuade him to be a cultivator. (Laughter.)

Mr. E. Rankin: Do you have much difficulty in inculcating the

discipline necessary for a police force into recruits from the desert *Arabs?*

The LECTURER : *I wish time had allowed me to speak more on that* point. At first it was very difficult indeed. In any case, the discipline must be very different from that used for village and town dwellers. The bedouins are very democratic. For instance, all officers and all men always eat out of the same dish. Also, when on patrol duty, officer and men always have coffee together in the evenings. The men are so proud of belonging to the patrol that an appeal to a man's chivalry, or a threat to take away his arms, or a threat of dismissal from the force, is much more effective than any punishment would be. But again, that zeal for personal distinction leads to a great deal of jealousy, which may make trouble.

Lord WINTERTON: I think, ladies and gentlemen, it only remains for me, on behalf of everyone present, to thank Major Glubb for a lecture of very great interest. His theory of a resemblance between the bedouin and Englishmen bears out my own view that there are only two places where one can enjoy life—in the desert and in this country. There is, however, unfortunately, one point of difference between the two. The Arabs, if attacked, can retire to their desert, and no one will wish to evict them from it; whereas someone might wish to evict us from *this* country. There is a lesson over which we might ponder.

It is an extremely interesting theory, and there is something in it. It may perhaps explain, too, why so many people in Europe think we are quite mad, and why we get on so well with so many Asiatic peoples. (Laughter.)

THE COPTS

By SIR STEPHEN GASELEE, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

Paper read before the Society on October 7, 1936, Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I introduce Sir Stephen Gaselee, who has come to speak to us on the Copts. Sir Stephen is so learned that one can never be surprised to see him in any new rôle, but some of his friends may not, for all that, have connected him with the Copts. I have, however, known for years that if I wanted to get special knowledge on Coptic subjects, I went to the same place that one went to for so many other things.

I should like to have delivered this lecture myself (laughter), but as the programme says that Sir Stephen is to speak, I will now ask him to begin, and will reserve my long speech for the finish.

THE adjective "Coptic" has to us Englishmen, in our insularity, denoted something remote and bizarre, especially as applied to language. Some thirty years ago I was reading the address to a Protestant society of a Peer of the Realm who was also a clergyman and, I regret to say, a Low Church clergyman, who stated that "he had scarcely ever been inside a ritualistic church, but upon one occasion when he had entered such a church in Marylebone, the service might have been in Coptic for all he had understood of it." Lord Blythswood was here only following the example of a greater man; for Macaulay, in his essay on Samuel Johnson, had said that "Many words in this sentence are as much Coptic as Latin." The object of this paper is to try to explain to a British audience the nature of a people still in existence, and to give some indication of their origin, culture, language, religion and art.

The last census of Egypt was taken in 1927, and found the population of the country to be something over fourteen millions, of which nine hundred and fifty thousand were Copts (870,000 of the native or Monophysite religion, 24,000 Roman Catholics or Uniats, and 50,000 Protestants); that is to say, the Copts form about one-fifteenth of the total population of the country. What is this far from negligible fraction of the Egyptian people? The answer is that they are such of the Egyptians who have, since the Moslem conquest of the country early in the seventh century A.D., retained their ancient faith, and have consequently also retained a very large measure of the ancient Egyptian blood, for circumstances have made it impossible that they should mix

much with the Moslem invaders. The children of those that did so intermarry almost inevitably became Moslems themselves, by the law and custom of the country; and though there have been unions between *Copts and Armenians and Syrians, and other Levantine Christians, the effect of these has been ethnologically almost negligible.* The Christian Copts are, then, the existing remnant of the ancient Egyptian race.

Let us first examine their name. It has nothing to do with the Greek *κόπτω*, to cut, bruise, or pound, and nothing to do with the ancient Egyptian town of Keft, which was occasionally transliterated into Greek into such forms as *Κέβτω* or *Κόπτου*; it is simply the word "Egypt" minus its first syllable. An Egyptian of Christian times would call himself *rem-n-Kēme*: *Kēme*, "the black land" (so called from the rich and dark soil of the country) is Egypt; *rem* is the "toneless" form of *rōmĕ*, "a man," in the construct position; he named himself "man of Egypt." But Greek culture had so far penetrated Egyptian thought and language, as I shall presently explain, that by the time of the Moslem conquest the Egyptian was quite ready to call himself by the Greek name *'Αιγύπτιος*; the conquering Moslem did not use this word, but named the country Misr, from the city which is now Cairo; and "Egyptian" remained the style of the native who retained his ancient faith. We have transition forms in later Coptic such as *Γυπταιος*, from whence the change is very small to the Arabic Qibt, and thence the word "Copt" came to the West when interest was awakened in the history and language of the Egyptian Christians. (I am told that in modern Egyptian Arabic the initial guttural has passed into a glottal stop, and the word is now pronounced 'Ibt.)

Now if the modern Copts are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, of more or less pure blood, we must pause for a moment to think of the ancient Egyptians, and who they were. I do not think you will wish me to enter into details of Egyptian ethnology (about which indeed there is still much discussion), but the Egyptians would appear to be the result of a fusion of Hamitic or African tribes under the influence of a prehistoric Semitic invasion from the North. Many errors in ethnology have been perpetrated and perpetuated by a confusion of race and language; but in the case of Egypt the evidence of both tends in the same direction; physical characteristics and speech both seem to show a very early combination of Hamite and Semite, afterwards comparatively unaffected by outside influence; for you must remember that Egypt is, by its geographical configuration, something of an island nation. Deserts made invasion, and even immigration,

from the East and West, very difficult; from the South it was not easy, and the southern tribes were never sufficiently strong or united to make more than temporary incursions. Egypt *was*, on more than one occasion, invaded from the North; but only by a strong invader; and after the influx of the prehistoric Semites, of whom I have just spoken, she remained inviolate for at least a couple of thousand years of her history.

As Coptic is the modern form of the ancient Egyptian language, you may wish me to say a word or two of the latter. First, it would appear that the "triliterality" (or basic idea that every word consists originally of three consonants, grammatical variations being made by interplay of vowels, duplication of the original elements, etc.), though now an essential of Semitic languages, does not appear to have been universal in the earliest days of Semitic; and was not so at the time when Semites descended upon and settled in Egypt, mixing there with the Hamitic aboriginals; and in Egyptian we have real biliteral roots—not biliterals which have accidentally broken down from triliterals. Second, the extraordinarily complicated conjugation of the Semitic verb, still appearing in that most conservative of languages, Arabic, seems to have early been found difficult and unsuitable by the Egyptians, and was replaced by an almost equally elaborate system of affixing to the verbal root, in its elemental form or one slightly modified according to sense, pronominal elements. The language took a step towards becoming agglutinative, though it never actually arrived there; and in Coptic, under the influence of Greek, from which almost all Coptic literature was translated, there was a reversion in the opposite direction, and we reach again a large measure of conjugation, though of a very different sort from that of the Semitic verb.

I wonder if—dangerous as are all parallels and even analogies in matters of race—some comparison may be made between ancient Egypt and ourselves. We are an island race, and ancient Egypt, by its physical configuration, was nearly so. Both were mixed races, the result of a single invasion, thenceforward remaining intact; both developed a mixed language into a medium not only serviceable but capable of expressing both the needs of everyday life and the highest abstractions of philosophical and religious thought; and even in externals I have noticed that the Egyptians appear to have relished what will, I hope, always be popular in our country, beer and chorus-girls! Of the artistic achievement of the ancient Egyptians I shall say nothing, for there is no oriental civilisation so well represented in the museums of the West, and there is probably no one in my audience

who has not seen a considerable quantity both of originals and reproductions; it will suffice to say that, in spite of some curious limitations (for example, I don't think that the Egyptian artist had very much idea of perspective), pictorial art reached a high level, and statuary sculpture one higher still. Architecture flourished and evolved a national style of the first order; of literature there are divergencies of opinion; among long recitations something of the order of the Freemasons' ritual, we find occasional hymns of fervent piety and great beauty; and a pleasant beginning of popular stories which were very near developing into that true characteristic of our modern age, the sentimental and sensational novel. The Egyptians had science of a practical kind—the pyramids attest the manner in which they surmounted what must have been great physical difficulties—and reached a fair standard in rough-and-ready medicine; but in mathematics, the basis and requisite for all other sciences, they did not proceed very far. Whether the ancient Egyptians had a real genius for religion is a question that I have never been able to decide to my own satisfaction; and I propose to leave it aside and to describe in its place its supersession by the specifically Egyptian form of Christianity, for it is now time that we were getting back to our Copts.

Some twenty-five years ago I read before the Royal Society of Literature a paper on "The Native Literature of Christian Egypt," and I shall allow myself to quote here a few paragraphs from the introduction to this, for I have not changed in essentials my ideas of the Egyptian background to the advent of the new and victorious religion; that it was Egyptian, with a veneer of another civilisation, seems to me the true explanation of all that we call "Coptic."

Never, perhaps, in the history of the world did one nation take upon itself more completely, at any rate in appearance, the culture of another, than Egypt, when it accepted Greek ideas and expressions of thought after its conquest by Alexander the Great. Quicker far than in later days, when "Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit" at Rome, about A.D. 300 "Græcia captrix" seemed to have won a spiritual and intellectual, as well as a physical, victory over the land of the Pharaohs. The successful invasion by Alexander was no mere foreign raid, of which every trace would disappear in two or three generations. That old nation, which had bent, but never broken, before the cruel blast of the monotheist invader from Persia, seemed to take to its inmost being without a shudder the civilisation, decadent perhaps, but not yet corrupt, of imperial Greece. I should esteem it, therefore, no

mere chance that in the Christian literature of Egypt the figure of Alexander appears almost with the halo of a saint. The author of the Alexander romance, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, which is known to us partly in Greek, Coptic, Syriac, and Armenian, and more than fully in Ethiopic, represents him as at once the ideal of a Christian knight and a missionary of the Gospel before the Gospel existed—a preacher by prolepsis of the Trinity—and at the same time (did not Theocritus call the Egyptians *κακὰ παίγνια*, "roguish cheats"?) the progeny of the frailty of Olympias with the last native-born king of Egypt, the sorcerer Nectanebo.

The land of the Nile, at any rate, became profoundly Hellenised. The Greek dynasty of the Ptolemies, though it adopted some of the less praiseworthy customs of the country, such as the regular marriage of brother and sister, established at the top of society a Greek culture, which percolated far downward; in architecture, money, games, all social life, the land became as Greek as Asia Minor, if not as Greece itself; even the venerable Egyptian language seems to have retreated before the invader, and many of the more important inscriptions of Ptolemaic times which remain to us are in Greek. When the old language was employed the hieroglyphic system of writing was retained for certain ceremonial purposes; hieratic had nearly disappeared before demotic, which was used where the vulgar might have to read. It is not uncommon, for instance, to find the name on a mummy-ticket both in Greek and Demotic. Greek became the language of the Court, the army, the civil service, the law; even new gods were invented, to be added to the already overgrown Egyptian pantheon, of half-Greek attributes and names. Such were Serapis and Harpocrates, two hybrid deities whose worship became immensely popular among the Græcised Egyptians of the two last centuries before Christ.

Yet I purposely used the words "in appearance" when I described the extent to which Greek culture had been assumed. The process of Hellenisation had not reached down to the lowest strata of all. The peasants—Fellaheen, very like their successors of to-day—kept their own language and their own religion. I think that their steadfastness was more the result of obstinacy than of patriotism or piety. Egypt has always been a country at heart "agin the Government." Look, for instance, at its religious history in later Christian times; when the Empire was Arian, Egypt was orthodox; when the Empire became orthodox, nothing would do for Egypt but to become and remain Monophysite. The Greeks and Græcised Egyptians were an object of

hatred to the lower classes, mostly day-labourers, because their employers oppressed them and defrauded them of their wages; and Alexandria was always regarded by the rest of Egypt as a foreign settlement, and accordingly despised and abhorred; the Copticised form of the name " Ionian " (the Egyptian generic term for a Greek) remained the general designation for a heathen of any sort. By the beginning, then, of our era the peasants were not unwilling to accept any religious system which was thoroughly distasteful to the Greek and Græcised upper classes; and it has also been supposed by Sir Flinders Petrie (not, I think, without some truth) that they possessed certain predispositions deep in their character, beliefs, and modes of thought which made them particularly susceptible to the advance of Christianity, and indeed enabled them to accept it gladly without much disturbance to their most sacred convictions and feelings. They were familiar, he would urge, in the first place with the notion of the existence of Eternity before Time, an essential dogma of historical Christianity, and a premise of both sides in the Arian controversy; with a ceremony not unlike the Agape (the tomb-feasts of the ancient religion); with the joint veneration of a mother* and child, Isis and Osiris, so that there are now in existence some statuettes about which scholars and critics have not yet been able to decide whether they represent the heathen deities or the Virgin and Bambino; and, we may well add, with the idea of the death and resurrection of a god, Osiris; and, most important of all, with the strongest belief in the hereafter, and in a final judgment, with rewards and punishments. Among the lower orders, who held the doctrines of their religion firmly, without any great faith in its mythology, Christianity appears to have been accepted almost without a struggle; and persecution, coming first from the great landowners and then from the Imperial authorities, seems only to have strengthened them in their faith. I do not think that Christianity as adopted by the Egyptian peasant was always of a very high order. The Egyptian believed in magic as firmly as he believed in anything, and Christ and His saints appeared to him as a company of mighty magicians; but, at any rate, Christ as judge was also always present to their minds, and the belief in Christ as redeemer did not fail to come later on.

The new religion was aided by another—a purely secular consideration. The old Egyptian writing was almost dead. A few heathen priests retained some knowledge of hieroglyphics down to the time of

* Against this it might be urged that in the *early* Egyptian Church there is very little trace of the cult of the Virgin.

the Emperor Decius, but they wrote them clumsily, with gross grammatical mistakes, and for nothing more important than chronologies and records of ritual performed. The demotic struggled on; but surely there was never a less satisfactory system of writing. Some hundreds of signs were in use, of which a very few represented single letters; the rest were syllabic signs. The clever expedient, too, of the old writing—the use of the determinative—was no longer an assistance, but had introduced a new difficulty: for, whereas it was undoubtedly a great help in hieroglyphics to find a little picture of a pig drawn after the word for pig had been syllabically spelled out, when that little picture had degenerated into a mere conventional scrawl, with no likeness at all to the object it was supposed to represent, only one more hindrance to reading and understanding was introduced by its employment. Matters literary and graphical had reached a deadlock, and the problem was solved, by whom we know not, by the very simple expedient of employing the Greek alphabet to write down the Egyptian language. As Greek had no signs to represent some sounds very common in Egyptian (especially certain sibilants, aspirates, and gutturals), seven signs were adopted from the demotic syllabary for this purpose. The result is Coptic as we know it to-day; it is too much to say that Coptic is simply ancient Egyptian written down in Greek letters, for there were changes in the language under Greek and Christian influence; but it is at least more like ancient Egyptian than Italian (or even Portuguese, most Latin of the neo-Latin languages) is like Latin, and a visitor to Cairo who attends service in one of the Coptic churches hears what is probably the oldest language in the world; many of the words and some of the grammatical forms are unchanged from the beginning of Egyptian as we know it, long before the days of Abraham and the most ancient Hebrew.

There was action and reaction, I imagine, between the new form of writing and the new religion: I am inclined to think that it was not merely that for the sacred writings of the new faith a simpler and less cumbrous medium was found, but also Christianity was enabled to make a fresh start with a language unpolluted by heathen ideas and forms. In the hieroglyphics many of the signs actually represented the gods and goddesses of the Egyptian pantheon, and the objection was only less to their disguised forms in demotic; but now, in Coptic writing, a fresh medium was found for the propagation of the truth—a medium never defiled by the impure ancient legends and thoughts; just as Constantinople was for many centuries considered the Christian

city *par excellence* of the world, because no pagan rites had ever been practised within its walls. To such an extent did the Copts feel that they had now a wholly Christian tongue that they had no scruple in preserving as Christian names words which had actually been the titles and names of the old deities. Horus, Ammon, Phœbammon, Anubis, even Horus-son-of-Isis, were all names of Christian monks.

The earliest history of this part of the Christian Church is wrapped in impenetrable darkness.* There seems no particular reason to disbelieve the story told over and over again, without contradiction in early days, that Egypt was evangelised by St. Mark. The apocryphal acts of the Apostles, even though in later times they became overlaid with puerile wonders, often held some germs of truth. In the *Acts of Barnabas* St Mark is made to say that he went first with St. Barnabas to Cyprus; but afterwards, owing to the opposition of a certain Bar-Jesus, "I fled to Alexandria, and there I remained, teaching the brethren that came the word of the Lord, giving light unto them and preaching the Gospel to them, even as I had been taught by the Apostles of Christ." Supposing that these apocryphal acts reached their final form in the fifth century, I see no particular reason to doubt that in this instance the account of St. Mark's journey and preaching may be based on a true tradition.

We have continuous patriarchal lists of St. Mark's successors, and as far as the names go they may be accurate enough, but we know with certainty no historical details of their rule until about the year 200, when we find a certain Demetrius, the twelfth patriarch, mentioned by Eusebius as "reigning like a king in Egypt." From his time onward our sources are much fuller; we have, for instance, the *Patriarchal History* of Severus ibn el Muqaffa, Bishop of Ashmunain in Upper Egypt in the seventh century; his work depended both on Eusebius and on many primitive documents and acts which have now disappeared. Though the *History* must be used with caution, it is trustworthy on the whole for the three or four centuries before his own time, and from it and other like compositions the story of the Church of Alexandria can be made out without great difficulty.

But here I must diverge. It is not the history of the Church of Alexandria which will help us in trying to trace the spiritual and intellectual descent of the Copts, but the history of the Church of Egypt

* Best discussed by Chrysostom Papadopoulos, now Archbishop of Athens, *Πρῶται ἡμέραι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας* in the *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* for August and September, 1909.

—a very different thing. In the distant monasteries of the Libyan and Nitrian deserts, and far up the Nile almost to the confines of the barbarians, we must look for that really Egyptian Christianity that regarded the Christians of Alexandria, Greek-speaking and Greek-thinking, with suspicion or worse—as foreigners and probably crypto-heretics.

St. Anthony, the real founder of Christian monasticism in Egypt, lived the hundred years between 250 and 350. In his youth he went to visit one Paul the Anchorite, and by the details given us of Paul's age and the time he had spent in solitary life, he may be supposed to have retired to the desert about 200. Yet this was but a " false dawn " of monasticism; the great colonisation of monks led by St. Anthony took place between 300 and 310. He chose a spot about twenty-five miles from the Red Sea, somewhat south and a good deal east of the modern Cairo; and then the movement spread fast. About 320 Pachomins founded his famous monastery and laid down his more famous rule at Tabennese in Upper Egypt, and other monks were rapidly settling in the Nitrian desert towards the Oasis of Ammon. By the end of the fourth century the numbers were enormous. Palladius found 5,000 monks in Nitria; there were as many at Tabennese, and very few less at St. Anthony's foundation. At Oxyrhynchus there were 10,000 in all, and we are told that the Bishop of that diocese had 20,000 nuns under his charge. At Panopolis the two great monasteries were towns in themselves. It has been computed that about the year 450 half the adult population of Egypt (excluding Alexandria) were monks or nuns, and in some parts of the country there were villages in which there were no full-grown individuals not under monastic vows.

I am not to-day trying to give you a history of Coptic literature, for I have done that elsewhere;* it must suffice to say that it is almost entirely a *translation* literature, religious in content and taken from Greek. But there was one man who may be considered not only supreme in his mastery and use of the Coptic language, and certainly their only stylist, but also one of the greatest figures in their history. This was the great Archimandrite or Abbot Shenoute, also known by his Græcised name of Sinuthius, who lived between the years 250 and 450. We possess his life, written by his disciple and successor, Besa, which tells us that he was the son of a shepherd, and notable for his piety from his early youth. He had monastic connexions, for his maternal

* "The Native Literature of Christian Egypt," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. xxxiii.

uncle Pjol was the first abbot of the White Monastery near Akhmin, or Panopolis, Shenoute himself coming from a little village called Shenalolet, near Atripe or Athribis. The boy's father, seeing in him evident tokens of a vocation to the monastic life, took him to his uncle to receive his blessing; and it was probably not much later that Shenoute took the monastic habit, and entered the monastery where he was to spend the rest of his days. He rapidly rose to a commanding position among the monks, becoming well known both for his literary powers and for the value of his ascetic writings, and on the death of Pjol he naturally succeeded to the abbot's position. He had received a good education—or at least had taught himself with application during his early days in the monastery, where there was a good library, as we know from extant remains. He must have understood Greek pretty well, judging from his works: his writings, though of very great difficulty, are in elaborated periods and possess the graces of antithesis and emphasis. His letters and sermons are models of what an abbot's should be, who is at the same time a despot. He had the power of life and death over his monks (and used it). He showed his vigour in action, as when he would lead a party of the brethren to destroy with fire and sword some relic of the fast-disappearing paganism retained by the Greek nobility of Upper Egypt. Late in life he had a moment's contact with the outside world's history. He was taken* by St. Cyril to the Council of Ephesus, where we hear a very curious and characteristic story of him. In the middle of the church, where the Council assembled, was a "throne"—a large chair, on which a book of the Gospels was placed. Nestorius, coming in rather late, thought that the place was meant for him, moved the Gospels off on to the floor, and sat down on the chair. At this Shenoute was deeply incensed, picked up the Gospels and flung them at Nestorius, saying, "So the Son of God must sit upon the floor while thou sittest on a throne." "What right hast thou to be in the Council," retorted Nestorius, "seeing that thou art neither Bishop nor Archimandrite?" "I am here," replied the furious abbot, "to confound thee and thy errors," and thrust him from the chair; whereat St. Cyril stripped off his own outer robe, threw it upon Shenoute's neck, and made him an Archimandrite upon the spot, to the joy of the assembled Fathers.

* During this journey he seems to have visited Constantinople and to have seen some plays of Aristophanes. He took the choruses of the "Frogs" and "Birds" very seriously, finding in the imitations of the animals' cries signs of idolatry.

Twenty years later he was again summoned—this time by Dioscorus—to go to the Council of Chalcedon, but by now he was too old and ill to go, and his death occurred about the same time that the Council was held. It must have been earlier than the Council of Ephesus that we hear of Shenoute's dealings with the barbarian invaders from the South—Nubians called Blemmyes. They raided into Egypt, and retired hurriedly, carrying with them large spoils and a great number of captives; Shenoute hurried after them, interviewed their chiefs, by whom he was well received, and persuaded them to keep the booty, but give up the men, women and children, who numbered several thousands. These he housed for a time in his monasteries, providing them with food, though this was a considerable difficulty, until he could send them back to their homes.

The voluminous but fragmentary remains of Shenoute's literary works consist largely, though not exclusively, of "spiritual letters" on various topics of the monastic life, letters of counsel—for instance, to abbots and abbesses who found difficulties in their charge—but there are also interesting pieces of correspondence with the civil governors of Upper Egypt, and letters on theological points addressed to the Patriarchs of Alexandria during his time. There is even a curious Apocalypse—an account of his own visions and interviews with the Saviour. (We have not all of it in its original Coptic, but it exists more fully in an Ethiopic translation.) Shenoute's works did not gain currency among the monks of Egypt alone. They were widely read and copied by the laity, and in later days translated into other languages. The impression of his character and his writings upon the Coptic Church may be seen from the fact that at the present time portions of his homilies are the only texts outside Scripture which are publicly read as lessons in the Church Services.

Almost at the moment of Shenoute's death two great events were happening which marked the beginning of ruin to the Copts. The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) condemned the Monophysite doctrine, and Egypt refused to accept the decree. So strong had been the condemnation by the Egyptians of the heresies of Nestorius that they unconsciously tended to the other extreme. In St. Cyril the tendency—it is not yet anything more—may already be observed: in his successor, Dioscorus, it has become heresy. The consequence was that at the end of the fifth century Egypt—with the doubtful support of part of Syria—stood alone; and this paved the way for the *débâcle* of the Saracen conquest. Heretics could not hope for the whole-hearted support of

orthodox Christendom; and internecine strife within the country, the obstinate contention of Jacobite—*i.e.*, Monophysite—and Melkite (the word means "Royalist"—*i.e.*, the adherents of the Emperor at Constantinople, or Orthodox), made the Christians too weak to resist the united and warlike Saracen invaders. The history of that period is complicated and obscure; it may best be studied in a work planned and largely written by Jean Maspero (son of the famous Egyptologist Gaston Maspero), a victim of the Great War, under the title *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie depuis la mort de l'Empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des Églises Jacobites*, and revised and completed after his death by the late Father Adrian Fortescue and M. Gaston Wiet; it was finally published in 1923. It must suffice here to say that the Copts seem to have preferred a Moslem master to what they considered heretical dominance: the conquest of Egypt completed, they were treated at first with tolerance, but it later became—and remained until the nineteenth century—an oppression more or less severe; sometimes comparative quiet, sometimes real and savage persecution: and, as I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, they now only form a fifteenth of the nation. They are most numerous about half-way between the Mediterranean and the Sudanese frontier, in the parts of the country near Assiut, where they are agriculturalists; but they are also found in the towns, where they are often clerks, especially in the Civil Service (in the past very largely in the Post Office and the administration of the Railways); they were, indeed, in the Middle Ages and later the accountants of the country, employing a system of arithmetical notation incomprehensible to their Moslem fellow-countrymen. At the present time they mix more generally in business and commerce; and in the new and happy days which are just dawning (we have every right to hope and believe) for Egypt, the Copts will doubtless play an important part in the polity without, I trust, social or religious assimilation.

It is now time to endeavour to trace the contribution of the Copts: I have made it clear, I think, in my account of Shenoute that their literature can hardly be considered of cosmic importance, and I propose to devote the rest of this lecture to the subjects of religion and art.

I have told how largely Egypt had become monasticised during the fourth century A.D.; and monasticism in Egypt took a peculiar form, of which one manifestation at least has had an abiding effect on religious thought. Besides the inmates of the great monasteries and convents,

there were smaller bodies, and solitaries, who felt that perfection could only be attained by fleeing from civilization and by prayer, asceticism, and contemplation in the remote desert. I have spoken elsewhere* of the habits of thought of these anchorites and monks, and there can be no doubt that they represent a strange and unfamiliar development of Christianity, not wholly sympathetic to us, but not without a bizarre sublimity; and among their sayings and the legends about them there are instances of moral beauty, terse apophthegms, and a few tales which seem to plumb deeply the human nature common to us all. We know about them largely from descriptions by visitors from outside, such as Palladius and Cassiodorus; and if it should be desired to obtain a general idea of their life and thought, I would suggest reference to a book recently published, *The Desert Fathers*, by Helen Waddell (Constable, 1936). It is not very complimentary to the labours of modern scholars (and much work has been done on this subject in this and the last generation) that Miss Waddell should choose to ignore them completely and translate from a Latin translation of the early seventeenth century, and the absence of an index makes it a book difficult for systematic use; but it will at least give some general idea of this phase of Egyptian religious life.

Before finally leaving Coptic religion, I think I should call attention to the interest of the Coptic liturgy, as now performed throughout Egypt by the native Christians. The Copts cut themselves off from the rest of Christendom, with the exception of the Ethiopians, and some of the Syrians, and some of the Armenians, by refusing to accept the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and the Saracen conquest physically separated them from the rest of the Christian world, Orthodox and Latin alike. The result is that their liturgy is in many respects a survival of very primitive forms. It is thoroughly Eastern—the priest celebrates with covered head and bare feet—but it also still presents rites and ceremonies which must have been universal in the fifth century. I cannot understand the state of mind of an intelligent person who visits Egypt for a month or two, and takes an intellectual interest in its antiquities, but has never yet put himself to the trouble of attending the Divine Liturgy in one of the Coptic Churches of Old Cairo.

I shall devote the little time I have left to a brief consideration of Coptic art. In our estimate of this there has been a change, I think,

* "The Psychology of the Monks of the Egyptian Desert," in *The Philosopher*, vol. x. (1932), pp. 73 *sqq*.

in the course of the last twenty or thirty years: when I first began to study the Coptic language, and considered other aspects of Coptic life, we were inclined to say that the Copts excelled in textiles but were otherwise almost negligible artistically. But recent discoveries have revised any such opinions; the dry climate of Egypt preserved for us more textiles than we have found elsewhere in the Middle East, with the exception of Persia (and the Egyptian fragments are earlier than almost all Persian examples); but we have now come to realise, even if the evidence is not very extensive, that the Copts were good artists and handicraftsmen in other materials too. I allow myself to refer you to a conspectus of the achievements of the Copts in a chapter by myself in a co-operative work, *The Art of Egypt through the Ages*; it was published in 1931 by *The Studio*, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, and I think it is now no secret that its inspiration proceeded from the late King of Egypt, who was very anxious that some such general survey, well illustrated, should be in the hands of English readers. The short account I am now going to give will be found there in fuller form.

The question of *architecture* did not at once arise in Christian Egypt, for the newly converted Christians adapted the pagan temples to their own use without doing them much damage, except that they sometimes erased the internal frescoes or reliefs, or at any rate those parts of them that were near the altar. Such new buildings as they erected, at any rate in the early years of the period, were of the kind common to the Roman and Byzantine East, but when they came to build the great monasteries of the desert they developed a style of their own, which was perhaps ultimately not without influence outside Egypt itself; the monastic buildings at Bawit, of St. Jeremias at Saqqara, and of St. Simeon at Aswan present a massive use of sun-dried brick (from whence the Egyptian word has even, through Spanish and Spanish America, reached our own language in the word *adobe*) and a high vaulted arch with round top. They were also early inventors of the dome (I am not claiming that this architectural feature did not contemporaneously appear elsewhere); the combination of this with the basilica type of building—*i.e.*, the rectangular law-court converted into a place of worship, the dome placed above one end, with the altar beneath it, and so developing into a narthex—remains to this day a characteristic type of the Eastern Christian church, and was adapted by the Moslems to their own use in the construction of mosques. This feature is still to be observed in the older Coptic churches; the dome is over what we should call the east end, whereas the Byzantines

have moved it to above the centre of the church. In later days we may find the single-domed sanctuary at "the east end" replaced by three such sanctuaries or chapels, but this is unusual. I bought some years ago a curious object at the de Rustafjaell sale (which included very many objects of Christian Egyptian interest), and gave to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. It is a pottery model—quite late—of a mediæval Coptic church (just possibly itself a lantern—its use hard to determine) in which may be seen the characteristics which I have just been describing, with the addition of representations of conventionalised persea trees used as ornaments on either side of the main door.

Let us now turn to *sculpture and reliefs*. There was certainly in Egypt—at any rate in Alexandria—a school of ivory carving, though I profess a certain scepticism with regard to some pieces labelled "Egyptian" in museums. There can, however, be no doubt about the ivories illustrating the history of St. Menas in the Archæological Museum at Milan, and of the same school is an ivory relief in the Victoria and Albert Museum of St. Peter dictating to St. Mark, above which appear the words πόλις Ῥώμη in a Greek script of thoroughly Coptic type.

Ivory was, however, only a medium for small objects, and soon became too expensive for any widespread use. Stone and wood were, on the other hand, freely used, and with great success, and the capitals of the pillars of some monastic buildings reach a high standard. The best specimens of them, outside Egypt, are in the Coptic Room at the Louvre, in which most of the material is from Bawit. The Coptic artists in these media were peculiarly happy in conventionalising flower and plant patterns (less often animals), and a combination of these with lace and strap work (the latter becoming more important still in the Moslem period, when religious considerations forbade the use of figures) produces a wonderfully rich effect.

When we come to *painting, illumination and drawing* we find, I think, high achievement in the early period, and a rather rapid deterioration. Owing to the great destruction of church art in the Near and Middle East—the iconoclastic Moslem painted out, chiselled away, or employed more drastic measures almost everywhere, and the rise of religious art in Russia is a later development—comparison and comparative criticism are difficult, for we have but fragmentary remains in Egypt, retrieved with much labour and care from beneath coats of whitewash and plaster. But if the frescoes from the monastery of St. Jeremias at Saqqara be placed alongside of even the frescoes (a little

later) of St. Sophia at Constantinople, now being so happily recovered, they have little to fear. The figure of Christ, at once Saviour and Judge, is usually found in the narthex, and the Saqqara example has a certain sublimity in its combination of tenderness and majesty.

The Egyptian artist, as we know from the sarcophagi of the Græco-Roman period, had the power of composition and the ability to give what we call a "likeness." In the early Coptic period, at least, this power of individualisation is also found in the work of the fresco painters, as in the figure of Christ I have just mentioned; and it certainly persists in a picture of "the Samaritan" monk and Apa Paule standing together in one of the chapels at Bawit. In this the classical heritage, especially in the drapery, which represents the typical and traditional dress of a gentleman of the Eastern Roman Empire, is still a living thing. But decline was rapid; the figures became stiff and stilted; action and movement perhaps prevailed longest in the figures of the "equestrian saints," whose figures on horseback, with a lance, riding down a dragon or some heathen adversary on foot, seem to retain a certain liveliness when other contemporary work is dead. One of the few late wall drawings—something between a fresco and a graffito—in the British Museum which escapes from conventional shackles is a picture of the Three Holy Children in the burning fiery furnace. The execution is in many respects rude, but the figures, with their curious Phrygian caps and their mediæval—not classical—dress, are lively and active.

In the illumination of manuscripts this same rather rapid degeneration is apparent. Most of the Coptic writings that have come down to us are in the form of single leaves (where the destructiveness of the invader and the greed of the finder and dealer are equally to blame), but there are one or two collections of complete books, and I shall speak presently of a binding in the Pierpont Morgan collection in New York. There is, for example, a frontispiece in a Synaxarium in that collection dated A.D. 914; it is a picture of the Annunciation; above the figures is this description in Coptic: "St. Mary the Virgin: St. Gabriel the Announcer"; and between them in Greek the words of the Angelic Salutation. The artistic decline in these figures may easily be observed. The drapery is still fairly well treated, though its folds are too rigid; but the faces have little expression, and nose and eyebrows are represented by a conventional combination of lines, which scarcely varies with the subject portrayed.

In later times the art of book illumination fell very low. Human

figures became barbaric and even childish, and in the later Middle Ages we find little but representations of the Holy Cross and of the Holy Ghost, the latter in the form of a dove, but conventionalised and coloured almost into the figuration of a parrot. The Cross is regularly found ornamented with strap work, sometimes of extraordinary elaboration, in red and green if colour is employed.

The skill of the Copts in *textiles* has never been denied. In the pagan period it is possible that as good work was done in the Mediterranean basin, and east of it, as in Egypt itself, and that we owe to the Egyptian climate specimens of what has almost perished elsewhere. The Copts not only inherited a noble tradition, but improved it. Here, as in certain other walks of life in Egypt, the coming of Christianity made no evident break; figures of Apollo and Hermes passed easily into representations of the saints, and the *ankh*, or hieroglyph meaning "life," became a looped cross. The Coptic weavers attained a high degree of skill in wool and silk and linen, and in combinations of any two of them; and in the latter part of their period, when purity of figure design and outline has declined, its place is taken by two other characteristics—the use of a great number of bright and even intense colours in harmonious juxtaposition, and the happy conventionalisation of flowers, animals and other motives into patterns unrivalled perhaps except in the rugs of Southern Central Asia and of Peru. A great quantity of Coptic textiles has been discovered during the last hundred years in Egyptian burying-grounds; and though most of it is fragmentary, all the more important museums of Europe and America have been able to acquire sufficient pieces for comparison, study and appreciation. Unfortunately uncoloured reproductions give but a poor representation of these objects, which combine high technical skill with great beauty of design and tone.

In the *minor arts* the Copts were reasonably strong. Few articles of personal adornment have come down to us; perhaps the Copts were so long a subject race that they lost most of their possessions of value. We have censers and lamps, some of them with enamel, which show that they attained a fair standard of skill in metal work; and it is about the same in domestic pottery, of which a good number of examples has been found in the excavation of monasteries and other sites. Pottery lamps have also been found in considerable quantities, bearing some sacred emblem or the figure of a saint; and of similar work were ampullæ, used to bring holy water away from shrines—*e.g.*, that of St. Menas in the Libyan desert. Ceramic of a higher order is rare,

except for tiles; there is one delightful piece of faience, showing a priest swinging a censer, which must be almost unique. I am pitifully ignorant in such matters, but should guess that it betrayed some Persian influence.

The monks and hermits employed such time as could be spared from prayer in weaving mats, rugs, brushes, and other domestic implements from grass; we fortunately have a good number of these from the monastery of St. Epiphanius at Thebes.

The art of decorating leather for book-bindings was quite highly developed, especially in the skilful combination of crosses, circles and strap work into geometrical patterns; of this kind is the binding of a manuscript of the eighth or ninth century A.D. in the Pierpont Morgan collection at New York.

With this brief indication of the artistic heritage of the Copts I must bring my lecture to an end. I could speak for almost as long of the manner in which they and their language and culture became known in the West—the representation of the Coptic alphabet in the fifteenth century in Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio ad Terram Sanctam*; the introductory labours of the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher; the edition of the Coptic New Testament by the Anglo-Prussian David Wilkins; the description of the Copts by early visitors to Egypt such as Quatremère; the necessity of Coptic to the pioneers in the decipherment of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic writing; the grammars of Archdeacon Tattam, Stern, Steindorff, and Mallon; and finally the work of modern Coptic scholars, among whom this country is gloriously represented by the lexicographical work of my friend Mr. W. E. Crum, whose Coptic dictionary, now nearing completion, marks a great and decisive step forward in the study of the Coptic language and literature. But such a survey as this would mean another whole lecture of the length of that to which you have so patiently listened, and I may conclude with the assurance that the study of things Coptic is not dead, in Egypt and in the West, and least of all in this country, though Coptic scholars are few.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think I need ask you to repeat that applause except as a formality. I think if we were all asked to sit to-morrow for an examination on the Copts we should pass with credit. It is extraordinary to note how completely Coptic died out in Egypt. I have never met a match to it, and have not yet found the solution. Already in the eleventh century you find Arabic used with Coptic to

explain meanings. You see a great people with a wonderful language, and then for no obvious reason the language is superseded by Arabic. There was something which prevented them from standing up to the Islamic influence, but one does not understand why it should have been so. It did not happen in the case of Turkish, or Persian, or the languages of Northern India. Perhaps you feel that Sir Stephen has explained it, but I cannot resist giving him a reason for another lecture on the subject. I must now thank him for a really clear lecture, illustrated with beautiful slides, and I would ask you to repeat your applause.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MONGOLIA

By SIR CHARLES BELL, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on November 4, 1936, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair.

In introducing the lecturer, Sir Denison Ross said:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—You are going to listen to-night to one of those people we all envy: one who has not only been to Lhasa, not only visited it, but lived there. He is going to speak of another country where Tibetan is used, and whose religion is the same: Mongolia.

The fact that he was received with open arms was due to his passport, the best passport that he could have come with—namely, that he was known to be the intimate friend of the late Dalai Lama.

Beyond that he speaks Tibetan well. I wonder, since Desideri, and then Csoma De Koros, visited Tibet, how many travellers have been able to talk intimately in Tibetan. They can be counted on the fingers of one hand, I am sure: and that was another passport.

I will not now detain you, but we have here to-night people who know Mongolia as Sir Charles Bell knows Tibet, and after his lecture I hope they will, not lighten, but give a still more instructive note to the proceedings by, some of them, giving us a further contribution.

FROM 1933 to 1935, just two years, I travelled in Asia, returning last November. During those two years I spent five months in the interior of Tibet and nine months on the Indo-Tibetan border. Then I wanted to see something of Mongolia, for Tibet and Mongolia have a close connection with each other, in race, in their general outlook, and especially in their religion, which is identical and is a very strong tie between them. So I went on to China, where I spent about four months, three of them in Peking and neighbourhood, where Mongols are plentiful; a month in Japan, where I met some of the Army General Staff and some of their leading diplomats; a month in Manchoukuo,* including a visit to Hailar; six weeks in Inner Mongolia; and home by the Siberian Railway; and a few days in Moscow.

* A difficulty arises about the name of this country. If we call it Manchoukuo, the Chinese dislike it; if we call it Manchuria, the Japanese dislike it. My passport for these territories was made out in Calcutta, and the name was entered as Manchuria. When I applied for a visa to the authorities of that country at their Legation in Tokyo, the official not only declined angrily to issue a visa as long as the name Manchuria was entered on the passport, but treated me to a lengthy political harangue.

Manchoukuo has been now in existence for some years as a State completely independent of China. A *de facto* government is necessarily recognized in time

When I left India for Eastern Asia I took with me from the Tibetan frontier a Mongol who had spent nine years in the large Dre-pung Monastery, four miles outside Lhasa. There are several hundred Mongol monks in this monastic university. It contains eight to nine thousand monks altogether. This Mongol, named Wang-gyal, and I talked Tibetan to each other, a very convenient arrangement, because hardly any of the Mongols that I met, none of the Chinese, and none of the Japanese understood it. Some Mongols, indeed, had picked up Tibetan words from books, but they did not know the pronunciation and could not in the least follow a conversation. Away there in the heart of Tibet, Wang-gyal not only learnt Tibetan, but learnt also several Mongol dialects, including those of the districts that I visited, because Mongols come to Dre-pung from all parts of Mongolia.

When I was asked to talk to this learned Society, I thought I had better talk about Mongolia rather than about Tibet, my own subject. For our talks here are mainly about politics, and Mongolia has a much wider political significance than Tibet has. In fact, a very wide interest indeed in view of the ambitions of Japan and the U.S.S.R., who seem destined to expand westwards and southwards in Asia.

But my qualifications for speaking on this subject are, as I have shown you, very small; with this only added, that I was able to observe Mongolia through what I may call the Tibetan window. My many years of political service in Tibet gave me some insight into Mongolian affairs. Not only do Mongol lamas and monks reside in Tibet, and Mongol merchants and pilgrims visit Tibet in large numbers, but the Tibetans also visit and reside in Mongolia, including Outer Mongolia, that country which keeps almost everybody out, including Mongols themselves.

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as a *de jure* government, if it lasts long enough. It seems practically certain that the independence of Manchoukuo has come to stay. We cannot wait until China recognizes the independence of this territory.

It seems misleading to continue indefinitely the use of a term which does not fit the facts. If the Chinese dislike the use of the term Manchoukuo, I am sorry; but they dislike it no more than the Japanese dislike the use of the term Manchuria. Since it is impossible to please both, I use the name that fits the facts—*i.e.*, Manchoukuo.

I notice also that Mr. Owen Lattimore, the well-known American authority on this part of Asia, uses the name Manchoukuo frequently in his article, published in this Journal in July, 1936. So does Mr. E. M. Gull, Secretary of the China Association, who knows, and is in full sympathy with, China, and has revisited it recently. Mr. Gull's article was published in the Journal of April, 1936. The name is also used by Sir Francis Lindley, late British Ambassador in Japan, in connection with his lecture on October 9, 1935.

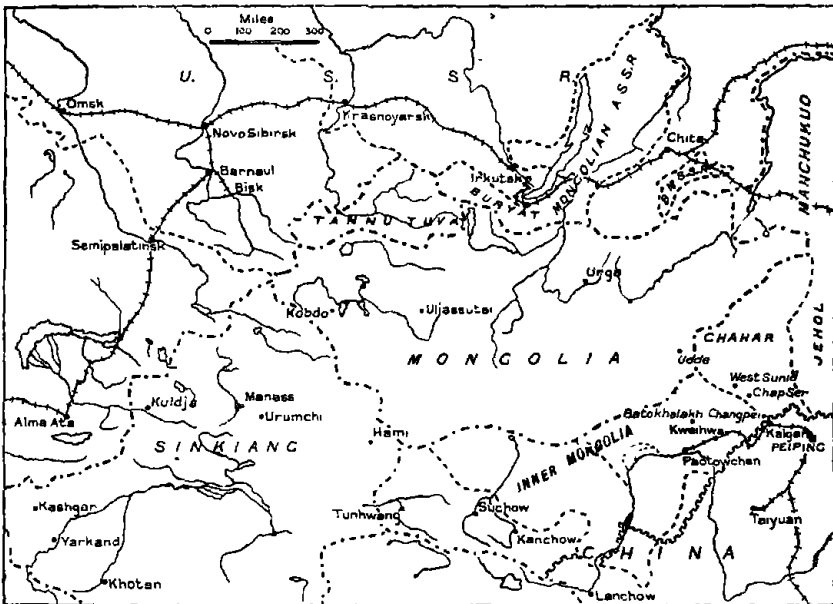
Still, my qualifications for speaking to you are slight, and I do not regard this as in any sense a lecture, but rather as an exchange of facts and opinions with those who know more about the subject than I do.

One other point. I understand that we have members of the China Society with us this evening. I am, of course, delighted that members of the China Society should think it worth while to come and listen to me. But I wish to make it clear that my talk was prepared for the members of my own Society, the Royal Central Asian Society, and to them it is addressed; especially to those in it who, like myself, are members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. For we are spread over so many quarters of the globe that we ought to know what we can about international politics everywhere.

China, Japan, Manchoukuo, Mongolia, and the U.S.S.R. are charming countries to travel in, because so many people help you along. I received great assistance from the British Embassies and Consulates and from my fellow-countrymen; from Mr. Butler, British Consul-General at Mukden; Mr. McDonald, *The Times* correspondent at Peking, both of whom we have with us this evening; as well as from Mr. and Mrs. Price at Harbin, and many others. And not only from my countrymen, but from numerous members of other nations—for instance, Mr. Larson, a Swede who has spent forty-seven years in Mongolia, and Mr. Lattimore, the great authority on Mongolia, who has lived long among the Mongols and has interpreted them to the outside world. We are fortunate in having Mr. Lattimore also with us. And, of course, I owe a great deal to my Mongol companion, Wang-gyal, and to the Mongols that he brought to see me. That name Wang-gyal means "Conquering Power"; actually he was the meekest of men. It is a Tibetan name. Mongol people and places, especially on the religious side, often have Tibetan names, a custom which, with many others, shows the strong link between the Mongols and the Tibetans.

There are to-day four Mongolias—Inner Mongolia, Outer Mongolia, the Buriat country annexed by Russia near the end of the seventeenth century, and the western part of Manchoukuo, which is inhabited mainly by Mongols. Outer Mongolia is dominated by the U.S.S.R., though the latter are always careful to proclaim its absolute independence; the Manchoukuo Mongols are dominated by Japan; while Inner Mongolia, known sometimes as Chinese Mongolia, turns hesitatingly towards Japan.

The total area of these four Mongolias might be somewhere about two million square miles, but it is doubtful whether now they contain

more than four million Mongols—that is to say, two persons to the square mile. Innumerable monasteries of celibate monks, and venereal disease, have combined with other causes to reduce the population of Mongolia, just as they have done in Tibet. Since the days, seven hundred years ago, when the great Mongol, Ching-gis Khan, conquered more territory than any conqueror recorded in history, the Mongol wheel has turned full circle. Now they are a small nation in a large territory, surrounded by the multi-millions of China, Russia, and Japan, many of these educated and adept in methods of warfare. The clouds of war, especially of war between Japan and the U.S.S.R.,

overhang all that eastern portion of Asia. Considered from that sad, but necessary, aspect, as well as from economic and other standpoints, the Mongols are of less importance than their country. They are so few, and their country is so large. But yet they have their rôle to play. Let us, then, see the present position of each of these Mongolias.

First, as to Inner Mongolia. The Mongols there are somewhat decadent, both in mind and body. They have suffered the fate of so many nations and tribes that have lived to the north of China and subdued the teeming populations of that country. They have been

enmeshed in the soft pleasures of China, and much of their pristine hardihood has been sucked out of them. The Manchou Emperors turned the Mongols into a privileged people, with Chinese as their servants. If you go to Inner Mongolia now, you will see the Chinese making boots for the Mongols. They even pull the long wool from the Mongols' sheep. Fancy a man who has been a sheepowner down the centuries employing a foreigner, one who owns no sheep but tills the soil, to do that for him! The Mongols are far too dependent on the Chinese, and you cannot help noticing their slack attitude to life in many ways.

Things are greatly different in Tibet; the Tibetans are not dependent on China or on any other nation. They are almost self-supporting. On the outer doors of Tibetan houses a common painting is that known as "Sok-po Tak-ti"—*i.e.*, "Mongol Leading Tiger."* It represents a stalwart Mongol controlling a vigorous tiger. That picture no longer fits Inner Mongolia.

Inner Mongolia is divided into between forty and fifty tribal units, known as *hoshuns*, and of these West Sunid is one. The ruling Prince of West Sunid, by name De Wang, is the leading spirit in Inner Mongolia. He is patriotic, energetic, and resourceful, and he has some capable assistants. He became a grandfather some years ago, but is not at all a grandfatherly sort of person. Even now he is only thirty-eight years old.

Inner Mongolia is still in the feudal stage; its outlook is tribal, not national. China fosters this spirit of feudalism so as to prevent the Mongols from becoming united and gaining their independence. Tibet, too, is in the feudal stage, but it is not so minutely divided as Inner Mongolia is, for parts of it have been unified under the rule of the late Dalai Lama, and its enormous mountain ranges have saved it from overmuch foreign penetration.

When I was in Mongolia last year, Mongols repeatedly told me, speaking of Mongolia as a whole: "We Mongols are so much divided that now we hardly exist. Those living in the areas which the Chinese have seized from us have forgotten their Mongol ways and language; they live and speak on Chinese lines. The Buriats and Outer Mongols are being Sovietized. Those near Koko Nor are being swallowed up by the people of Am-do." (Am-do, I should explain, is a Tibetan province.) "Those in Manchoukuo are being swallowed by the Japanese.

* See *The People of Tibet* (Clarendon Press), p. 70.

"It is the case of a sick man who is threescore years old. If he is left in peace he may live to be seventy or eighty. Japan, Russia, and China should let Mongolia die in peace, and when she dies, they can divide her."

The religion of Mongolia is identical with that of Tibet. It was converted to Buddhism by the Tibetans some three hundred and fifty years ago. I prefer to call this religion "Tibetan Buddhism," or "Mongol Buddhism," rather than "Lamaism," as many Tibetans—and probably Mongols also—resent the term Lamaism, as implying that their religion is not Buddhism at all.

But the first thing you notice when you come from Tibet to Inner Mongolia is that the Inner Mongols are much slacker in their religion. Wang-gyal, my Mongol, who spent many years in that large Tibetan monastery, told me that there are only two monasteries in the whole of Inner Mongolia where the discipline is up to the ordinary Tibetan standard. And, of course, it is only too obvious to one when one visits a Mongol monastery. Mongols criticize the priesthood to an extent that Tibetans would never do. I remember once talking to the Commander-in-Chief in Tibet. He agreed with me that the population of Tibet is decreasing, and gave as one of the reasons the large number of celibate monks. "That," I said, "is a matter of religion on which I can make no comment." "I also can make no comment about matters of religion," he replied, with a wry smile. But in Inner Mongolia leading men and others openly say that there are far too many monks. Propinquity to China has weakened the force of the religion. Mongol boys in the schools in China are taught that in Mongolia both the priests and the religion are bad. The standard among the monks is low. They all belong to the Yellow Hat sect—*i.e.*, the reformed sect—members of which must vow to observe celibacy and abstention from liquor. Yet more than half fail to observe this vow. Many, even of the high lamas, lead vicious lives.

Yet, even as it is, the religion has a tremendous power over the people. The Swedish missionaries themselves will tell you so, though they admit it with regret. They live among the people, and they know. Leading Mongols confirm this; De Wang himself confirms it. In fact, this form of Buddhism has great staying power.

Let me now say a few words about the internal politics of Inner Mongolia. The outstanding fact here is that bit by bit the Chinese have forcibly taken their land from the Mongols. During the last forty years China has driven them back seventy miles over a long

length of country. The Nanking Government promised that the Chinese would grab no more land from the Mongols, but soon afterwards the Governor of Chahar sent up a number of fresh settlers from the Shantung province with five thousand Chinese soldiers, who marked out a new area for cultivation by Chinese, chased away the Mongol herdsmen, burnt their tents, and confiscated their livestock. That has been the usual procedure. It appears that the Chinese governors and their subordinates make large monetary profits by each new settlement. The Chahar tribe, of whom there are several *hoshuns*, have through these confiscations lost the greater part of their land, and are now in a miserable condition.

It may be said that China's increase of population must find room. Nature's controls, famine, war, and pestilence, have been restrained, largely by the generous-minded efforts of foreign men and women, and there has been nothing to take their place. Thus the Chinese need more room. But Mongolia cannot be expected to see it in that way. So she turns for help to others.

The Chinese Government have divided Inner Mongolia into three provinces, each such province being partly the area into which these Chinese encroachments have spread and partly the areas still in Mongol occupation. Maps have been made accordingly. This has been done to divide and so weaken the Mongols of Inner Mongolia. The Mongols themselves resent this division, and wish for Inner Mongolia to be in one unit, because, though there are different tribes in it, yet all are Mongols. In Tibet we find the same system of map-making by the Chinese. Tibetan territory, on the Chinese maps, is removed from Tibet and divided into different so-called provinces, to which are given names quite unrecognized by the ordinary Tibetan. But the names are apparently circulated by the Chinese authorities to foreigners for entry on foreign maps. And thus on our maps of these regions, both in Mongolia and in Tibet, we obtain a false idea of the state of affairs.

The Chinese appear strongly to dislike giving autonomy to the semi-foreign peoples connected with themselves. They have constantly attempted to rule them direct through their own Chinese magistrates. They have shown this in Mongolia; they have shown it in Tibet; they have shown it in Sinkiang. And herein lies one of the reasons for the Chinese failure in their outlying dependencies—if dependencies is the proper name for these—a failure which is so serious that the Chinese have already lost most of these outlying regions, and are, I think, destined to lose them all.

A State Council was set up in Inner Mongolia some time before came there. It had the blessing of the Nanking Government, but l no means the blessing of the neighbouring Chinese provinci governors. The latter wished to continue their encroachments in Mongolia; the Nanking Government, on the contrary, hoped to pl off the Mongols against these provincial governors, who were mo powerful than the Nanking Government liked.

The most influential man on this Mongol Council was De Wan The Council collected various taxes; for instance, five cents a year (th is to say, about a penny a year) on each sheep; ninepence a year on eac pony, camel, or head of cattle; and so on; petty payments, which wer to the tribal head, and only part of which reached the Council. The tried to levy Customs duties on different things, especially o opium, which passes through their territory from one province of Chin to another. But to this the Chinese Governor of Suiyuan took forcibl objection. At last a settlement was arrived at, and a share of th revenue appears to have been promised to the Mongol Council, bu that promise was not honoured by the Chinese as long as I was i Mongolia. On the contrary, this Governor managed to turn some o the *hoshuns* against De Wang. That was not difficult in the feuda environment of Mongolia and the natural diversity of interests amon the different tribal chiefs.

The general conditions in Inner Mongolia were certainly not good The revenue was entirely insufficient, and, as happens in such countrie as Tibet and Mongolia, it was very difficult to increase. De Wan hoped to raise additional Customs revenue, but the opium difficulty i discouraging, for opium is easily the largest source of revenue. Th Tibetans do not take opium, and I think I am right in saying that th Mongols also do not take it to any great extent. But as it passes throug their territory from one Chinese province to another, they feel entitle to impose a transit tax. Then, as to the Inner Mongolian revenue China has promised a good deal of money, but actually has paid ver little. So when an army has to be raised, even a small one, Inne Mongolia can hardly support it. It must have help from outside Tibet, indeed, can support an army of moderate size, but then it has large agricultural population and a well-established system for raisin soldiers from among these more settled dwellers.

For a full account of the recent state of Inner Mongolia I woul refer you to Mr. Lattimore's admirable lecture, delivered to the Roya Central Asian Society last April.

When I was in Inner Mongolia during July and August of last year, and while I was in Peking up to October of last year, I had several talks with De Wang and with many other leading Mongols regarding all the four parts of Mongolia. The line taken by the Inner Mongols was that they would like to be friends with China, if that were possible. But China does not treat them fairly, does not keep her promises, and in any case is powerless to help Inner Mongolia against Russia or Japan. This is why Japanese influence has gone forward, and why she now controls a great deal of Inner Mongolia. Early in August of last year (1935) De Wang told me that he was sending Mongol troops down to the Chinese encroachment area, in the Chahar province of Inner Mongolia, in order to regain for the Mongols the possession of their own land—*i.e.*, down to the Great Wall. That was a large undertaking, as the Chinese encroachment area was about a hundred miles in breadth. I asked him whether he anticipated Chinese opposition. He replied that he hoped to settle the matter peaceably, and added significantly: "The Japanese approve of what we are doing."

De Wang, like nearly all the other Mongols I met, ardently wishes that it might be possible to unite the whole of Mongolia.

I asked him whether he would welcome the Emperor of Manchoukuo as Emperor of the Mongols, maybe as a somewhat shadowy sovereign who would not interfere with their programme of self-government. De Wang replied: "It would be good to have an Emperor, but the Emperor should be a Mongol. We are not connected very closely with the Manchous."

I said: "We see in the newspapers that the Manchoukuo Government have demanded the right to put consuls into Outer Mongolia, and that intercourse between the Mongols of Manchoukuo and those of Outer Mongolia should be promoted. Can you tell me anything about that?" De Wang replied: "No, I have not heard about it. But it is exactly what I would expect to happen." "Has a similar demand been made by Inner Mongolia?" De Wang replied: "No, but we ought to take action on those lines."

I asked him whether he wished me to give to the outside world any message about Mongolia, to which he replied: "Well, our main desire is to govern ourselves without oppression from any other nation."

Let us now turn to Manchoukuo, for it contains the remaining portion of Mongolia that is under Japanese control. I will speak almost

entirely about the Mongols in Manchoukuo, rather than of Manchoukuo as a whole.

Whether or not the world wants the Japanese in Manchoukuo, one must anyhow recognize that the Japanese are an extremely efficient people and are in dead earnest. Many of them honestly believe that they have a mission to make this country into a paradise of the East.

The Chinese attitude towards the Japanese is mainly one of hate and fear combined. The Japanese try to lessen this by regularizing the government, and it must be admitted that they have made great improvements on the maladministration of the former Manchurian War Lords. The Japanese claim that, as long as they are well governed, the Chinese will not mind by whom they are governed, as the Chinese have so much bad government in their own country. Of course, the Japanese take special advantages for themselves, but still, on the whole, they have undoubtedly given more efficient government.

They have even signed an agreement by which they abandon their extra-territorial right, a surrender that Western Europe and America have not yet made in China. To prevent sudden and violent changes in the economic life of Japanese subjects in Manchoukuo, the abolition is being gradually enforced, and the treaty which came into force on July 1 this year arranges to give up extra-territoriality (including the right of immunity from taxation) by 1938. Various taxes levied by the South Manchurian Railway Company in the railway zone are also being abolished. The Japanese administrative police throughout Manchoukuo, including the South Manchurian Railway zone, are to be abolished by the end of 1937.

The powers that be are very sensitive about the non-recognition of Manchoukuo by foreign nations, and they are somewhat lacking in humour. All references to the old state under China are taboo. The people are not allowed to use the names "Manchuria," "North-Eastern Province," or any name suggestive of these.

When I was there a Chinese tailor in Hsinking, the capital of Manchoukuo, put up over his shop the sign "North-East Tailor." He was ordered to change this, so he scratched out the word "North" and replaced it by "West." The inscription now reads: "West-East Tailor."

When people criticize the Japanese and say that they are not subduing the banditry in Manchoukuo, they reply: "Give us time; give us ten years from the date of our entry; that is not too long to bring a large country like this into order." Whether they will prove successful or not in their administration time will show, but, anyhow, it is reason-

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Huma
U S S R
Heiho
Blagoveshchensk
Khabarovsk
Kilalin
Kukotopo
Manchouli
Nonchiang
Hailaerh
Pokotu
Feian
Taian
Ningnien
Tsitsihar
Angangchi
Tungchiang
Han
Jaoho
Poli
Mishan
Hendageye
MONGOLIA
Solun
Hulan
Harbin
Paichengtzu
CHAHAR
Taipingchuan
Lupei
Lafa
Hsinking
Kirin
Vladivostok
Tumen
Hunchun
Chengchiatun
Kailu
Linhsi
Yuki
Rashin
Hailung
Seishin
Liuho
Chihfeng
Peipiao
MUKDEN
Fushun
Taian
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able to give them time. We British, who have been occupied in the government of so many countries, should be able to realize their difficulties.

The chief failing of the Japanese seems to lie in the all-pervading tendency, deep down in the Japanese character, towards bureaucratic forms of government. They are unable to trust those who are under their control. All the time they look in and out to see what they are doing. But of course the Soviet Union is still more strongly set on this espionage than they are.

When one travels in Manchoukuo, inquiring as I was inquiring, the Japanese are constantly spying on one's movements. But at any rate they let you into the country; the Soviet do not let you into Outer Mongolia at all.

Most of the Japanese officials and soldiers in Manchoukuo adopt an overbearing attitude towards foreigners, certainly towards British and Americans, in great contrast to the uniform courtesy shown in Japan itself. But one usually found that if one talked to a Japanese official quietly for a time he became quite friendly. In fact, they are angry that their new possession is not recognized by foreign Powers.

Among other places that my wife and I visited was Hailar in North-West Manchoukuo, close to the borders of Siberia and of Outer Mongolia, and a great centre of the Mongols. It is here and to the south, along the western portion, that the Mongol nomads in Manchoukuo are mainly found.

I was warned by our British consular authorities that in all probability I would not be allowed to see anything at all, because Hailar is a large military centre and everybody is in a state of great tension there, owing to the nearness of the frontier of the U.S.S.R. I found, indeed, great tension in Hailar, but I had a stroke of luck. We were staying in a Russian house. On the day following our arrival a high Buriat lama walked into my room. "Do you remember me?" he said in Tibetan. "We were together in Lhasa fourteen years ago." I remembered him. We had had several talks in Lhasa together.

The Buriats are much beloved by the Japanese because they are almost entirely refugees from the Buriat country in Siberia and make themselves useful to the Japanese. So it turned out that nobody in Hailar interfered with me in the smallest degree; and I put that down mainly to the visit of my old Buriat friend. We visited his home and went with him over the Mongolian plain in an extremely rickety motor-car. I got into touch with other Buriats as well as with the Barka

Mongols. My lama friend said good-bye to me on the Hailar railway station platform, which was crowded with Japanese officers and soldiers. He brought two of his burly monks, who pushed their way through the crowd, carrying our luggage.

If you meet a Tibetan or Mongol two or three times and become friendly with him he never forgets you. You are a lifelong friend. It is a charming trait.

The chief difference between the Mongols of Inner Mongolia and those of Manchoukuo is that many of the latter are agricultural. The nomad Mongols are inclined to look down on the agricultural Mongols and to distrust them. The Tibetans are also originally a nomadic people like the Mongols, but nowadays there are at least as many agricultural as nomadic Tibetans. So this feeling of distrust finds no place there.

The Mongols of Manchoukuo enjoy a good deal of self-government. They try most of their own law cases, including cases against Chinese. They have at least as much self-government in Manchoukuo as in Inner Mongolia, and perhaps slightly more. A young Buriat military officer who commanded two hundred Mongol soldiers in Manchoukuo said: "Our condition under Japan is splendid. Hitherto our people have lain in darkness, but now we are at the foot of the staircase and are beginning to climb. Proper schools have been established in which we can learn. We are taught first to read and write our own language, as well as arithmetic, etc. Then those who are clever are taught Japanese and the Manchou language, as well as Chinese and English."

In their religion the Mongols of Manchoukuo are the same as the other Mongols. But here the Japanese have taken shrewd action, which, if properly worked, may be of considerable benefit to them. You know how important religion is to these people. Well, at the request of the Japanese thirty young Mongol monks of Manchoukuo were sent to Japan for a course of study which was to last for two years. That was in 1934. Last year seven more were sent, five from the Harchin district and two Barka Mongols. The Barkas are mostly, for various reasons, somewhat anti-Japanese. These monks are aged between twenty and thirty. The Japanese authorities have asked the Mongol chiefs to send boys like this to study the Buddhist religion as practised in Japan, saying: "Let them take from our religious sects whatever suits them, and reject whatever does not suit." The Japanese Government pays all the expenses of these young priests and pays each a salary in addition.

I had already heard on good authority that it is expected that a new religious leader will, later on, come forward among the Mongols and reform their religious customs. It is quite probable that he will be chosen from among these student monks. At any rate, these monks are likely to form a pro-Japanese influence. It is a clever move, because through a religious leader a great deal can be worked among a people who are greatly influenced by their religion. One will be told that the lamas and monks do not interfere with State affairs, but in a country like Mongolia religion and politics are never far apart.

Some of the Barka Mongols are pro-Soviet, some are pro-Japanese, but the majority are pro-Chinese. They are far away from the area of Chinese encroachment; the Chinese have not robbed *them* of their lands; they are to them just the harmless neighbours of long ago.

A curious event occurred among these Barkas. In 1929 the U.S.S.R. made overtures to them. They are said to have bribed the chief of the Barkas and the head lama of the Ka-gyur monastery, who was an Incarnation, or, as such a one is sometimes called, "A Living Buddha." As a result one of the *hoshuns* went Red, including this Living Buddha. But Chang Tso Lin sent soldiers, who subdued them. The Red element, including the lama, fled into Outer Mongolia, the border of which is close to the Ka-gyur monastery. It is said that the Living Buddha is now in Moscow, but of course he is a Living Buddha no longer. He has given up his position as an Incarnation, his religion, and his property, which was large in amount.

The Mongols of Manchoukuo are taxed somewhat more than they were when under the Chinese, but much more is spent on them than they pay in taxes.

A Mongol who was in a position to know, one in high authority, gave me as his opinion: "The Mongols in Manchoukuo are better off under the Japanese than they were under the Chinese. But they are not receiving from the Japanese what they were led to believe they would receive." And this opinion puts the position in a nutshell.

Let us now turn to Outer Mongolia. These people are more vigorous than the Mongols of Inner Mongolia. Curt in their speech; a tough people. When I was in those parts, Outer Mongolia was nominally independent. All Russian authorities told one so. But there is no doubt that they were entirely under the control of the U.S.S.R.

From the Russians they have received medical benefits. Russian

doctors and veterinary surgeons have helped considerably in the treatment of human beings and animals. The Russians have installed at Urga a munition factory, a textile factory, and a boot factory. They have also opened schools, which, of course, are one of their chief methods of Sovietizing the young generation.

Another good thing the authorities of the U.S.S.R. have done. They have kept the Mongols as true Mongols, somewhat as the fighting type of the pre-Buddhist era. They have reduced the venereal disease, which was universal, and thereby the population of Outer Mongolia should begin to increase instead of decreasing, as it has been doing steadily for the last hundred years or more. Then the assaults on the religion mean a reduction in the numbers of men forbidden to marry, and this also will tend to increase the population.

The Soviet Union allows no Chinese encroachment. She cancelled outright the debts due to the Chinese traders. A good deal the Soviet Union has done for Outer Mongolia, and one might dream of a new and stronger Mongolia growing from this nucleus. But the Communism and the anti-religion of the Soviet Union by far outweigh these advantages.

A high Soviet official informed me that the priests and the lay people are allowed to practise their own religion. "We have chased a few lamas away; that is all." But this does not represent the true facts of the case. The Soviet authorities closed the monastery of the Grand Lama of Urga, who stood to Mongolia in almost the same relationship as the Dalai Lama stood to Tibet. They have not allowed his Re-incarnation to be discovered and proclaimed. This Incarnation has always of late been a Tibetan, which constitutes another connection between the Mongols and the Tibetans. The last Incarnation was born in the village outside Lhasa, at the foot of the Dalai Lama's palace. The Tibetans say that they will search for a successor, but they have not done so up to date.

About three years ago there was an outbreak of rebellion in Outer Mongolia, which was put down only with considerable difficulty. According to an Outer Mongol monk, two Red Mongols washed their clothes in a cauldron in a monastery, the cauldron being one used for boiling the tea for the monks. The monks, enraged, beat the two Reds so severely that they died. The matter was reported to Urga, which sent forty carloads of soldiers, but these soldiers joined the monks. The officer in charge of them fled and returned to Urga. Heavy punishment was eventually inflicted on the rebels, but the rebellion showed

the Reds how strong the disaffection was. From that time people have been allowed, to some extent, to practise their religion and to hold property. There are, however, many who say that this easing of the Soviet rule is designed to encourage their opponents to believe that they are more free, and in this belief to express their opinions more freely. Thus the Soviet will ascertain who are their most serious opponents.

In this connection it is often argued, and rightly argued, that the information about Outer Mongolia comes from refugees from that country, and therefore such information is tainted. Here one must remark that the Soviet have closed the borders of Outer Mongolia, so that few can enter it and few can come out of it. In fact, the Outer Mongols are held as prisoners within their own territory. So people have to get what information they can.

Fortunately for myself, I used to receive information when I was in Tibet, and through Tibetan friends in China. Such information is partly, at any rate, from Mongols who are not refugees. Several hundred Mongols are always resident in the large monasteries near Lhasa. You meet them also in other parts of Tibet, and you meet also Mongol traders and Mongol pilgrims. These people go to Outer Mongolia in the ordinary course. It is not easy for them to go in and out, but they can do so. Tibetans are allowed to go in and out. One can get impartial information from people like these.

Russia, both Tsarist and Soviet, has always shown friendship to Tibet. Russians and others who know Russia, when travelling in Tibet, find many characteristics—the wide open spaces, the buildings, the dances of the peasantry, and so forth—common to both nations. It is easy for Russia to regard Tibet as one to come within her sphere. Meanwhile she has endeavoured to make friends. Unavailingly, indeed, because of the anti-religion, but she will continue to try. You will occasionally find a Mongol take out a Tibetan instead of a Mongol passport to increase his chance of safety, in case he should come up against the U.S.S.R.

Yes, the U.S.S.R. would like to be friendly with Tibet, but Tibetan opinion is strongly adverse to them. The Dalai Lama was against—one might say violently against—them, and warned his people accordingly. The Pan-chen Lama gave a like warning to his followers. Every testimony that I have had from Tibetans, whether in Tibet or elsewhere, is to the effect that the Outer Mongols are in a miserable condition.

Taking the evidence as a whole, there is no doubt that the U.S.S.R. have waged war on the religion of Outer Mongolia and have done it great injury. There is no doubt whatever of that.

Ponies are one of the chief products of Outer Mongolia. These have to be sold, and many must be exported through Inner Mongolia to China. When I was in Inner Mongolia some Inner Mongols went into Outer Mongolia and bought ponies there. They found an atmosphere of fear and suspicion everywhere. When any of them happened to meet a number of Mongols together, the latter would not utter a word, except as to the purchase of the ponies. Even when asked the ordinary formal question of courtesy, " Are you in good health?" they remained silent. Only when by chance meeting one away by himself he would speak a little.

The Outer Mongols are not allowed to live within about thirty miles of their own frontier. They are, indeed, prisoners. If they attempt to cross the frontier without leave, they are liable to be shot at sight by the frontier guards. If any Inner Mongols or others come into Outer Mongolia without leave, they also are liable to be shot at sight. If the conditions in Outer Mongolia are as good as the U.S.S.R. maintain, what is the necessity for all this?

The young Buriat officer whom I met at Hailar said to me: " There is no country in the whole world that is suffering as Outer Mongolia is suffering to-day." Another Buriat expressed his opinion that the only hope of overthrowing the Red Government in Outer Mongolia would be through the revolt of the Red Mongol troops. But the Red Mongol troops are, of course, treated with every consideration by the Soviet.

About the Buriats I know very little. One met them, indeed, in Tibet. They used to come twice yearly to Lhasa with the caravans from Mongolia. One meets them in Northern China, and most of all one meets them in North-Western Manchoukuo, whither they have fled from their own country.

It is largely through the Buriats that the U.S.S.R. control Outer Mongolia, with Russians in the key positions. The Buriats, though pure Mongols, have been under Russian rule for over two hundred years, and therefore understand Russian ideas, both ancient and modern. They are of great assistance to Russia in spreading her influence through Outer Mongolia. But the Soviet interference with their religion and property appears to have turned many of them into enemies of Russia. One constantly hears that it is in great measure through the lowest sections of the Buriat community, such as are

of small intelligence, poor, and of bad character, that the U.S.S.R. *maintain and extend their hold on Outer Mongolia.*

Let us now consider the relations of Mongolia with China, with the U.S.S.R., and with Japan.

It is difficult for those who live in the Treaty Ports, or elsewhere in the interior of China, to understand the feeling of the Tibetans and Mongols towards China. One meets charming Chinese men and women; one is surrounded by completely admirable Chinese servants. But the Mongols and Tibetans do not find the Chinese at all like this. If you visit either country and show sympathy with the people, win their confidence, and talk freely with them—preferably in their own language—you will see how different their view of the Chinese is. I suppose all of us, members of the different nations of the world, are apt to be two-headed, according to the type of people with whom we are dealing. The Chinese officials deal with the Tibetans and Mongols on a different basis from that which they employ when dealing with Europeans and Americans. And so it comes that the Tibetan welcomes the Chinese trader, and the Chinese doctor, and no doubt Chinese in some other capacities. But not as a rule the Chinese official, and never the Chinese soldier. For the official and the soldier not only take away his independence, but often bring in Communism as well. The majority of Tibetans abominate Communism, all the more because it might be possible to introduce it among the poorest classes.

As far as I gathered, the feelings of the Mongols in these respects are pretty much the same as the feelings of the Tibetans. Of course, the Mongols have lived for many hundreds of years in the proximity of China. Many have been attracted by Chinese civilization; many have attended Chinese schools. But Mongolia has not been absorbed as Manchuria has been absorbed. The national feeling among the Mongols is far stronger than among the Manchous.

The Chinese encroachment on the land of Mongolia, to which I have referred earlier, has been a most serious injury to the Mongols. That land has been taken away from them forcibly, large contingents of Chinese soldiers being brought up to drive the Mongols out. If a Mongol loses his land he loses everything, for it is by the land that he lives. Even if he were admitted to cultivate in these new stretches of land taken up for Chinese cultivation, he could not compete with the

Chinese in farming. These are naturally far more expert in farming than the Mongol nomad is, and their standard of life is lower than the nomad's standard. The Tibetans, indeed, have taken to agriculture in large quantities, but they do not have to compete against the Chinese in this. For the Mongol Chinese encroachment means, if not extermination, at any rate a much lower standard of living.

And sometimes, when the soil of Mongol pastures is exceptionally light, that soil, put to the plough, is blown off by the strong Mongolian wind. The land then becomes barren, useless for plough or pasture.

The Chinese are a great people, and in spite of all these injuries inflicted by them you will find among many Mongols an affectionate regard for China, especially, no doubt, among those who live far from the Chinese encroachment areas, and are therefore not threatened by encroachment themselves. But many have suffered from Chinese War Lords, or from Chinese Communism, or from Chinese encroachment, or from all three combined.

And now for the U.S.S.R. The Tsarist system was in some ways well suited for governing foreign countries. Russia was prepared to allow a subject race to continue to rule themselves almost entirely. She did not try to force her own methods of government on another nation; on the contrary, she encouraged them to manage their own internal affairs in their own way. In return for her protection she usually insisted on beneficial trade agreements and other outside advantages.

But since Russia has become Soviet this attitude is more than counterbalanced in Mongol eyes by the Soviet principles. Mongols might have tolerated the ruthless breaking down of their feudal and social system, but they cannot stand the Soviet attack on their religion, and so now they hate the Russian yoke. The Sovietization of the young is gradually winning more and more to the side of the U.S.S.R., but so far the balance is still strongly against them. For all pupils are not Sovietized; the religious influence of the parents carries great weight on the other side.

It is the destiny of Russia to press southwards through Asia. In the opinion of a leading member of the Tokyo Foreign Office, Tsarist Russia had three lines of approach—namely, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Sinkiang. He added—that was nineteen months ago—"The road through Manchuria is closed, and if Soviet Russia now advances through Inner Mongolia it will mean a clash between her and Japan. Her easiest approach is through Sinkiang." That is the line that the

U.S.S.R. have taken, and they will no doubt tighten their hold on Sinkiang more and more.

Let us now turn to the Japanese, that nation of mixed descent. Said one Japanese to me: "I think we originated from the south. We have Formosan blood in us, and Filipino. And an admixture of Chinese blood, and of Mongol blood from the north. Many say also that we have a partial descent from a tribe in the Caucasus. In fact, we are mixed like a cocktail."

The foreign policy of Japan is under the control of the fighting services. Here Japan speaks with two voices. For the Army desires extension westwards through Manchoukuo, while the Navy favours a southward advance. The Navy calls attention to the tropical foodstuffs in the Southern Pacific, and the oil, cotton, iron, etc., obtainable. The Japanese Navy needs oil badly; there is not nearly enough in Japan, Manchoukuo, and Sakhalin. The Dutch East Indies are a tempting prize for them. There is a large Japanese emigration southwards, to the South Sea Islands, to the Filipines, and elsewhere. The share of Japan's foreign trade with British India, Dutch East Indies, Australia, New Zealand, the Filipines, Malay, and Siam rose from 18·7 per cent. in 1929 to 28·4 in 1934.

But the expansion westwards to the continent of Asia is less risky, on the whole, for the Japanese. There they will meet with less opposition than in the advance southwards. Japan has captured Korea and Manchoukuo. She desires Inner Mongolia also, as a buffer against the Soviet Union on the north. I talked to many people, and there is not time to recount all the various opinions, but the impression was strongly left upon my mind that Japan will eventually gain the greater part of Outer Mongolia as well.

She has her weak points, as we all have. For her, perhaps, her weakest in dealing with the Mongols is the lack of trust and excessive bureaucracy, to which I have already referred. But Buddhism is one of her religions. She is not entirely against feudalism, although she insists on the tribal chiefs being efficient, turning out the useless ones in favour of others more talented and more energetic. She is extremely powerful. And so I think she will gain most of Outer Mongolia.

Japan has a very large population. She feels it deeply that she is barred out of America, Canada, and Australia. It is better for us British that she should go into Manchoukuo rather than southwards to Borneo, Malaya, and Australia. And there is no harm in remembering that Japan helped us in the World War.

The diversity between the aims of the Japanese Army and Navy is one reason for the apparent lack of adroitness of Japanese diplomacy in dealing with other Powers in Eastern Asia. We might have expected that Japan would have striven to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union on one side and Britain and America on the other. She might have done this by demarcating spheres of influence with the Soviet Union, and so have been free for southward expansion. A more conciliatory Japanese attitude on naval limitation and other subjects would have brought her into a friendlier position as regards America and Britain, and would have strengthened her position against the U.S.S.R. But this rivalry between the Japanese Army and Navy stands in the way.

It is, of course, possible—in fact, probable—that the struggle between Japan and Russia will be settled, not by political strategy, but by war. Russia has doubled the track of the Trans-Siberian Railway, and has made every effort to increase her population in Eastern Asia. If war should break out it is difficult to forecast results, and here I speak as a complete amateur. But as far as I can see it appears likely that Japan would win that war, even though the Russian soldiers are of a fine type. I saw many of them on the Trans-Siberian Railway; in fact, through Eastern Asia quite half the passengers in the dining-car were soldiers; and they looked physically strong and hardy. But we do not know yet whether they have the right mentality to be good fighters. We may doubt whether the mass of the population, especially the peasantry, would be sufficiently keen to go off to Eastern Asia and fight Japan. A war with Japan would be a heavy war, and the Russians recently settled in Eastern Asia would not be sufficient to meet it. And there are many who believe that a heavy war like this would cause a breakdown in the Soviet political structure. The Japanese body politic is more firmly based.

It is said that the Russian Air Force at Vladivostock would bomb the inflammable wooden cities of Japan. But the Russian ownership of Vladivostock is not likely to be long maintained, in view of the Japanese Navy, and of a military advance into the Maritime Province in, perhaps, the direction of Khabarovsk. It seems more likely that the Russians would retire somewhere in the direction of Chita. In any case I do not think that they will succeed in subduing the Japanese, who will be fighting comparatively near their base. And one must bear in mind the cold-blooded determination of the Japanese, their fervent patriotism, their wonderful courage, and their great power of endurance. As for

the Outer Mongols, they dislike the Russians more strongly than the Chinese in Manchoukuo dislike the Japanese. The Chinese, on the whole, want to live in peace. But the Outer Mongols would drive their flocks and herds into the hills and harry the Russians. The Mongol hatred is greater, and their power to injure is greater.

They are also convinced that Japan is the stronger of the two in Eastern Asia. I quote their opinion for what it is worth. Every Mongol who discussed the question with me said that he expected a Japanese victory if such a war broke out.

It appears, therefore, probable that, either by peace or by war, Japan will gain control over the whole, or the greater part, of Mongolia.

The CHAIRMAN: I am not going to say anything about the lecture. We have all been spellbound. But I wish to ask if anyone would like to contribute a few remarks on this interesting and provocative subject.

Mr. LATTIMORE: I have just listened with the very greatest interest to Sir Charles Bell, all the more as he speaks with the unique authority of his Tibetan experience. Mongolia does not stand alone nowadays, if it ever did so. Mongolia is linked with Sinkiang, and Sinkiang is linked with Tibet. And an enormous block of Central Asian territory, which in many respects is internally divided, with a great diversity of races, languages, and religions, is meeting circumstances which are welding it more and more closely together. Sir Charles Bell's relations with the Dalai Lama, and his knowledge of their religion, give him a unique insight into that territory and its problems as a whole. It is not my province to embroider his theme.

Colonel SMALLWOOD: There is a whole string of questions which I should like to ask Sir Charles Bell, but I am afraid my first is taking you a little way away from the subject of Mongolia. Can the lecturer throw any light on a statement I saw lately in the Press to the effect that the Tashi, or Pan-chen Lama, has recently announced that he has found a Re-incarnation of the Dalai Lama, while the Court of Lamas in Tibet have found another?

Secondly, I would like to ask if the lecturer can explain the friendliness that the Japanese have for the Buriats, in view of the fact that Russian influence chiefly enters Manchuria through the Buriats. It is curious that Russian influence should be chiefly brought to bear through the Buriats, and yet that the Buriats should be friends with the Japanese.

One other small question: Whether Sir Charles Bell found in Mon-

golia any copy of the Great Jasa, the Bible of Genghiz Khan? On has read of the great trust and faith that the Mongols had in what on might call their "Mosaic code," handed down to them from Genghi Khan.

Sir CHARLES BELL: I would say that the first thing you have to d in respect of Tibetan news is to distrust most of what you see in th newspapers. If the report is from India, and comes from Delhi o Simla, it may well be a good one, because many of such reports ar inspired by the Indian Government's Foreign Department, and th people there know what is happening better than anybody else in India But if the report comes from Calcutta or from Kalimpong, near the Indo-Tibetan frontier, it is too often unreliable. The Tibetans have no newspapers, and they have to get up an interest in life somehow, so they depend on rumours instead. Tibetan traders on their way from Lhasa to India hear a story, and by the time their caravan reaches Kalimpong that story grows and grows.

In this connection I may remark that I was in Kalimpong when the Dalai Lama died, and astonishing reports reached me about his illness, what he had said, and how, when on the point of death, he revived for a while, spoke, and took a normal meal. Later on, I went into Tibet and met a young fellow in the household of one of the chief noble families of Lhasa. This clerk had actually been with the Dalai Lama when he died, and when I talked to him about these reports I had heard I found that they were absolutely untrue.

I can only say that the matter of the Dalai Lama's Incarnation is not yet settled, and we cannot tell when it will be settled.

As regards the second question, I thought that I had made it clear that Buriats are employed to govern Outer Mongolia under Russian rule. But there are Buriats and Buriats, and a number of the Buriats are strongly discontented; they are keen on their religion, and those are the ones that have fled. Round Hailar alone there are six hundred Buriat families, apart from isolated Buriats. Their property has been confiscated, and they are absolutely on the side of Japan. The Buriats who live in Outer Mongolia and help to govern it are largely people of low position and bad character who have not much to lose. They have, of course, been educated by the Bolsheviks.

With regard to the code of Ching-gis, I have nothing to say.

Sir DENISON ROSS: With regard to the Mongol code, I highly suspect that such a thing has not been in existence for many centuries. Our knowledge of it we owe chiefly to the early Indian historians. It is not

included in the Tibetan Canon, and they have a translation of most o the Mongol scriptures.

Colonel SMALLWOOD: I have seen a translation of the Jasa from th Russian.

Sir DENISON ROSS: Yes, but that was, I think, from Rashid ud-Din' History, where there is some record of it.

A MEMBER: I should just like to say how intensely interesting found the lecture. I felt that we were hearing two lectures: one fron Sir Charles Bell in his own person, and one from a Tibetan of ver high rank who speaks of Mongolia as it appears to him. Mr. Lattimor saw Mongolia from the knowledge he had of China and its culture and now it is very valuable to get it from the Tibetan point of view.

I have stayed in Harbin and paid very high prices for the articles from Tibet which are sold there, and for which the Mongols also were having to pay high prices. And I caught something of the glamour of Tibet for the Mongols, as of something exotic, distant, and expensive.

I would like to ask Sir Charles Bell one question. There was said to be a saying in Urga that the last Bogdo Gamian Lama was the eighth Re-incarnation, which had been predicted as the last. I understand the Russians gave this as an excuse for not looking for another Re-incarnation. I would like to know whether this was true?

Certainly the Buriats are the most intelligent of the Mongols. I do not know why, unless it is because their closer contact with various other peoples in Siberia made them sharpen their wits.

Sir CHARLES BELL: I should be very much inclined to distrust the report that there were only to be eight Re-incarnations of the Bogdo; for this, among other reasons, that the Tibetans of the Sera and Drepung monasteries—which are more like universities and the chief centres of Tibetan religion—would never say, as they did, that they were going to look for a Re-incarnation if there were an accredited prophecy that there were only to be eight Re-incarnations.

There is a prophecy, they say, that there will only be seventeen Incarnations of the Dalai Lama, but they deny the story that there will only be thirteen. The last Dalai Lama was the thirteenth.

Miss Lindgren has hit the right nail on the head about the intelligence of the Buriats. They are said, too, to be expert at mining.

Sir REGINALD JOHNSTON: As the Chairman has invited me to do so, I venture once more to express my strong objection to the use of the term Manchukuo when we are speaking or writing English. Man-

chukuo (more correctly written Manchou-kuo) is a Chinese term meaning "the independent state or country of Manchuria." *Kuo* is not an integral part of the name, because it is merely the ordinary Chinese word for an independent country, and every such country is, in Chinese, designated a *kuo*. England, for example, is Ying-*kuo*, France is Fa-*kuo*, Belgium is Pi-*kuo*, China is Chung-*kuo*, and so on. There is no necessity for us to use this purely Chinese word when we are speaking English, and to do so is contrary to our accepted linguistic usage when we speak of foreign countries. As for Manchou, this has been a recognized Chinese name for the region in question for centuries, and no change was made in that name when the country was separated from China after September, 1931. The word Manchou was long ago Anglicized, quite suitably, as Manchuria, and as the Chinese name for the country, Manchou, has not been changed, it was obviously unnecessary for us to drop its English equivalent. The fact that no Englishman unacquainted with Chinese pronounces the Chinese term correctly is an additional reason for adhering to our own quite satisfactory Anglicization. The word Manchuria is just as applicable to an independent State as to a group of provinces, and therefore in continuing to use it we cannot possibly offend anyone—Chinese, Japanese, or Manchurian. I may add that *The Times* and other newspapers are committing a tautology when they refer to "the State of Manchukuo," because that phrase means nothing more or less than "*the State of the State* of Manchuria."

Such are my linguistic objections to the use of the term Manchoukuo. My political objections are perhaps even more serious. Manchoukuo means, as I have said, "the independent State or country of Manchuria," and it is therefore never used by the Government and people of China, who have not recognized the State's independence. As Great Britain has not recognized its independence either, our persistent use of the term Manchou-kuo is not only technically incorrect, but may even be described as insulting to China, though, of course, no insult is intended.

My objections to the term Manchou-kuo are therefore threefold: (1) It runs counter to our established practice of describing foreign countries by names which accord with the genius of our own language—as when we say Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain, etc.—all Anglicizations of the names by which those countries are known by their own people. "Manchuria" is not a Chinese word, but is a convenient, euphonious, and long-accepted Anglicization of the Chinese "Man-

chou," and the change of political status (whether recognized or not) gives us no valid reason for discarding it. (2) It wrongly assumes that there has been a change in the Chinese name of Manchuria. There has, in fact, been no change. (3) It implies our recognition of Manchuria's independence, and is therefore inconsistent with our declared policy of non-recognition and is an affront to China.

Sir Reginald concluded by referring briefly to his own travels on the fringes of Mongolia and Tibet, and to his interview with the late Dalai Lama when that potentate, after his flight from Lhasa on the approach of the Younghusband expedition, was residing in a monastery on the sacred mountain of Wu-t'ai in the Chinese province of Shansi.

Mr. PETER FLEMING answered for *The Times*.

Mlle. MAILLART: I should like to ask Sir Charles Bell to solve a question. When in Kumbum I should much have liked to ask the Lama if he thought the present state of Buddhism in Outer Mongolia was sound, whether it was only in a temporary eclipse, or whether it was really nearing its end. I should have liked not only the opinion of the Kumbum Head Lama, but also the opinion of any Head Lama capable of knowing about modern affairs.

Sir CHARLES BELL: When you ask, "What is the present state of the Buddhist religion in Outer Mongolia?" you ask a question which it is difficult to answer, for when you ask Mongols about it you get very different replies. It may be that the Mongols themselves do not like to say that religion is going, and that they therefore give rather too favourable an account of those who refuse to give up their religion and who are sticking to it, and ignore the others. The Outer Mongols cannot show their religion much at present, and it is difficult to say whether it has been killed or only driven underground. It is, however, an extraordinary thing what an extremely strong hold Buddhism has. Even where they are in contact with Christian missionaries—as, for example, in Darjeeling, where missionaries can practise their religion and carry on propaganda as much as they wish—there are very few converts. I spoke to Dr. Eriksson in Inner Mongolia about that. And he said that though, as a Christian missionary, he wished he could say that Buddhism was losing its hold on the Mongols of Inner Mongolia, he could not truthfully say that it was doing so.

No doubt in Outer Mongolia, when the Russians teach anti-religion, they must be making a big advance with the boys and girls there. But it is still difficult to say how much they are really weaned, because a child may give assent to his teacher at school, but at home he is under

the influence of his parents, and this is almost always exerted in the *opposite direction.*

It is a matter for speculation, if the Russians *do* conquer *that* religion, whether the Mongols will go back to the pre-Buddhist stage, to a religion of a fighting type. There are now comparatively few Mongols and many Russians, and the former are bound to be heavily influenced by the latter.

Sir DENISON *Ross*: I think we must all admire, not only the eloquence, knowledge, and learning with which Sir Charles Bell has spoken, but also the patience he has shown in answering difficult questions. I think we have heard all the good Mongolians; we have had a great treat. And I will now ask you to give a very hearty vote of thanks, first to the lecturer, and then to those who have helped to contribute to this discussion.

DEFENCE IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE*

By GENERAL SIR KENNETH WIGRAM, G.C.B., C.S.I

ALTHOUGH the subject matter of this lecture is Defence in the North-West Frontier Province, you all know the Frontier well enough to realize that the problem of Frontier defence is by no means peculiar to that province, and includes the defence of Baluchistan. Thanks to Sir Robert Sandeman's energies the problem there is not nearly so acute. I do not, therefore, propose to spend time on the Baluchistan problem; suffice it to say that generally speaking the principles which apply to the N.W.F.P. apply equally to Baluchistan.

By the Durand settlement of 1894, all the tribes inhabiting the territories east of the Durand Line were recognized as belonging to a British "sphere of influence." The Frontier as demarcated was an arbitrary topographical line which for the most part followed watersheds and bore little or no relation to ethnographical conditions. This has raised complications on more than one occasion. Whatever may be the modern interpretation of a "sphere of influence," I personally have no doubt in my mind that both parties, and probably the world in general, recognized that in fact the settlement constituted tribal territory as British territory and the tribes as British subjects. I mention this because, thanks to a somewhat loose use of the term "Independent Territory," I have on more than one occasion heard it stated that tribal territory is not British territory, that the tribesmen are not British subjects, and that we have no right to enter their territory or to control their destinies. That, in my opinion, is a dangerous doctrine, since it serves as an excuse to avoid the announcement of a long-term policy and encourages opportunism.

My contention is that British territory extends up to the Durand Line, that the tribesmen are British subjects, and that both in their interests and in our interests our aim should be to establish some form of control up to the Durand Line in order that we may improve the economic and political conditions under which these tribesmen live and move and have their being.

* Lecture given on November 18, 1936, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bt., in the Chair.

In support of this contention may I quote an eminent statesman:

> "I take it to be an axiom of Frontier administration that a tribe or group of tribes situated between two comparatively powerful States must be under the influence of one or other of these States."

The tribesman himself is usually regarded as an arch villain, Satan in disguise, and is described as dirty, cruel, unreliable, and treacherous. Cruel he certainly is, as is proved by his punishment for an unfaithful wife. He cuts off her nose. There is a wonderful lady doctor, a medical missionary working in Tank. Her main line of business is to give these dear ladies new noses and she has a large practice in this line. She was rather shocked when I told her she was encouraging immorality. And yet at the same time there is something likeable about the tribesman. He is a man, with an amazing power of endurance, and a whimsical sense of humour. He never ceases bluffing and roars with laughter when his bluff is called. He is a fine fighter with an innate military instinct and is a foe worthy of our steel. He is proud of himself, of his clan, of his country. He possesses both the will and the skill to resist, the former by reason of his love of independence, the latter by reason of his rifle. In mentality he is a true oriental in that he loves intrigue; wishes always to be on the winning side and therefore prefers to sit on the fence until he sees which way the cat is going to jump; and is always on the look-out for some means of saving his face. It is these two characteristics which render speed both in decision and action of such importance in our dealings with the tribesmen, and inaction so dangerous. And yet how common is inaction! It is so easy, it does not involve the assumption of responsibility, it postpones the necessity for decision. Inaction, especially in the East, never has got and never will get anyone anywhere except into a mess.

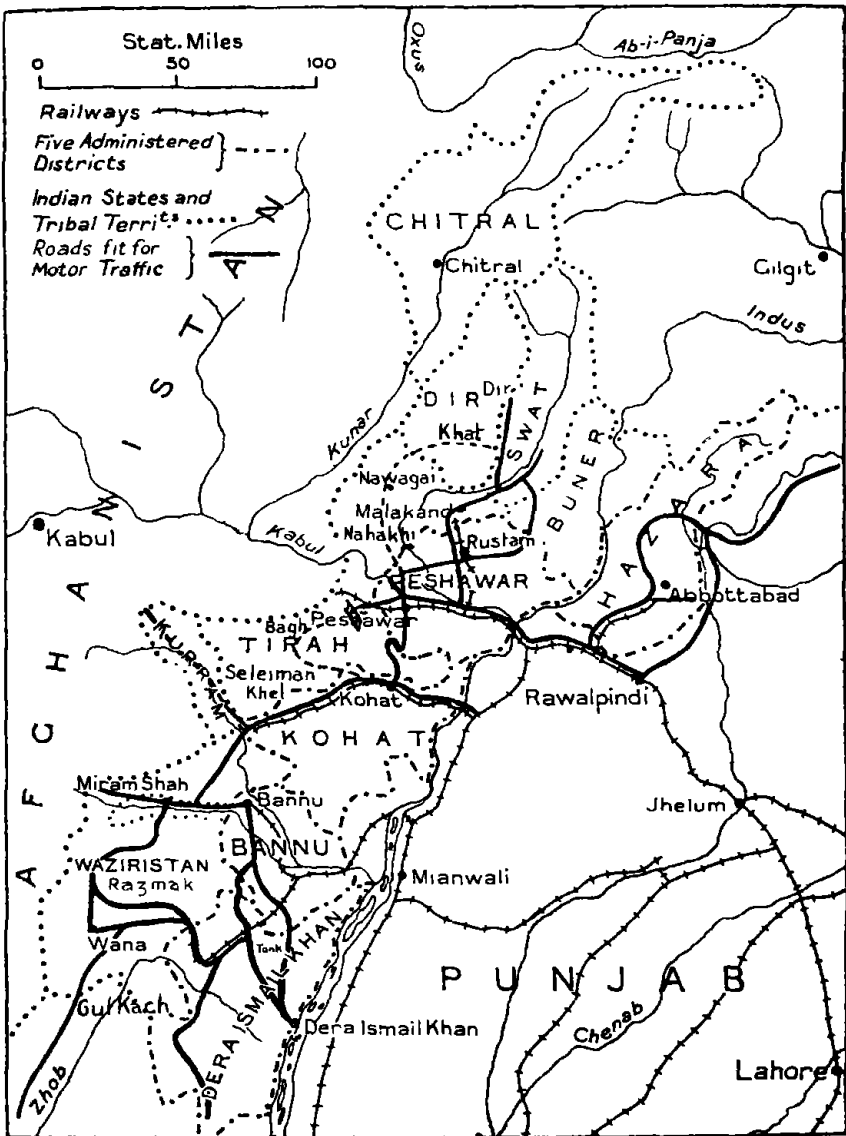
The formula which always guided me in giving advice about our dealings with the tribesmen was: Fear, fence, face, fanaticism.

Fear, in that the tribesman is in no sense of the term a superman and is, like anyone else, anxious to preserve his life and subject to fear of losing it.

Fence. With the exception of the immediate offenders, the neighbouring sections will as a rule sit on the fence in the critical stages waiting for the result of the opening engagement.

Face. They are always on the lookout for some excuse to save their faces.

Fanaticism. Once *Jehad* is proclaimed they become mad dogs and reason goes to the winds.

The problem is to provide them, and as rapidly as possible, with the

means of saving their faces, and so induce them to come down on our side of the fence, and the means, surely, an early display of adequate force.

I should like to read you the Mahsud boast which is typical of the mentality of the tribes.

"While kingdoms and dynasties had passed away, they alone of all Afghan tribes had remained free, and armies of kings had never penetrated their strongholds. They recognized no law or rule but their own. From generation to generation the plains of India had been their rightful hunting ground."

In temperament they are mercurial, and one never knows from day to day what the morrow will bring forth. Only this last spring the Wazirs kidnapped a Hindu girl from Bannu. The police got hold of her and took her back for safe custody. Within two days no less than 3,000 armed Wazirs had collected within 25 miles of Bannu, threatening to attack, loot, and burn the city unless she was given back. Just one Hindu prostitute! and Razmak brigade and the Scouts turned out and the Bannu garrison standing to.

The two factors which, perhaps more than any others, complicate our dealings with the tribes are their attitude towards Kabul and the blood feud.

Although jealous of control by Kabul, and ready at times to raid and to commit acts of aggression into Afghanistan—for example, in the recent incursion into Khost, when some 12,000 of our tribesmen crossed the border and attacked Matun—they consider themselves bound by their own code of honour and religion to protect Afghan territory against invasion by the Ferenghi. Again, having of their own motion offended against the Government of India, they do not hesitate to appeal to Kabul for help against Government forces which may be sent to exact reparation—for example, during the Mohmand operations in 1933 and 1935 the Afghan border ran some six to ten miles to the west of our line of advance. We knew that largish contingents of Afghan Mohmands were fighting against us. We also knew that our Mohmands were using Afghan territory as a sanctuary—in all our dealings with the tribes, therefore, the international aspect perforce looms large, and military considerations have frequently to give way to political expediency.

The only remedy I can see to the blood feud is to remove the means by which it is kept alive—namely, the rifle. I shall have more to say about this later.

Up till 1919 our general policy on the Frontier was to avoid any new responsibility unless absolutely required by actual strategical necessities, and by the protection of the British-Indian border, and to refrain

from any unnecessary interference with the tribes; a policy of inactio *where circumstances permitted and action only when necessity com pelled. During that period the action was limited to blockade or t punitive expeditions of the burn and scuttle type which merely left a* legacy of hate and created a desire for revenge.

That, thank God, has been changed, and in place of the punitive expedition we have substituted occupation and the establishment of political control as in Waziristan, and a big road construction programme into areas in which we at present exercise no control—*e.g.*, Bajaur and Tirah. In furtherance of this policy it is now generally agreed that if and when we find ourselves compelled to send a military force into tribal territory, that force will not withdraw without leaving a road behind it. As an example of this I should like to draw attention to the Mohmand operations of 1933 and 1935, when in 1933 we made a road to Yusuf Khel in the Gandab Valley and in 1935 extended that road to Nahakki.

This road policy is inclined to be criticized on the grounds, first, that there is no advantage in making roads unless we are prepared to protect and maintain them and, second, that if we do protect and maintain them we shall be committed to heavy recurring expenditure. Personally, I am inclined to disagree with this view. Once you have cut a road along a hillside, that road will always remain and nothing the tribesmen can do will render it impassable for long. In 1935 Badshah Gul and his merry men spent ten days destroying the road to Ghalanai unmolested. On the third day of our advance we were able to pass 6-in. Hows. to Ghalanai under their own steam. As for protection, I personally am inclined to query the wisdom of applying the rules regarding the sanctity of roads which are essential in the Khyber, in the Kurram, and in Waziristan, to roads in these back areas by insisting that offences committed on these roads are offences against Government and will be punished, for that commits Government to taking action and at once, however inconvenient it may be, or to losing face if action is not taken. Although a firm believer in speed and hard hitting in all our dealings with the tribes, I dislike being dictated to by the tribes and being forced to take military action solely in order to discharge a threat when our bluff is called.

Our motto should be reparation certainly, but reparation in our time and at our pace.

Although perhaps not so effective as military occupation in that it may involve some delay in the establishment of political control and

retard the rate of the processes of civilization by means of the provision of amenities in the shape of hospitals and schools, the new road construction programme recently introduced by the Government of India at the instigation of Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode bids fair to prove of the greatest service in enabling Government to extend the sphere of political control into areas hitherto denied, and to despatch a military force into tribal territory at very short notice should necessity arise.

The main features of this programme include the construction of motor transport roads from the Swat Valley to Rustam through the Buner country—a nasty inaccessible block of tribal territory on the flank of our main line of advance to the Malakand which would form our line of communication in operations north of the Swat River; from Dir territory via Khar and Nawagai to join the existing road at Nahakki—a road of the utmost importance enabling us to get behind the Shamozai and Utman Khel, to deal direct with the Salarzai and other Bajaur tribes, and to converge on the Mohmand country from the north in conjunction with a movement via the Gandab Valley from the south; from Ali Masjid to China Bazar; from Bara to Bagh and round to join the existing road in the Marai Salient. The final alignment of this road is not yet decided. It may be extended from China Bazar to Bagh, though this would be difficult as it runs across the grain of the country. In addition, the Razmak-Wana road will be bridged throughout, and bridges will be provided over the Gomal at Gul Kach and over the Zhob at Sandeman. When complete the system will provide an all-weather motor road from Dir to Quetta with spurs through Bajaur and Tirah.

There are some who argue that the programme fails in that it does not visualize the permanent occupation with military forces of Bajaur and Tirah, and that without such occupation effective control can never be exercised. However desirable occupation may be, and I am the first to admit its efficacy in Waziristan, occupation in sufficient force of these enormous areas would not be a practical proposition with the army in India at its present size, for nothing would be more conducive to tribal unrest than weak garrisons without any hitting power. Although the last to advocate any reduction of our garrison in Waziristan, I am also the last to advocate permanent garrisons in Bajaur and Tirah, and knowing that entry is assured by a good road, I would prefer to keep my forces fluid ready to operate in either area when the call came than to lock up more troops in permanent garrisons.

The changes in Waziristan during the past twelve years are little short of remarkable. In 1924, when I visited Waziristan for the first time, every man carried a rifle, and what is more brought it down to the ready with his finger on the trigger the moment he saw your car. One never saw any women or children; they only moved about after dark. Now only about 50 per cent. of the men carry rifles at all, and of these 75 per cent. carry them in covers. The women move freely about the roads and work in the fields. The children either throw stones at the cars when moving or flock round them when halted and demand " Baksheesh." Buses crammed wih tribesmen, the majority of whom are armed, run daily to the cities in the plain. The standard of living has risen—all drink tea and smoke cigarettes. The style of clothing has improved both amongst men and women. Smart waistcoats, silk lungis, gaudy shirts and blouses, trinkets. But it is amongst the children where we are doing our best work by creating a generation who have no fear of the white man and who regard him as a friend.

Now in considering the defence of the Frontier we have to consider two separate problems which, though intimately interrelated, each require special treatment.

First there is the normal day to day administration and maintenance of law and order, which includes the settlement of family, section and tribal disputes, the arrest of offenders and outlaws, the rounding up of raiding gangs, and other cognate matters which may be classified as normal peace-time duties of watch and ward. These are the functions of the political officer, who has at his disposal certain civil armed forces consisting of scouts, militias, levies, khassadars and Frontier constabulary. These forces are in no way under the Commander-in-Chief or the local Military Commander in peace, nor is the Governor or the local political officer under any obligation to consult them about their activities. During this phase the regular forces stand by ready, and I may say eager, to act in aid of the civil power, and the political officer has the right to call for their services at his discretion. The degree of liaison maintained depends to a certain extent on personalities, though, generally speaking, it is of the closest order, and the system works well. As a matter of principle there is, however, one important objection to the system—namely, that the civil armed forces may at any time find themselves committed to a task which is beyond their capacity to deal with alone, may find themselves opposed by a formidable concentration of tribesmen, and may have to withdraw in a hurry, or even

worse, may suffer a reverse. Incidents of that kind cannot be ignored or be allowed to go unpunished and Government may find itself committed to a military expedition. In this respect the system is defective.

The second phase comes into being when, the situation having passed beyond the control of the political officer and his civil armed forces, the military are called in. At this stage control of the operations, including political control and control of the civil armed forces, passes to the Military Commander working under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. In practice the transfer of political control is not automatic, each case being judged on its merits—*e.g.*, during the Khost incursion political control did not pass to the military. During the Mohmand operations political control only passed when the force advanced from Ghalanai. The procedure is as follows: The Governor, who is also agent to the Governor-General, after consulting his military and air commanders, puts up to the Government of India a recommendation as to the object and scope of the operations he considers necessary, and the Government of India in their turn delegate to the Commander-in-Chief the control of such operations.

Should a state of war be declared the control of operations would automatically devolve on to the Commander-in-Chief concurrently with the issue of the order to mobilize.

On the Frontier, more perhaps than in other regions, speedy and reliable information is of vital importance, since serious trouble can often be averted by anticipatory action in the shape of a display of force. During the past few years there has been established in Peshawar a combined Intelligence Bureau subordinate to the Criminal Investigation Department, and consisting of officers drawn from the police, the political department, the army and the air force. Though still in its infancy, this bureau is shaping well, and the volume and quality of information it produced during the Mohmand operations was of a high order.

Now I should just like to draw your attention to what I like to call the Constitutional aspect of the Defence of the Frontier.

The responsibility for the defence of India is at present vested in the Governor-General in Council, working through the Commander-in-Chief, who is himself a Member of Council. Under the new Constitution the responsibility for defence rests with the Governor-General alone, the Commander-in-Chief being the supreme commander of all the forces and the technical adviser of the Governor-General on ques-

tions of strategy, war preparation and the conduct of war. He will have no political status.

Early in this century that portion of British India which lies trans-Indus and which marches with tribal territory was part of the province of the Punjab. *Lord Curzon realized that it was impracticable for Government effectively to discharge their particular responsibility when* working through the medium of an intermediary Provincial Government. He consequently separated the area trans-Indus from the Punjab and constituted it a new province—namely, the North-West Frontier Province—under a Chief Commissioner who was also agent to the Governor-General. This brought Government in direct touch with Frontier affairs.

Some four years ago the status of the North-West Frontier Province was raised to that of a province with its own Governor. The Governor, however, continued to act in the dual capacity of Governor and agent to the Governor-General.

In essence this is a reversion to the old system since it has interposed a Provincial Government between the Government of India and the Frontier. In practice there has been but little change, though I personally have noticed indications of increasing reluctance on the part of the Government of India to disagree with and openly to disapprove of advice tendered by the Governor. This is only natural since a Governor carries far bigger guns than a Chief Commissioner.

As I see it this situation may become still more aggravated when the North-West Frontier Province becomes an Autonomous Province under the new Constitution since, with the best will in the world, the Governor will not be able to avoid being influenced, to some extent at any rate, by the provincial aspect, and we may find defence subordinated to provincial requirements. Moreover, as Governor of an Autonomous Province, his word will presumably carry even more weight than as Governor of a province subordinate to the Government of India.

It is interesting and not perhaps entirely irrelevant to examine very briefly the system practised by the French in Morocco under Marshal Lyautey, the soldier administrator, since in many respects there is a marked resemblance between their problem and ours.

In essence the French system comprises a deliberate policy of nibbling followed by systematic absorption by peaceful penetration. Military command, including intelligence and subsequent territorial control, was concentrated under a single authority. Military disposi-

tions consisted in strong concentrations at nodal points. Military action was regarded merely as a prelude to civilization in the shape of the development of roads and telegraphs and the improvement of economic conditions such as agriculture, housing and the general standard of living. Their methods were first the establishment of confidence by political contact; next, occupation by military forces which also assumed responsibility for the protection of the loyal elements; and, finally, the economic development of the area, including the provision of amenities such as markets, hospitals and schools.

What appeals to me is the unqualified recognition of the objective; the unwavering determination to reach that objective; the orderly way in which they set to work to do it; and, finally, the unity of command and control in both the political and military spheres. As to methods, the salient points are the avoidance of risk of reverse by the display of overwhelming force; insistence on the disarmament of the tribesmen; the importance attached to the opening up of markets; and no withdrawal from territory once occupied. It is, however, only fair to state that the French sphere of influence does not march with a sovereign state which is also a member of the League of Nations.

In comparing the French system with our system you will, I think, admit that, in accepting the new road construction policy, Government has taken a definite step towards recognizing as their objective the extension of control throughout their sphere of influence. That, however, is bound to be a slow process. Meanwhile certain anomalies exist which, from an administrative point of view, are even now inconvenient, and may become more so under provincial autonomy, and which, from a military point of view, are a handicap if not a menace to our defence dispositions. I refer particularly to that intrusion of a belt of tribal territory east and west through the Kohat Pass which renders direct communication between Peshawar and Kohat unreliable, and from which raiding gangs can operate with impunity against our lines of communication.

Disarmament has frequently been discussed and as frequently dismissed as impracticable. In spite of that it still remains the crux of the problem, for it is the possession of arms more than anything else which keeps alive the blood feud, which provides the means by which the tribesman can exercise his skill to resist, and which encourages him to practise his will to resist. It is argued, in all good faith, that a prelude to disarmament must be the provision of adequate protection against marauders from Afghanistan and from our own tribes over whom we

do not exercise sufficient control to enforce disarmament. It is also argued that we ourselves have no control over the sources of supply to make disarmament effective. In themselves these arguments are valid, but to me they savour of defeatism. We pay thousands of Khassadars annually to protect our roads. Disarm the tribes and the roads will no longer need protection, and the Khassadars will be free to protect the country generally against marauders. That, in essence, was the way the Wali of Swat effected a measure of disarmament. It would involve a fairly large capital outlay since the existing rifles would have to be purchased, but that money would be invested in land, and this should tend to stability since it would increase the number of individuals with a stake in the country. In any case the matter is, in my opinion, of such supreme importance that the presence of difficulties is, in itself, no excuse for doing nothing.

To set up unity of command and control under a single authority will prove a far more difficult matter. *Prima facie* is it really wise to attempt to deal with a problem in which the transition from peace to war and back again to peace is generally fortuitous and always rapid, and in which considerations of defence must always be paramount, by divided responsibility and by dual control? So long as the trans-Indus area was under a Chief Commissioner directly responsible to the Government of India, the internal administration of this area was controlled by an executive authority, and the " close border " policy—indirect control of tribal territory from without—was the order of the day, the system worked, mainly because those responsible for working it made it work. Consider for a moment the changed conditions. The " close border " policy abandoned, and replaced by a modified " forward policy "; regular military forces in occupation of large tracts of tribal territory; the administration of the province controlled by Indian ministers responsible to the Governor. Even in the régime of a Chief Commissioner the interests of Government and the interests of the province were at times in conflict, but the scales were weighted in favour of Government. When a Governor's province was created the balance was, to some extent, changed in favour of the province. With an autonomous province with its own ministers may it not be that the balance will still further be changed, and that in future the scales may be weighted in favour of the province? In my opinion, and I merely give it for what it is worth, I consider that with provincial autonomy the administration and control of tribal territory will have to be separated from the province. I further suggest that when that

separation does take place the administration and control of tribal territory should be placed under a Military Governor who would command all the forces both regular and irregular, and who, assisted by political officers, would be responsible for the political work with the tribes.

A Governor's job under the new Constitution is going to be a whole-time job, and more particularly so in the N.W.F.P. I believe he is to have a deputy for tribal territory. That may relieve the Governor of some of the detail, but it adds one more link in the chain of communication between the Frontier and the Governor-General.

Although our hope is that under the new Constitution India will learn to sink her communal differences and will emerge as a single nation, it would be unwise to ignore completely the ethnographical distribution of communities implicit in the new Constitution, or to refuse even to consider the possible implication of this distribution. In a very short time we shall see set up in the north-west a Muslim *bloc* comprising three predominantly Muslim provinces with Muslim majorities—Sind, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province—and one controlled area, also predominantly Muslim—namely, Baluchistan. Although the Muslim population of this *bloc* may not represent a majority of the whole Muslim population of India, I venture to predict that, comprising as it will the dynamic and bigoted element of Muslims, it will take a leading part and will exert considerable influence on the destinies of Muslims as a whole throughout India. I further suggest that this *bloc* will not hesitate to take full advantage of its geographical position by establishing the closest liaison, and possibly even a "gentleman's agreement" with its co-religionists in tribal territory, in Afghanistan, in Persia and even further afield. Whither this may lead I won't attempt to prophesy. I venture to suggest, however, that it represents a line along which the future may develop, a bulwark which may be set up against that dreaded domination by Hindu-Brahmin rule.

In conclusion, I wish to touch lightly on the future, but feel that in doing so I must walk warily. First let me assure you that anything I do say is my personal opinion only, is in no way inspired, and would probably not receive any support from serving officials either civil or military.

The Instrument of Instructions for the new Constitution recognizes that defence must become more and more the concern of the Indian people. Time and again leading Indians have criticized the new Con-

stitution on the ground that, shorn of responsibility for the defence of the country, self-government is a misnomer, and the new Constitution an empty farce. The rate of Indianization has been accelerated, and though it is early yet to assign to this experiment any specific military value, there are no reasons to anticipate failure. The seeds of a purely Indian portion of the defence forces have been sown and will, in time, reach maturity. With provincial autonomy will also come the transfer of responsibility for law and order to Provincial Governments.

Now these are all signs and portents which point the way to possible changes in the future. What form these changes will take no one can say. May I be so bold as to throw out certain suggestions?

The desire to administer and to control the defence forces, or even a portion of these forces, will grow stronger and stronger as the Federal Cabinet gets more and more into the saddle. The Indian portion of the defence force will, in effect, be the nucleus of that Dominion Army with which Indians hope eventually to defend their country. In order to satisfy their desire may it not be expedient to transfer the administration and control of the Indian portion to an Indian minister who is also a member of the Cabinet?

Again, although the maintenance of law and order is to be the responsibility of Provincial Governments, the only resources at their disposal for the discharge of this responsibility will be the civil police. We know by experience that these are seldom adequate, and how often the military have to be called in. May it not be regarded as somewhat *infra dig.*, and will it not in fact be a confession of failure for a Provincial Autonomous Government to have to appeal to the Governor-General for help to enable it to discharge its own peculiar responsibility?

My own view is that as time goes on we shall find autonomous provinces more and more inclined to raise their own local defence forces to support their civil police in order to avoid the indignity of having to rely upon Federal forces to discharge their own particular responsibility.

In the meantime the big problem—namely, the defence of India—remains not only as an Indian problem but also as an imperial problem, since, under the new Constitution defence is a reserved subject, and the special responsibility of the Governor-General. This task, as I see it, will be assigned to an imperial force constituted on the lines of the existing army in India, and paid for from Indian revenues.

To sum up, the organization as I see it will consist of:

(*a*) An imperial force for the defence of India.

(*b*) A dominion army under an Indian minister gradually learning its job.

(*c*) Provincial armed forces for the maintenance and restoration of law and order.

BRIG.-GENERAL MOBERLY: *I would like to ask if the autonomous Indian forces to which the lecturer referred are to be composed of British or Indian troops?*

GENERAL SIR K. WIGRAM: I do not think you can visualize British forces serving under the Provincial Governments. After all, they must run their own affairs, and I imagine such a force would be their own affair.

BRIGADIER SANDILANDS: In what has been said this evening there is no point with which I disagree, but there is one which I think is relevant to General Wigram's lecture, which perhaps might have been brought forward. I am encouraged to mention this the more since, at a meeting at the United Service Institution a week or two ago, I heard you, sir, if I understood you rightly, express the opinion that a force organized and equipped for European warfare was not the most suitable for employment on the North-West Frontier of India. Any who have served on that frontier know that the special conditions that obtain there demand special training for the troops, for though the tactics involved are themselves simple, their application is a matter of extraordinary difficulty. I suggest, therefore, that great advantage could be obtained by the more or less permanent location in the province of a force specially equipped and trained for that type of warfare, whether for dealing with tribal disturbance or for the duties of the Covering Force in more serious eventualities. But there are other considerations. General Wigram's lecture is entitled "Defence *in* the N.W.F.P." He claimed that the area occupied by the trans-border tribes is British territory, but it surely cannot be rightly called part of the North-West Frontier Province. To me Defence *in* the N.W.F.P. means the maintenance of law and order in the province: that is the contribution that can and must be made by the province to the defence of the frontier, unless we are to be involved in serious difficulties. In its relation to the tribesmen, it can be taken as an axiom that guerillas cannot hope to operate with success except in their own country, but in 1930, when the Afridis crossed the border, propaganda had created such sympathy with them among the people of our

villages as to render the Peshawar district the tribesmen's own country in all but name. As I have said before to the members of this Society, if the Afridis had on that occasion shown one quarter of the courage and determination of the Boers in South Africa, the damage they could have done would have been incalculable. What serious dislocation would arise from the province being in a similar condition when large-scale operations were being undertaken on the Frontier I leave to the imagination of the audience, and I contend that a permanent force, *whose officers would be in intimate association with the villagers,* would tend to prevent the recurrence of such a grave situation.

A MEMBER: There are only two points I wish to touch on. The first is the disarmament of the tribesmen. This is too large a question to be discussed here. There is only one aspect which I wish to discuss here. It has been said that disarmament would put an end to blood feuds and lead to the establishment of law and order. Actually the settled districts in the N.W.F.P. have been disarmed for a long time, but the blood feuds continue and the number of murders is eighty times as great as it is in England in proportion to population. It is probably greater than anywhere else in the world. In fact it has been argued more than once that there are more murders in the settled districts than there are in tribal territory.

My second point is a constitutional one. It was suggested that each self-governing province should have its own defence force. Under the present law any force for the maintenance of law and order must be part of the regular police force under the Inspector-General of Police. I do not know if something of the nature of the State militias in the U.S.A. is what is proposed. If it is I would point out that if such semi-military bodies were set up, paid for by, and under the orders of, the Provincial Governments, and not part of the regular army under the Commander-in-Chief, very dangerous possibilities would arise.

SIR FREDERICK WHYTE: May I reinforce the last speaker's question? As I understand the circumstances, the local militias of the United States of America were military forces already in existence before the creation of the Federal Union, each State possessing them being an independent political unit. When the Federal Government came into being, the Constitution only authorized the President to issue orders to those militias in certain circumstances, and the Government had thus to make the best of a situation in which it did not, in fact, command the whole military force of America. This situation has not, in

fact, proved awkward or dangerous in America; but where, as in India, there are already powerful centrifugal forces at work, it would surely be asking for trouble to set up a provincial militia which in a crisis might be used against the Federal Centre or against neighbouring provinces.

LIEUT.-GENERAL BORRETT: The more I listened to the lecture this evening, the more convinced I became that the problem of the North-West Frontier of India should be divorced entirely from the Government of India. It is an Imperial problem, not a local one, and should be treated as such.

Last night at the British Empire Society I heard Lord Lugard deliver an address which was chiefly concerned with the problem of the government of the South African Colonies. He was followed by half a dozen Governors and ex-Governors who unanimously thanked God that, instead of forcing our ideas wholesale on the nations of those countries, we were governing them through their own laws and customs, and grafting on to that some of our Western ideas. Is there any possibility of the North-West Frontier Province having our Western ideas grafted on to their "jirga" rule, and so being saved from the Westernized and unwanted form of government which is being forced on to the rest of India?

On the subject of roads: There are two kinds of roads. The man who laid down the axiom that roads are a civilizing influence had in his mind economic roads, not military roads. The advantage of military roads is obvious, but they are not necessarily civilizing. Is there any scheme for building economic roads or trade routes in the North-West Frontier?

THE CHAIRMAN: May I personally answer one or two of these questions?

Why was the professional frontier force which remained always stationed there not revived? They used to be nicknamed the "Piffers" (Punjab Frontier Force).

Every Commander-in-Chief since the Piffers were done away with has had that question put to him. It has always been turned down for a very good reason. The North-West Frontier is one of the best training grounds we have in the world—troops there are always "on their toes" and never know when they may not have to turn out at a moment's notice and fight for their lives. Efficiency is a vital necessity. Under the system of reliefs in India, every unit, British and Indian, as far as possible spends some time in the Frontier. They pass

from Internal Security duties to the War Divisions and from them to the covering troops on the actual Frontier.

On the second point, I think the audience mistook the Lecturer on the question of Indianizing troops. At the moment they have not nearly finished Indianization and are not yet fit to take their place as purely Indian troops on the Frontier. He and I both agree that they will have to get more officers of the right standing before they can be trusted to do that.

He also envisaged the possibility of certain purely Indianized troops taking the place of the present units and being raised by the provinces and permanently stationed in the provinces as a backing for the police.

Sir Kenneth Wigram has had as hard a task this evening as is possible to imagine—that of compressing into one hour's talk an account of 650 miles of the most important land frontier of the Empire—with all the hundreds of difficult problems which it has given rise to. I think you will agree he has acquitted himself very well indeed. (Applause.) I think we owe him a very hearty vote of thanks for an immensely interesting lecture.

REFORMS IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE OF INDIA*

By SIR GEORGE CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E.

MANY of you must feel that enough has already been said or written about Reforms in India. My excuse for speaking this afternoon is that Reforms in the N.W.F. Province are still, comparatively, a novelty—to some people a startling novelty. Ten years ago most of us, I think, would have said: "You cannot treat the N.W. Frontier like the rest of India. Reforms that may be suitable for other provinces would be dangerous there, where tribal territory is close at hand, and Afghanistan just beyond." Even five years ago that was the commonly accepted view. Then came the dramatic announcement at the final Round Table Conference that the N.W.F. Province would stand constitutionally on a level with the other provinces of India. So, for the last four and a half years, we have had dyarchy on the Frontier, and from April 1 next we shall have full "provincial autonomy."

Reforms on the Frontier have a history of their own. It is interesting to glance back at it, and recall the reasons why the Frontier was for so long treated as a special case.

In the Montagu-Chelmsford enquiry the view was taken that for reasons of strategy the Province must remain in the hands of the Government of India, though it might be well to associate with the personal administration of the Chief Commissioner some form of advisory council adjusted to local conditions. Sir George Roos Keppel was at that time Chief Commissioner—and I remember that he used to say that his position would be much stronger if it were backed by a

* The CHAIRMAN, Field-Marshal Sir PHILIP CHETWODE: I am deputizing this evening for a much more distinguished person. We had hoped we should have had Lord Hailey as Chairman this evening. But in his place I have the pleasure of introducing to you Sir George Cunningham, who is to speak on the New Constitution of the North-West Frontier Province in India. Nobody can possibly speak better on that subject. He has spent practically all his active life up on the Frontier, except for five years as Private Secretary to the Viceroy. And as the Viceroy's Private Secretary he, of course, heard all that happened on the Frontier. He is now Governor-Designate for the new North-West Frontier Province and takes up his post next spring. (Applause.) We who know what is wanted on that very turbulent Frontier know what a very good choice has been made.

non-official advisory council. The Act of 1919, however, left the Province unchanged; the suggestion of an advisory council was not followed up,

So matters stood when the Simon Commission came. Their opinion was that responsibility for the administration of the districts could not be separated from responsibility for the peace of, and for the control over, the tribal areas which lie between the districts and Afghanistan. They held that the situation of the Province, and its intimate relations with the problem of defence, required special arrangements, and that, therefore, full provincial autonomy would not be possible. They recommended, however, that a Legislative Council, about half elected and half nominated, should be set up, with restricted powers of legislation. They proposed, in fact, that though other provinces were to advance to provincial autonomy, the N.W.F. Province should be left roughly at the Morley-Minto stage of 1909.

The Government of India, in commenting on the Simon Commission's Report, without making any specific proposals, emphasized that it was a matter of first importance that the scheme for the N.W.F. Province should avoid invidious comparisons. They made the very true remark that a discontented Frontier Province would be a serious threat in the rear of any army operating in the defence of India.

When the Round Table Conference first met, however, in 1930, it was still tacitly assumed in most quarters that the N.W.F. Province could not be treated like the rest of India. At that Conference the case for more liberal treatment of the Province was ably and earnestly put by its representative, Nawab Sir Abdul Qayum. His dominating personality had its effect. Before the Conference closed the announcement I have just referred to was made, that the Province would henceforth stand on an equality with all other provinces in India.

The main thought running through these earlier discussions seems to have been the need of preserving unity of control over both the settled districts and the tribal area across the border. Everyone of experience realizes that necessity, and I do not think that the new Constitution disregards it. The unity in future will have to lie, not in vesting the control of both sides solely in the Governor, but in the loyal co-operation of the Ministers with the Head of the Province.

With the tribal side of the Frontier problem we are not directly concerned. The Reforms do not immediately affect anything except the settled districts. I cannot, therefore, take you to-day into what is to most people the more fascinating side of the Frontier—the tribal

territory beyond the administrative border, with all its big, sometimes menacing, possibilities, its wild freedom and fine manhood. Reforms are not so picturesque a subject. But there is plenty of importance in the problems of the settled districts, an importance which must not be obscured by the big issues which lie beyond, and which is greater than ever now that the regular part of the Province is to come under the new Government of India Act.

Some people may have been disquieted by the circumstances on the Frontier which immediately preceded this big advance in policy. Red-Shirts had given serious trouble that year, and critics might have said that Government had surrendered to the threat of violence. That, I think, would be a narrow view. It is true that many of those who at times sympathized with the Red-Shirt movement were loud in their claims for Reforms. It is true, too, that it has often been asserted that Red-Shirts, by their sacrifices in 1930-1931, brought Reforms to the Province; this claim has had particular prominence recently in the electioneering speeches of their sympathizers, who have now entered the arena of constitutional politics. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that desire for Reforms was synonymous with Red-Shirt sympathies. Such an idea is belied, if by nothing else, by the keen and practical interest taken in the Reforms, from their inception, by many whose loyalty to Government has always been above suspicion. We need not, therefore, be afraid of the Reforms simply because they followed quickly on the Red-Shirt troubles. If it is allowable to give any reason for the decision taken regarding the N.W.F. Province at the end of the Round Table Conference, I would say that fundamentally it was the recognition that the feeling in the Province in favour of Reforms was genuine and therefore deserving of sympathy.

There was certainly a feeling among large numbers of the people that, if other provinces in India were capable of working Reforms, the Frontier could do so just as well. No Pathan will admit that he cannot do a thing as well as his neighbours, and his exclusion from the Reforms in 1920 was undoubtedly a sore point. Then there was the desire, common to the more educated classes all over British India, for political power and a say in the policy of Government. There was, too, in the more far-seeing, a vision of a strong, predominantly Muslim province, a home of Islamic culture, which would be able to speak almost with one voice in the federal deliberations of the future. All these factors contributed to a genuine desire for constitutional equality with other provinces, and the force of this desire was wisely recognized.

This is all, however, somewhat academic. What you wish to know is how the new system has worked these past four years, and what are the prospects for the future. Judged by the test of its working dyarchy in the N.W.F. Province has justified itself. Of course, dyarchy has not meant the transfer of law and order to an elected Minister—as provincial autonomy will—and on this question of law and order centre most of the anxieties which have been expressed about reforms on the N.W. Frontier. Our police, our jails and law courts, and Home Affairs generally, which together constitute the subject of law and order, are still under a Member of Council who is an official, and will be under him until April 1 next.

To this extent, therefore, dyarchy is not a guide as to the future, either in the Frontier or any other province. But even under our present system of dyarchy, law and order are by no means purely the preserve of the official side of Government. Ministers and the Legislature are both intimately concerned in it. A Minister, by his executive power alone, could, if he were inefficient or disloyal to his colleagues, make things very difficult for the reserved side. The Legislature, if it chose to be perverse in the voting of money for essential services or in dealing with legislation necessary for law and order, could seriously hamper Government and undermine its prestige. In both these respects we have been fortunate in the N.W.F. Province. We have had a Minister who, quite apart from his able administration of the transferred departments, has been a powerful ally in support of the reserved side. Nawab Sir Abdul Qayum, our first and only Minister, is one of the real statesmen in the North of India, and a most able administrator. The Legislative Council, for their part, have been predominantly on the side of Government. They took a little time to settle down. At the outset the opposition indulged in some unnecessarily outspoken criticism of Government; that was the aftermath of the unsettlement caused by the Red-Shirt troubles of a few months earlier. There have been, too, at times, some of the rather trivial personalities and communal jealousies which are found in other Legislatures—not, perhaps, only in Indian Legislatures. But, taken all over, the House has shown a marked and growing sense of its responsibility. In resolutions and adjournment motions about political prisoners and similar matters Government, if I remember right, has never lost a division. Nor have they been defeated, I think, in debates on the police or jails budget. There was also the very important Public Tranquillity Act of 1932, which practically repeated the pretty

drastic Ordinances of a year or two previously. The House had to take this Bill into consideration within six months of its first meeting, and before any other provinces had given it a lead, but it passed it by a large majority.

Of course, it may be said that all this does not prove very much, as Government have so far had the assistance of their nominated official bench in the Legislature. That is true, though we have by no means always had to depend on our officials for a majority. But I am judging the Council not so much by their paper record as by my sense of the real feeling of the House. The impression that I have gained by four years' contact with the Council is that nobody is really in favour of laxity of control and that there is a strong realization that police, jails, law courts and so on must be kept up to a high standard of efficiency.

So much for our experiences of dyarchy during the last four and a half years. Next April will come the big step further, provincial autonomy, as in all the other provinces. The big difference that that will make in a province is that the reserved departments, hitherto controlled by an official member of the Council, will come under an elected Minister. The more important subjects on the Frontier which will then be transferred to ministerial control are: Police, Jails, Land Revenue, Administration of Justice, Finance, and Irrigation. The prospect of this transfer of power has caused some people alarm—particularly, so far as the N.W. Frontier is concerned, the transfer of law and order. That there will be difficulties in effecting the change cannot be denied; difficulties that will, I imagine, be felt in other provinces just as much as on the Frontier. Ministers will have no easy task. Many of them will have had no experience of administrative work, some of them not even municipal or district board work. Some of them will not agree with all our methods and standards of administration. They will have hard work to satisfy the members of their party and their electorates. These difficulties are all inherent in any great transfer of power such as the present. But I do not fear that the Pathan will compare badly with the other peoples of India in facing the task. He has great common-sense, and he has great personal loyalty to the British Crown. He will not want change simply for change's sake. So far as the past four years have enabled me to judge, he will be an efficient administrator.

Let me first take the police, a matter of vital importance everywhere. On the N.W. Frontier, in addition to their normal duties, the

police have a specially heavy responsibility in dealing with violent crime, armed outlaws from across the border, and watching for suspicious characters entering India. At present we have a very fine police force indeed. Their morale is higher than it has ever been, and it is still on the upgrade. Thanks to wise leadership in recent years —one of those leaders, Mr. J. H. Adam, is here this afternoon— their *esprit de corps* and self-respect are steadily increasing. Police in India used to be the target for every kind of criticism, charges of corruption and so on. Now the general opinion in the N.W.F. Province is that no department of Government stands higher than the police in probity and efficiency. I was recently chairman of a committee of enquiry into corruption in the Province. The most remarkable feature of it was that all witnesses, of every shade of opinion, absolved the police of the old charge of corruption. The result of all this is that the public themselves are beginning to take a pride in their police force. They appreciate their smartness and good discipline, their improved turn-out, and their remarkably good physique. They welcomed the institution of a training school for police last year; they like their pipe band, which is now a feature of Peshawar. The law-abiding at least look on the police as their friends, no longer as tyrants. They expect efficient and honest investigation of their cases. If this is, as I believe it is, the attitude of the people to the police, we need not be anxious as to the future. I feel no doubt that a Minister will desire to preserve the high standard of the force, and he will have the full backing of public opinion in doing so.

The two other departments on which law and order depend are the judicial administration and jails. As to the former, our courts come for most purposes under the control of the Judicial Commissioner. Ministers will not be directly concerned with them to any great extent. But as far as they have a say in judicial administrations Ministers will, I imagine, take their cue from public opinion. And there can be no doubt that the general public will always press for honest and impartial judges and magistrates. In one way Ministers will have an advantage that we have not got at present. They have the means of knowing more about the character and ability of individual officers than British officials ever can. In a province where, unfortunately, there is so much faction feeling and consequently so much telling of tales against an enemy, we can never feel sure whether a complaint against an official is true or false. A Minister probably could.

Then, as to jail administration. It is particularly important that there

should be no slackening of discipline. Our jails are so close to the border *and usually so full of a fairly bloodthirsty type of criminal,* that there is *always a risk of attempts to escape or of violence in the jail itself.* About three years ago, for instance, one gang of convicts in the Dera Ismail Khan jail planned an attack on an opposition gang with whom they had a feud, and killed, I think, some 15 or 20 of them with any kind of instrument they could lay their hands on. A more humorous episode occurred last year when a murderer, a tailor by trade, doing a long sentence in Peshawar jail, was being employed in making clothes in an exterior part of the jail. He made himself a woman's *burqa*—the long white all-enveloping garment—and clad in this he walked out past the warders and across the border. Some people, I fancy, fear that Ministers may play for popularity by making jail conditions easier. I do not believe this myself. Given mutual confidence between a Minister and his Inspector-General of Prisons, I do not think any Minister will press for any change which, in the opinion of the jail authorities, is likely to lead to a weakening of jail discipline. In order to give public men an insight into the working of our jails, about four years ago we appointed some members of our Legislative Council as jail visitors. The result of that has, I think, been a realization of the difficulties of jail administration and a general approval of our existing system.

I have spoken so far of the ordinary day to day administration of departments. Important as that is, it is not the most difficult part of the problem of law and order. The most difficult kind of question to decide is what action Government is to take when, for instance, a political movement starts which might lead on to public disorder, or a popular agitator has to be dealt with. There are no fixed rules, or even principles, to guide one in a situation like this; it is always a matter of opinion what is the wise course to take. For the future the Minister will be the Governor's adviser in such matters.

There will be another difficult kind of situation to deal with—when trouble in tribal territory begins to affect the settled districts, or vice versa. There may be a conflagration across the border—unfortunately it is often more like spontaneous combustion—and you get raiding or armed incursions by tribesmen into settled territory. The tribesmen have plenty of friends and relations on our side of the border ready to help them with food, shelter, or information. You find this along practically the whole length of our frontier. Such friends or relations become for the time being part of the enemy. The converse, too, may happen. Disturbance starts in the settled districts and spreads across the border. In the Red-

Shirt troubles of 1930-31 the political agitators in Peshawar and elsewhere sent emissaries to stir up the tribes, with the result that Peshawar district was invaded by large bodies of Afridis, and even the distant Mahsuds raised big lashkars and attacked our troops and posts in Waziristan. Again, quite recently, a Hindu girl in Bannu was kidnapped by her Mahommedan lover; the case had nothing whatever to do with any tribesman, but as a result of propaganda from Bannu itself the Daur tribesmen of the Tochi Valley raised an armed gathering two or three thousand strong which sat on the border for some days, and threatened to attack British territory if the course of true love were impeded. In many other ways the transborder tribesmen and the settled districts interact upon each other. There are the annual winter immigrations of thousands of tribesmen from our own independent territory or from Afghanistan, seeking labour or carrying on trade. Also, many tribes own land and villages on both sides of the border. There is continual petty trading to and fro. If anything goes wrong, therefore, action on both sides of the border may have to be co-ordinated. In tribal territory the Governor will have to act on his own authority—he has troops, Scouts, and khassadars for this purpose. But the person primarily responsible for taking action in the settled districts is the Minister. True, the Governor has, in the last resort, a constitutional safeguard, for the Act lays on him the special responsibility of seeing that his functions in tribal territory are not impeded by any course of action taken in the settled districts. But that, I hope, will be an abnormal circumstance. Ordinarily he will no doubt act on his Minister's advice.

By the advice he gives, or the action he takes, in situations such as these a Minister will prove himself. I may be rash to prophesy, but I believe he will be equal to the responsibility, and will have the vast majority of public opinion behind him if he deals firmly with any movement that is really going to cause serious public disturbance. Pathans may enjoy a fight as much as anyone, but they do not—any more than any other Indian—like anything that dislocates their daily village life. They learnt that lesson in the course of the Red-Shirt agitation five years ago. I believe, therefore, that if a Minister does take a firm line in such a situation he will, at any rate, not be risking his popularity.

I have devoted a good deal of time to this question of law and order, because that is the problem which differentiates the N.W.F. Province from other provinces, and which has caused apprehension in certain minds. The other departments of Government, land revenue, irriga-

tion, education, medical, finance, etc., have largely the same problems on the frontier as elsewhere, and there is already a pretty large literature about them. All that I will say of them is that experience of the last four years has shown that a Minister can cope successfully with the departments hitherto entrusted to him, and there is no reason why he should not deal equally well with the others. Very much will depend on the mutual confidence that may be established between Ministers and the heads of departments, or other permanent officials, and here again recent experience gives good hope for the future.

Only one of these departments I wish to mention specially—Finance. For finance will, I think, be probably the severest test of all of ministerial government. From one side pressure will no doubt be brought upon Ministers to reduce land revenue taxation—the basis of our whole financial fabric; while at the same time a Minister may be tempted to play for popularity by too lavish expenditure in one direction or another. This will be true of all provinces, and a Finance Minister will have an unenviable job. But he will have an efficient finance department to advise him and well-established rules of business to guide him. The joint responsibility of the whole Cabinet too—if this very important principle can be early established—will be a great stabilizing influence in finance. The main difficulty in the finances of the N.W.F. Province really is that owing to our geographical and strategical position we have a far higher expenditure than can possibly be met by our own revenues. We are dependent on the Central Government for three-fifths of our annual income. This is a fixed subvention at present, and there is therefore not much elasticity in our revenue to meet any increase of expenditure on the many improvements we would like to make.

Leaving aside the idiosyncrasies of particular Ministers, the success or failure of ministerial government will, I think, depend on two things. The first is the establishment of complete confidence between the Governor and his Ministers; that, I am optimistic enough to hope, will be established. The second is the maintenance of a high standard in our permanent services. The visible sign of Government will still be, to the villagers, what it has been in the past—the Tahsildar in charge of his land revenue division, the Thanadar in charge of his police station, the Assistant Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner in their multifarious and never-ending work. If there is no falling off in their standards—and I see no reason why there should be—there will be no diminution of the respect in which the Government is held.

Much, no doubt, will depend on the first Ministry. The setting of

standards will be largely in their hands. At present it is impossible to forecast what the result of the first elections will be and what parties are likely to provide us with our Ministers. So far most of the organized canvassing has been done by a body called the "Parliamentary Board," which is composed very largely of men who sympathized with the Red-Shirt movement of 1930-31. It would, however, be quite wrong to suppose that the policy of this board represents what we commonly think of as Red-Shirt methods—violence, threatening demonstrations and anarchy; if some of the more extreme are still of that persuasion they are, I believe, in a very small minority. It would also be wrong to assume that, if they do come into power, they would not make a creditable Government. We all know the sobering influence of responsibility.

There are, moreover, other parties in the field. They are not yet clearly defined, for the simple reason that hitherto there has really been no scope in the Legislative Council for the formation of a party with a programme, unless it has been merely the negative programme of opposition to Government. For the present, therefore, much of the canvassing is dependent more on personal ambitions than on any line of policy. But things will gradually take shape. At any rate there is the material there for a strong and efficient Government if it can be welded into a cohesive party. In the past, naturally enough, we have looked to the khans, the big landowners, for support, more than to any others—naturally—because the khans have opportunities of giving direct help to Government in time of trouble. The feudal system, which still to some extent exists, gives them the power to call on men and rifles for assistance. It enables them to control the tenants who live in their villages. But parliamentary government now gives others—particularly the educated classes—opportunities to help Government as well. And in my opinion the future of our Province depends greatly on the fusion of these two classes of our people, the khans and the professional classes. It must come in time, even if it comes gradually, as the young Khan is himself becoming one of the educated class, and a remarkably good example of it he promises to be.

I have had to confine myself this afternoon very largely to generalities; and generalities are always dull. But you will appreciate that as I am shortly returning to the N.W. Frontier and shall then be intimately concerned with the forming of Ministries and the administration of the Province, anything I now say will probably—in the language of detective novels—be used in evidence against me. I hope, however, that I have succeeded in what I set out to do, and that is to give you a broad picture

of the new political life of the Frontier, and to show you that I have faith in the Pathan's ability and willingness to work the new Constitution successfully.

MR. F. P. RENNIE: Will the Lecturer tell us how the Frontier Crimes Regulation is going to work under the new Constitution? Is it going to be retained, or not? And if so, is the Jirga going to be under the direct control of the Government or is it going to be transferred?

SIR GEORGE CUNNINGHAM: The Frontier Crimes Regulation was an Act under which certain cases, particularly cases of murder and violent crime, were tried by a sort of informal court known as a Jirga, in which the judge called five or six assessors, who sat with him and advised him, although he gave the decision. It could sentence to any length of imprisonment but not to death. It was set up about sixty years ago in its original form, and was recast at the beginning of the present century. Actually, at present it is suspended, and I do not think there is any probability of its ever being brought in again. But if it were so, I presume the control would be vested in the Ministers: but it is, I think, hardly worth discussing, for the chances of its being revived are practically nil.

COLONEL HAMILTON: I should like to ask what the Parliamentary Board stand for: I suppose they have some sort of "platform," as we should call it?

THE LECTURER: I do not think even the Parliamentary Board have formulated any very clear programme. They certainly had not done so six months ago when I left India, and as far as I know they have not done so yet. They have hinted vaguely at an intention of bringing in legislation to reduce the Land Revenue Tax, and insisting on a larger amount of money being spent on education. They stand for the uplift of the people, and stress the importance of social questions generally.

ANOTHER MEMBER: I believe that I am right in saying that in the past political posts have been filled by appointment by the Political Department, choosing, of course, from among both members of the Indian Civil Service and Army officers. Is that going to hold good on the Frontier in the future?

THE LECTURER: The staffing question is not yet decided. But for the present, I imagine, the Staff will continue to be, as at present, drawn from the Indian Civil Service and the Army. The present

›portion is about one-third members of the Civil Service to two-·ds Army officers, and includes a certain number of Indians. There now two Indian members of the Political Department in the ꝟ.F.P., and both are quite first-rate men.

SIR PHILIP CHETWODE: May I ask one question myself? In my ny visits to the Chief Commissioner for the North-West Frontier ›vince I was impressed with the fact that he seemed to be the most rworked man I ever saw. He was not only responsible for the ıeral administration, but he had to deal with the hour-to-hour prob-ıs of the tribes. In the future, will he be responsible for the main-ance of law and order, or will he be able to delegate some of his ctions?

THE LECTURER: The day-to-day work of keeping tribal order will taken off his hands by a Tribal Resident, who will be either a lier or a member of the Indian Civil Service, and who will do a at deal of the work of going across the Frontier, interviewing itical agents, and generally deputizing for the Governor. The ꝟernor will still be finally responsible, but much of the day-to-day :k of dealing with the agencies will fall on the Resident.

SIR PHILIP CHETWODE: If there are no further questions, I have ·ely to ask you to thank Sir George Cunningham for the very ex-ent way he tried to tell us about a very complicated and difficult ject indeed. But one thing I must say: if the man on whose ulders most of the work is going to fall feels such confidence in the ꝛ it is all going to work, we shall go away with much more quiet ıds than some of us had before.

ANNUAL DINNER

THE Annual Dinner was held at Claridge's on October 29. Lord Lloyd, the Society's President, was in the Chair, and a large number of members and guests were present. After the toast of "The King," Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Chief of Staff to Lord Allenby in Palestine in the war, spoke in memory of him.

Field-Marshal Sir PHILIP CHETWODE: I am asked to speak to you to-night in memory of the late Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby. Many of you here knew him, I dare say, very well, but I do not suppose any of you knew him quite so well as I did, and that is probably the reason why the Council of this Society asked me to address you to-night.

Nobody who met Allenby even for the first time could think for a moment that he was an ordinary man. He radiated something big, something strong, and I think any man or woman who first met him instinctively waited to hear what he had got to say about the subject in hand; and in doing so they paid their tribute to a personality and to a natural leader.

No one could say, who knew Allenby as well as I did, that he was popular when he was a younger man, even among his own cavalry service, until he had had a chance of showing how great he was. He was so gruff, almost to rudeness. When he asked you a question, he asked it in such a gruff, abrupt manner that he frightened some people almost into fits. And when he asked that question of you he demanded an absolutely straight answer, "Yes" or "No," without any prevarication or without any reservation, mental or otherwise. Allenby simply could not understand a man who could not give him an answer "Yes" or "No," and he simply could not understand a man who did not go all out and do his very best at whatever job lay to his hand. There was no pose about that with Allenby. Allenby was just as incapable of pose or humbug as he was of hitting a woman. It was not in his nature. But under that gruff manner those of us who got to know him, and had the privilege of knowing him well, found a singularly gentle and fascinating real self.

I never knew a woman who was not fascinated when she first met Allenby. He gave out a feeling of strength, of confidence, and bigness.

I myself remember, after many years of knowing him, how surprised I was when I found out what was underneath that manner of his, and what tastes he had which I never would have dreamed he had.

He treated women with grave courtesy. He was gentle to children, and children adored him. He had a quite extraordinary knowledge of botany and birds and animals, especially birds, and to the day of his death he kept a large aviary in his own house in London.

He had a very remarkable knowledge of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, and, although you might not think so, that was of great use to him in the Palestine campaign.

As a commander he was quite outstanding. There was not a man in the force—a week or so after he took over in Palestine—who did not know him by sight; because he absolutely refused to put his men into action until he had been down into the front trenches with his leaders, myself, or Sir John Shea, or others of his leaders here to-night, or had himself ridden with his cavalry reconnoitring. He would not put his men into action until he knew quite certainly what he was going to ask them to do.

But once he had made up his mind and put his men into action, he drove them, he flogged them into action in a manner which I have never seen equalled; and nobody knows better than Sir John Shea and I the way he did it. We have a saying—it is in our manuals—that when you get the enemy on the run you must keep him so to the last gasp of man and horse, but I never quite realized what that meant until Lord Allenby's campaign. When he made his final great push, the task of my army corps in the mountains was to drive the enemy back towards Nablus. We fought a pretty stiff fight for two or three days, and towards the end of it I motored up towards Nablus from my battle headquarters. I saw a very curious scene. I saw parties of fully armed Turks coming out of the hills and surrendering to single men of ours. They were broken up. And all over the road and the ground near the road were my own men sleeping the sleep of utter exhaustion.

I drove a bit further on and right up to the front, and to my utter surprise I suddenly met Lord Allenby round a corner, escorted by an armoured car, certainly seventy miles away from his own battle headquarters. I thought I had done rather well and stood looking rather modest, and hoped he was going to say: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Come into this house and have what a labouring man calls your 'bit of dinner' and have a sleep." Instead of which he snapped out at me: "What are you doing, Chetwode? Why aren't

your men pushing on?" It brought me up with such a jerk that I nearly dislocated my neck.

He said: "There is still a gap in the net I have thrown round the enemy right down to the Jordan, and you must force some of your men down and close that gap, because to-morrow morning it is not the fact that there might be a large force there, but it is the fact of one bullet coming out of a British rifle which will cause them to say: 'This finishes it. We can go no further.'"

I got hold of twenty or twenty-five yeomen and a few infantry, and we pushed them down the road, and he was quite right. The next morning they looked over the top of the hill and saw thousands of Turks resting, thinking they had got away. We fired a few shots at them, and they moved off and surrendered to the cavalry, who took 29,000 prisoners. No man but Allenby would have realized that or forced his men on as he did.

But after the war Lord Allenby was not quite so happy, no more than a lot of us are happy to-day. He simply could not understand the action of the various Governments that have been in power since the end of the war.

Ladies and gentlemen, history is repeating itself with a vengeance to-day. There is only one occasion on which we have learnt the lesson which war has taught us, and that was after the South African War. A few thousand farmers kept us busy for three years, and after that war, with the assistance of the best War Minister we have ever had, Lord Haldane, we pulled ourselves together, and we entered the Great War a small force, but about as well trained, staffed, and administered as any force that has ever left British shores.

But what have we done since the Great War? Have we learnt our lessons since the Great War? After every other war that we have had except the South African War the British people have said to the Army and Navy in effect, "You soldiers and sailors are an expensive nuisance," and they have reduced us to vanishing-point.

In the Great War we nearly doubled our commitments all over the world. Did we learn our lesson? Did we behave differently? No. Having doubled our commitments, we proceeded at once to quarter the means by which we could implement those commitments. We ended the Great War the greatest military power the world has ever seen, on the sea, on the land, and in the air; and in a year or two we finished up no better than a second-class power.

We listened to the sound of the harp, flute, sackbut, dulcimer, and

all kinds of music played in our ears by order of those twin Nebuch nezzars Lloyd George and the American Wilson. We bowed do before the golden image which they set up and ordered us to worsh at Geneva. Our people were taught that the graven image wou excuse us from war and that we should be able to get back to o beloved shopkeeping again.

Allenby lived long enough to see that image discredited and lyir broken on the floor of that expensive Palace of Peace at Geneva—whi I understand we ourselves paid for. Lord Allenby lived long enou to see the livid shadow of the wings of the Angel of Death passing on more across the fields of Europe, passing over the very fields where th are still digging up the bones of those lads of ours who died in ord that there should be no more war and who have no known graves. H lived to see the world brought by the statesmen of to-day in fifte years to the very edge of financial and commercial ruin; and he live to see the young men of to-day brought once more to the very mou of the cannon.

That is all we have done since the war. History has indeed repeat itself. In the old days we could empty the gaols and we could set th press gang going, but we cannot do it now. We have taught our youn men that soldiers are not wanted, and now we are crawling all ov England asking for them, telling them that they are wanted and th the strong right arm is worth all the pacts and protocols and ope diplomacies in the world.

But I am an optimist, ladies and gentlemen. In spite of all we hav done, I still believe that the great god of battles is going to give us tim to recover ourselves. Nobody else is as ready as some people think th are. I believe that we shall have time to get back to what is our tru rôle—not balance of power, not offensive and defensive alliances, bu being so strong financially, militarily, navally, and in the air tha although people know we do not want to fight, they know very we that on whatever side we choose to fall that side will win.

And now I ask you to stand in silence in honour of Lord Allenby.

The toast of "The Royal Central Asian Society" was proposed b the Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS LINDLEY, who said: I must first of a express my regret, which you will probably feel quite as acutely a myself, that it is not Lord Hailey who is addressing you now, but I Lord Hailey has been called to fill the place of Lord Lugard on th Mandates Commission and is unable to be here to-night. Otherwis

you would have had the pleasure of hearing a man whose experiences have much more interest to this Society than mine.

When I heard that I was to address you to-night, I naturally applied to our Secretary for a few hints, as I have not had the pleasure before of assisting at your annual gatherings. The Secretary gave me a great number of excellent hints, both as to what I should do and what I should not do, and especially as to how long I was to be. Amongst other things she sent me the speech which Lord Curzon addressed to this Society just under thirty years ago.

As I read that speech and saw the masterly manner in which that great man ranged over the whole affairs of Asia, I felt what an extraordinarily inadequate substitute you were going to hear to-night. Lord Curzon was one of those men who really mastered his subject and made it his own, and his first writings must have fired many besides myself with the desire to know Asia, and especially to know that mysterious part which is called Central Asia. I remember for years it was my highest ambition to bring home a head such as decorates both the bill of fare and the list of guests. I should have been a happy man if I had ever been in the position not only to pursue one, but to bring one down. That was not to be fulfilled. I have never penetrated to the heart of Asia. The nearest I have been is Persia, which a good many of you in this room know better than I.

In reviewing Asia I think we must say a word about that western fringe which is Palestine. I do not intend to go into any of the rights and wrongs of the dispute, and so much the less in that we have in our Chairman of the Society, Sir Horace Rumbold, a member of the Committee which is shortly to leave for Palestine. I confess that I think the best chance that that Committee has of producing a report which is likely to be adopted and to do good is the fact that they have chosen a leading member of this Society to be on it. I do not doubt that the work of the Committee will reflect his mature judgment and his enormous diplomatic experience.

Let us go further along the fringes and look at the last year in Asia. The Philippines, although they certainly cannot be called Central Asia, are undergoing a change which may have interesting repercussions in the future. As you know, the Americans are clearing out of the Philippines. The Philippine Islands within ten years will be in a position to govern themselves and to show what they can do. What effect that will have on the future of Asia and of the Pacific it is impossible to say, but it is unlikely that it will have no influence at all.

Going further east, we find the centre of interest in Asia at the present moment lies in the relations between Japan, Russia, and China. Certainly it would require a prophet superior to anyone in this country to foresee how the Far East will ultimately develop.

We have in the Far East not merely a rivalry between races of entirely different origins, the yellow and the white; but we have in the Far East that same rivalry between different systems of government and different ideas, which seems likely to afford us a great deal to think about nearer home.

The strength of Soviet Russia remains problematical. No one knows really what the army is worth; no one knows how its discipline will stand the strain of war, and no one knows whether those mechanical instruments which have been manufactured in such masses will stand the strain of Russian mechanics.

I was four years in Russia during a period not altogether devoid of incident. There were two revolutions and a great war, and I confess that, although I do not venture into the realm of prophecy, I would a great deal sooner be among the Japanese battalions than among the Russian aeronauts.

However, as I have said, the struggle is not one merely between rival armies; it is a struggle between rival systems, and the only thing which really interests me, and probably interests most of this Society, is on which side British interests are best served.

It is humiliating for an Englishman—especially one who was in the Far East thirty years ago—to see the difference which obtains there now from that which obtained in 1905 or 1906. At that time we were still the predominant Power in the Far East. Our influence was felt in every sphere, and our advice was listened to with respect if not always with obedience.

That position no longer exists, and in the Far East at the present time it is true to say that the only two countries that count are Japan and Russia. China is the *corpus vile* for which these two countries are struggling, and the idea that it should fall under Bolshevist influence is to me far more repugnant than that it should fall under the influence of the Japanese. (Applause.)

In the long run, no doubt, the only influence in China will be Chinese, but that will be a long run. The position often reminds me, perhaps quite wrongly, of our own relations with France four or five hundred years ago. For a long time we were settled in France. We dominated enormous parts of France. Naturally the time came when

we were squeezed out. But those who think the Japanese are going to be squeezed out in two or three hundred years should try and imagine what the feelings of the English under Edward I. would have been had they been told the same thing.

That is the position as it is now. The Chinese in the long run no doubt will reassert themselves. In the future there is bound to be a struggle between the Russians and the Japanese, and it seems to me that in that struggle our sympathies, although they need not be very pronounced on either side, should certainly not be with the Moscow people, who are attempting to undermine us in every part of the world.

I am told this question of democracies and dictatorships is very much exercising the minds of Asia. They see the apparent strength of the dictatorships in Europe. and they see the apparent strength of the dictatorship in Russia. But I do not think it is quite so easy as all that. Parliamentary institutions have never been a great success in the East. It is possible that they may be in the future. But there is something, surely, between Parliamentary institutions and democratic government and these totalitarian ideas, which, based on fictions as they are—fictions of race, fictions of interest, fictions of every sort and kind—there is surely some difference between these totalitarian ideas and what we call democracy. There should be some way which the Asiatic countries can find, some way more according to their own traditions and their own customs, which should lead them to find an administration and a mode of government which does not fall into the excesses of the totalitarian State.

Dictatorships were invented by the Romans, but the Roman idea of a dictatorship was a temporary measure, adopted to face some particular danger and set aside as soon as that danger was passed. The Roman dictator originally was not a man who set himself up above the State and who reduced the organs of public opinion to the position of gramophones; he was a soldier, taken often from the plough, who, when his work was done, returned to his plough. For such a dictatorship there seems to me a great deal to be said, but these existing dictatorships appear to me to be playing a very dangerous game. They cannot last personally for ever, and what is to happen when they pass away? It is difficult to see either in Germany or Italy a successor to the men who fill the stage now. If no successor is found, the ultimate fate of those countries will be a great deal more precarious than of countries like our own, which have reared up amongst themselves whole bands of people who are accustomed to public life and who are accustomed to saying

what they think without having first to find out what the dictator thinks. I think the ultimate strength of a country in which liberty and freedom of speech exists is far greater and more enduring than in any of those countries which at present are terrorizing the world.

I said before that the position in the Far East was humiliating for an Englishman who had been there thirty years ago. That brings me to consider the future of the British Empire in Asia. I do not know whether I am such an optimist as the Field-Marshal or whether I am a pessimist. Optimists are supposed to be those who live among pessimists, and a pessimist is one who is described as consorting with optimists. In my own household I am considered a pessimist. I dare say some of you are brighter in your homes than I. In any case, without being either pessimistic or optimistic, we have to consider what the future of the Empire is going to be in Asia. It seems to me that that future depends very little on what happens in our Asiatic dependencies; it depends entirely on what happens in this country.

I think this Society, the members of the Society individually, have a task to do in trying to instil into the younger generation some idea of what the Empire has been and what the Empire promises if it is maintained. To look upon the Empire merely as an aggregation of red marks on the atlas, an area the extent of which is a source of pride, that seems to me a very superficial way of regarding it.

I have passed most of my life in foreign countries, and am just as persuaded now as when I left school that the British Empire has been and is now the greatest influence for justice, decency, and liberty which exists in the world. (Applause.) I think there are a great many young men who have no such ideas. In that I may be a pessimist, but the prevalent idea and the great ambition of so many people is to be what they call broad-minded—that is to say, without examining any of the evidence or putting themselves to the smallest trouble to ascertain the truth, to maintain and to believe that everyone is more or less the same and that every rule is equally good and equally bad.

That is not borne out by the facts. It is very far from the truth. I think if we are to maintain our Empire it is absolutely essential that the people of this country should believe in its beneficence. It is no good merely appealing to pride. They must believe that we have a mission in the world. Whether it develops into self-government amongst the dependencies or not, we have a mission to spread those ideas of justice, decency, and liberty which we have spread up to now.

I should like to say—it is not quite apropos—I was very much struck

by one remark of the Field-Marshal. He said how much Lord Allenby's knowledge of the Bible and the Old Testament had assisted in Palestine. I do not think any truer remark can ever have been made. One of the things which, in my opinion, has weakened our capacity in administering Oriental countries and in understanding their people is the diminution of the knowledge of the Old Testament which is now apparent amongst the younger generation. I know when I first went to Persia nothing struck me so much as the resemblance in the landscape, and the society, and the sentiments of those with whom I came into contact to what I had read in some of the books of the Old Testament. It was quite remarkable. I was very much struck with what the Field-Marshal said on that subject.

The toast I have to propose is that of the Society coupled with the name of Lord Lloyd. We have in our Chairman a man who has enormous experience of the East, and he has the great advantage over us ex-diplomatists that he has been occupied with administration rather than with mere diplomacy.

I always think, looking back, that administrative work must be a great deal more interesting and more satisfactory than diplomatic work. Instead of writing notes which probably receive very unsatisfactory answers, instead of asking for instructions which are probably exactly what you do not wish to receive, a man in Lord Lloyd's position leaves behind him, when he finally relinquishes his post, not packets of papers, but great and dominant achievements. (Applause.) He may feel that he has made, not one blade of wheat, but thousands of blades of wheat to grow where none grew before, and he leaves his stamp on a vast number of his fellow-subjects.

Such triumphs are not for us in the Diplomatic Service, and it is for that reason that I congratulate you on the personality of your President, and it is for that reason that it gives me particular pleasure, in proposing the health of the Society, to couple with it the name of Lord Lloyd. (Applause.)

When the toast had been honoured, the President replied: I must thank Sir Francis Lindley for his extremely interesting speech and for his kindly reference to myself. I desire particularly at the same time to associate myself with all Sir Philip Chetwode has said in regard to Lord Allenby. I was Chairman of the Society for several years during his distinguished Presidency. I succeeded him as High Commissioner in Egypt, and it necessarily meant close association with him in this con-

nection; and I served under him as a Yeomanry officer both in Palestine and the Lawrence campaign during the war. His loss to this Society as well as to the Empire is a very great one.

I desire now to thank the Society for the great honour it has done me in electing me as its President. It is no figure of speech to say that I do regard it as a great honour, for I have been connected with the Society during all my travelling as well as in my later administrative years, and have the greatest interest in its work and pride in its steady advance. The Society was founded in 1901, and I think I joined it in 1907; it then had 150 members; it now has 1,700. And I think we can claim that the knowledge and repute of our Society's members compare favourably with any other such learned Society in the whole Empire. It will therefore always be a satisfaction to me to recall that it was during my Chairmanship that the Society aspired to, and was granted, its Royal Charter.

The Society has been very fortunate in getting Sir Horace Rumbold to be its Chairman, and I am sure I speak for all of you when I express our best wishes to him in the highly important mission which takes him to Palestine in a few days' time. I for one have the fullest confidence that the Commission will discover and suggest a solution of the Palestine problem which shall do justice in that distracted country. We must also hope that the Government will not shrink from giving effect, with courage and promptitude, to the recommendations of the Commission, when made.

The Society is also much indebted to the close interest taken by Sir Percy Sykes and Sir Edward Penton in its affairs.

Now may I take this opportunity of welcoming on behalf of the Society the guests who have honoured us to-night? And amongst these are what may prove to be—if Central Asia is really going under Bolshevik rule—the last Englishman to journey from China to Kashgar. We welcome Miss Ella Maillart and Mr. Peter Fleming, and I venture to hope that the claims of neither Printing House Square nor of matrimony will check his admirable vagrancy or dull his roving spirit. I like just to imagine in what splendid language Lord Curzon would have welcomed both Miss Maillart and Mr. Fleming, for it was surely on these Central Asian occasions and in this company that he was more completely at home and in loftier eloquence than in any other. His influence and his words sped many a traveller back to Asia, and no genuine traveller, archæologist, or historian ever told the tale of his achievements to a more eager listener.

We had hoped that Sir Eric Teichman would have been here to-night. The Society will remember that he came through this year from China—not by Mr. Fleming's entirely unofficial road, but by the official route to Kashgar. We are also disappointed that Captain Kingdon Ward cannot be here this evening, though his wife, we are glad to say, is here. He has a good excuse; he is receiving this evening at Edinburgh the Livingstone Medal of the Scottish Geographical Society for his discovery this year of a hitherto unknown range of mountains in Central Tibet.

Mr. and Mrs. Owen Lattimore, however, are here—just arrived back. He, too, did the Peking-Kashgar journey by the Mongol Road with a Mongol caravan. I believe it is generally agreed that in the knowledge of Mongolia and its people he stands unrivalled. I should like to express my thanks to them on behalf of this Society for the help they have constantly given to English travellers in Mongolia and its neighbouring areas. We welcome last, but not least, Mrs. Lawrence, mother of T. E. Lawrence, who, with the intrepidity connected with that name, has recently been into the heart of China. You will be glad to hear that the Society is appointing her an honorary member.

This year, unfortunately, Mr. Philby is not with us, though we are glad to welcome his wife here. Mr. Philby has just done another fine journey, having travelled on the western side of the Rub'al Khali and through the unexplored west of the Hadramaut, including Shabwa. He is, I believe, at this moment in Asir.

I desire now to say a word about the Lawrence Medal. We in the Society are proud of the Medal, and I know you will feel it has been suitably awarded to Major Glubb. He has been leading desert patrols now for sixteen years, turning disorder into order wherever his influence has been felt; time was when he paved the way for good relations with Ibn Saud at a difficult period, and I should not be surprised if his influence has also been potent in the recent restoration of order in Palestine.

Before I sit down may I say this? The Society is growing steadily, but we need more young men to join it—more young officers from the Indian Army; more from the British Army; more from the Indian Civil Services, from the Air Force and 'Iraq generally; more from the youth of this country. You all know the value of the Society and the value of its admirable Journal, which now finds eager readers in all parts of the world who can be the best recruiting officers for the Royal Central Asian Society. I have a plan in my mind which I hope the Council

will consider for encouraging more young men to join. Central Asia, moreover, is coming in the next twenty-five years right on to the map. Air power, wireless, and the internal combustion engine are all conspiring to that end. Never was there a moment when it was more important that the stamp of our own civilization should be set upon the developments in Central Asia than to-day. The Royal Central Asian Society is surely the best agency for that great purpose. (Applause.)

ACROSS SOUTHERN TIBET IN 1935

By CAPTAIN F. KINGDON WARD

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on September 23, 1936, General Sir John Shea in the Chair.

WHEN we regard England as it is to-day, with its cities and speedways, its mines and factories, its railways and canals and its suburbs, we must admit, however much we deplore its industrialization, that it is greatly improved in at least one respect. It is improved in its gardens and parks, public and private. From a drab island in the grey North Sea, it has become a land of vivid colour; this is especially true in winter. Think of England four centuries ago, about Christmas-time. Certainly there was more forest then, and more pasture. But all the trees would be leafless, and very few shrubs, except holly and mistletoe, bore berries. Why do we use those plants to decorate our houses during the great annual religious festival of Christmas? What has holly to do with the Holy Land? Mistletoe was definitely associated with the pagan Druidical religion. Neither has any connection whatever with Christianity. The reason is, that when Christianity was introduced into this country and for long afterwards, there was at that season nothing else with which to decorate, nothing coloured and very little that was evergreen. Nowadays we have flowers, coloured berries in considerable variety, and plenty of evergreens. Probably there is a greater variety of decorative plants available at Christmas now than was available at midsummer four or even three centuries ago.

Evidently, then, a great number of our ornamental trees and shrubs as well as garden flowers are not natives at all. Everybody knows that, but possibly not everyone realizes how many foreign plants are cultivated to-day in Britain. We know that our stove and greenhouse plants are aliens. We sometimes forget how many of our most familiar trees are. To Londoners, few trees are better known than the plane, of unknown origin but probably a hybrid between two foreign species. The horse-chestnut looks as natural and English as a tree can, but Queen Elizabeth could never have seen one, because it was not in the country in her day. Just now we are all admiring the

dahlias and chrysanthemums and asters which are so popular. It is true there are several species of chrysanthemum and aster wild in Britain—no dahlias; but our cultivated plants were not derived from these, they are all aliens introduced into our midst. This introduction and cultivation of alien plants has, of course, been going on all over the world for a very long time, perhaps from the beginning of man's dominion over the earth. From the earliest times man must have carried plants with him on his migrations; first food plants, afterwards ornamental ones. Conquering races have always introduced their favourite plants into the new lands they occupied. Thus the English grow their own roses in the Indian hills, besides many other flowers familiar in home gardens.

The search for new and better plants was never more intense and specialized than it is to-day. Since the war horticulture has become extremely popular in England; the more everything else slumps, the more gardening booms. It is really surprising how adaptable plants are. Probably in no other country of the same size as Britain are so many alien plants grown in the open. About 12,000 species of hardy plants are grown in our gardens and parks—ten times the entire wild flora of these islands. Most of them are easy, some are difficult, not a few have naturalized themselves. It is interesting to note that a plant introduced into a foreign country sometimes not merely naturalizes itself but flourishes so prodigiously that it becomes first a pest, and then a menace, as for example the water hyacinth in India. But, curiously enough, though this is true of plants from the northern hemisphere introduced into the southern hemisphere—as British weeds in Australia and New Zealand—it is not true of plants from the southern hemisphere introduced into the northern. There seems to be no example of a southern plant naturalizing itself in the northern hemisphere, with the solitary exception of a mesembryanthemum.

If a plant from the Antipodes reaches this country, whether it be a desirable garden flower or the plainest weed, you need never fear that it will ever become a pest. There is no southern plant which can prevail against the northern flora; it will take you all your time and skill to make it grow at all. This has nothing to do with the reversal of the seasons and consequent change of rhythm in the plant, since northern plants can and do oust southern ones in their own territory. It may be ascribed to the age-long isolation of the southern flora, which has consequently grown rigid and unadaptable; whereas the northern flora has been driven across continents by alternating colder

and warmer epochs till the constitutions of most northern species have become elastic.*

As I have spent a good many years plant hunting in Asia, some account of a botanical expedition to Tibet may be of interest. Tibet is still a land of mystery, but it is at least a definable mystery. Those of us who explore Tibet usually go there with a quite definite object, to solve definite problems; our commission is not exactly a roving one. My Tibetan travels have always been undertaken as a botanist, but a *geographical* botanist. I am interested to discover what plants grow in Tibet, and how they got into Tibet; but I am further deeply concerned how to get them *out of* Tibet and into English gardens.

We all know the position of Tibet, a huge oval plateau embedded like a stone in the heart of Asia. This imagery of a foreign body embedded in living tissue is not entirely fanciful, because the streams of human life do circle around Tibet, leaving the plateau almost lifeless.

The plateau is on the average about 15,000 feet above sea level. Being thus exposed, it is in process of destruction by all the forces of nature. Like all Gaul, Tibet is divided into three parts, which mark stages in the degradation of the original plateau. These three parts are (1) the interior plateau or Tibet lake basin—a cold desert or tundra, (2) the outer plateau covered with grass and scrub, (3) the river gorge region covered with forest. The last comprises south-eastern Tibet, where the destruction of the plateau has been most severe, owing to the presence of great glaciers. Here also we find converging or parallel ranges of mountains, some of which exceed 25,000 feet in height; and these ranges are themselves pierced by river gorges 10,000 feet deep. The physical diversity is greater here than in any other part of Tibet; the flora also is more diverse. The geographer botanist would waste his time exploring three-quarters of the Tibetan plateau; in the fourth quarter he might profitably spend a lifetime.

A significant feature of south-eastern Tibet is that it is covered with forest. About half the remainder is arid, covered at best with thorn scrub and grass: the rest is desert.

Between the plains of India and the plateau of Tibet is the Great Himalayan range, which forms a rain screen to the country behind it.

* It must also be remembered that many plants, such as magnolias, now found in North America, Japan, and China, formerly grew in North-West Europe, including Britain. They were exterminated during the ice age. Their descendants, when introduced into Britain, grow quite happily.

Intercepting the heaviest current of the monsoon, the Eastern Himalaya is one of the most constantly moist regions in the world, though the actual rainfall is on the average only about 200 inches per annum. North of the Himalaya the country becomes very dry, but towards its eastern end the rain-bearing wind blows up the river gorges, thus creeping into Tibet; and the last 200 miles of the eastern Himalaya is forested on *both* sides.

There are very few passes over the eastern Himalaya, which affords the worst possible, but by far the most interesting, approach to Tibet. Protected by its moist climate and consequently dense jungle, its outer ranges and high passes, its unfriendly tribes and difficult tracks, this region is very little known. To the botanist it is a paradise.

Leaving the Assam plain with twenty-four coolies last year, I marched due northwards over the first range, which I crossed at 10,000 feet. Thus I ascended from tropical forest, through hill jungle into cool, temperate forest—the zone of magnolias, oaks, rhododendrons, laurels and maples; a curious mixture of the familiar and unfamiliar. No sooner had I crossed the first pass than a complete change came over the scene. I looked down on to a fair and smiling valley whose flanks were covered with thin woods of weeping blue pine and oak trees. The annual rainfall had dropped abruptly to sixty inches and there was a long cold, dry spell in winter. And so I came to the first hill tribe village, called Shergaon, and was welcomed by the headman. Continuing northwards, I crossed range after range of the outer Himalaya, each one higher than the last. The valleys contained a warm, temperate flora, but cool, temperate rain forest clothed the mountains. Above 14,000 feet there was snow, and early in June the monsoon began to deluge the mountains with rain. Sheets of alpine flowers spread themselves over the rock.

Crossing two passes of over 17,000 feet between snow peaks and glaciers, we entered upon the great plateau of Tibet, and a more violent change of climate took place. The sun shone brightly, the country was quite arid and without forest. Here and there a few trees marked the site of a village, with its irrigated crops. Beautiful irises fringed the water channels and fields of gamboge brassica made patches of brilliant colour. Villages here were 13,000 to 14,000 feet above sea level, but descending to the river we halted at Chayul Dzong, only 11,000 feet. This dry plateau country, crossed by ranges of high mountains, is typical of southern Tibet, where the bulk of the population resides. The valleys, though deep, are not gorges. Villages

and monasteries are found every few miles. All crops are irrigated. To the botanist the chief interest lies in the shrubs, and in the alpine flora of the high ranges. There is sufficient rainfall in the summer to support a varied flora, especially above 12,000 feet; and alpine plants are found so high as 17,000 or 18,000 feet.

From Chayul Dzong I travelled north-eastwards over a high pass and on the third day reached Sanga Choling, where there is a fine monastery. It is a very holy place, and here resides a famous re-incarnation known as the Drukpa Rimpoche, with whom I made friends.

Sanga Choling is the starting point for pilgrims going round Tsa ri, the sacred mountain. I obtained permission to make the pilgrimage and set out next day, crossing a range of high mountains. This brought me into pluvial Tibet, and it rained remorselessly. For many hours we marched down a valley knee deep in yellow primulas, violet iris and other alpine flowers. Arrived at a picturesque village, where there were more monasteries and shrines than houses, I halted for three days; then, hearing of a mysterious sacred lake, known as the snow lake, in which visions are seen, I set off to visit it. It was a difficult journey; we had to cross three passes, the last over 18,000 feet, whence we had a fine view of the lake, surrounded by glaciers. I spent the night in a yak herd's bothy and was almost eaten alive by fleas. Next day my coolies insisted on walking round the lake before starting back. Returning to Tsari, I slept the night in a little temple and the coolies gambled all night with their pay; it was quite a thieves' kitchen.

Continuing my journey, I crossed yet another range of mountains and finally reached the Tsangpo, the great river of Tibet. Fancy a river as wide as the Thames at Richmond, over 10,000 feet above sea level! There is no river traffic, and yet the river is quite navigable; skin coracles and dug-out canoes are used for ferrying across. I turned eastwards down the river, towards the forest country. On the way I stayed three days at the official guest-house of a local magistrate, who was quite friendly. Before I left he begged me to give him a cake of soap. Continuing eastwards, we crossed another range, and saw far away in the north a great range of snow peaks. I determined to cross that range, and turning north, left behind me the Tsangpo, which now begins to narrow before entering its great gorge and forcing the passage of the Himalaya in order to reach India.

Descending a valley, I found myself in pine forest, less than 10,000 feet above sea level for the first time since I entered Tibet. Arrived at

a river, I found all the bridges washed away by a flood three years previously; they had not yet been replaced, but a temporary rope bridge had been fixed up, to enable us to reach Tongkyuk. Evidently I was expected here! I wished now to explore a great range of snow mountains somewhere to the north of the Tsangpo. But first I must locate it. I had first seen this range in 1924. At Tongkyuk I found a smart officer named Yuri in charge. He had only recently arrived from Lhasa on special duty, having formerly been Chief of Police in that city. It was certainly an odd coincidence that brought Yuri and me to Tongkyuk almost on the same day. Yuri was on the lookout for a person named ——— and when he saw me he thought, not unnaturally, that he had found his man! I was about to be put under open arrest. However, I told my story and Yuri believed it. To some extent he was able to test its truth; and after delaying me only one day, he found me transport and permitted me to go to the Yigrong valley, whither he himself was bound in a day or two. His job was to make a roll of all the men available for fighting, with a list of their armament. Consequently in the Po Yigrong valley I kept meeting small bands of armed men going to report themselves. I saw about fifty all told. I am not certain, however, that Yuri ever got across the rather difficult Lochen La.

Yuri was a burly fellow, with a strong kindly face and a pleasant expression. His khaki uniform did not fit him, and he looked rather uncomfortable in it; but in his national costume he looked a fine man.

I was now close to the great snow range previously seen, and, turning up a side valley, I crossed it at 17,000 feet by a difficult pass. Descending a valley on the far side with wonderful views of more unknown snow ranges to the north, I passed through forests of big trees and came to a village by the Yigrong River, at an altitude of less than 8,000 feet. The villagers now mistook me for the Tibetan magistrate who had announced his intention of visiting them. To be mistaken for a Bolshevik agent and for a Tibetan magistrate within a week struck me as an unusual and humorous experience!

The reason why this snow range had not been seen previously is simply that it could not have been seen by the very few travellers who have been within a hundred miles of it—or at any rate this section of it. And yet the China-Tibet high road (Gyalam) crosses it, between Atsa and Gyamda! The Po Yigrong range here is comparatively low, however, and although one can see a snow peak or two from the pass north of Atsa (Banda La), no such peaks are visible

from the Trö La south of Atsa. In neither case does one get any idea of a great snowy range; it is so close as to be quite hidden. Thus the few Europeans who have traversed the Gyalam—Huc and Gabet in 1845-46, the late General Pereira in 1922—had no chance of seeing it from the north. In the south, the late Major Morshead and Colonel F. M. Bailey were close to the eastern end of the range in 1913; but it is quite invisible from the river gorges traversed by them. It is essential to climb a ridge to the south in order to see it *as a range*, and not merely an isolated peak or two. Lord Cawdor and I were very lucky to have struck just the right spot at Tsela Dzong in 1924. None of the Indian explorers who were in this part of Tibet—Nain Singh, Kinthup, or A.K.—saw it. As to former conjectures, it has long been known that the mountain ranges of interior Tibet probably run right across the plateau from west to east; but their conjunctions and bifurcations are more complicated. Little is known for certain about the *ranges* of eastern Tibet, their real direction, altitudes, and so on; although every traveller has spoken of crossing range after range, or has said that "to the south-east (or north-west, or east) we noticed a snow peak." Burrard (*A Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet*, 1st edition) has drawn a hypothetical curved range continuing the Ninchinthang La range in an arc southwards, first at the Salween-Brahmaputra divide, then as giving origin to the Zayul River (Lohit Brahmaputra) and the Irrawaddy, and finally as the Salween-Irrawaddy divide. But the matter is much more complicated than that. The Ninchinthang La range, in the small portion of it which has been actually seen, is trending from south-west to north-east, and it is quite unknown east of the 92nd meridian, and then in about lat. 31° 45′. To bring it down and make it reappear as the Po Yigrong range in lat. 30° 15′ between the meridians of 93°-95° is a bold suggestion. Still, the Po Yigrong range probably does stretch both east and west of where I saw it. There is nothing strange in the fact that where the China-Tibet road crosses it there are no snow peaks. All the Tibet ranges appear to be suddenly elevated between the meridians 93°-96°. No better example of this exists than the Great Himalayan Range itself. North-east of where the Subansiri breaks through, in about long. 93°, for a hundred miles the peaks do not rise above the snow-line, until quite suddenly the gigantic Namcha Barwa towers up like a church steeple above cottage roofs to a height of 25,445 feet. It may be that the Po Yigrong range does the same, and that east of the Tse La there is a

break, where the Gyamda River comes through. But perhaps not for long. Travelling up the Gyamda valley westwards from Gyamda towards Lhasa, one can see absolutely nothing of the country to the north; but a few miles from Gyamda a big glacier stream is crossed. This probably flows from the western extension of the Po Yigrong range between the 92nd and 93rd meridians, and the Po Yigrong range may join the Ninchinthang La range hereabouts. At the eastern end, however, there is absolutely no evidence that the range takes the direction suggested by Burrard. Between lat. 29°-30° there is a great snow range whose general direction is north-west to south-east; and between the meridians of 96°-98° there are many high peaks. It is quite possible that this is an eastward extension of the main Himalayan range, and if so we might seek a similar extension of the Po Yigrong range roughly parallel to it and a little further north.

Taking geological age as a test—and, according to rigidly orthodox geographers, as the *only* test—the main Himalayan range is known to bend round the head of the Assam valley like a hairpin, becoming the low Naga Hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra; others, including the writer, would regard this southern extension as a minor loop, and continue the main range across China to the Pacific coast. But be that as it may, there is not a shred of evidence for any range known in Tibet north of the Tsangpo behaving in that way. So far as we know at present, the ranges of interior Tibet end in eastern Tibet; they do not bend round to the south or south-west, whether regarded on geological grounds, or from the purely physiographical point of view.

But we know very little about the ranges of interior Tibet, particularly in the east, where they appear to be all jumbled up together and running in every possible direction. At present the Tibetan traveller sees little bits of ranges here and there, just as the Antarctic explorers see bits of coastline here and there. By placing these on the map, gradually the Antarctic coastline, or some of it, has been drawn; and we may hope that by joining together the bits of mountain ranges seen by Tibetan travellers, their direction and extent will gradually become known. At present and until a serious triangulation of Tibet by extension from India is undertaken, we shall have to be content with such rough-and-ready charts. So far as the Po Yigrong range is concerned it has been observed from the following places:

Tsela Dzong, two points, 1924. Cawdor and Kingdon Ward.

Tumbatse, 1935. Kingdon Ward.

Nambu La, 1924. Cawdor and Kingdon Ward.

Pasum Kye La, crossing the range, 1924. Cawdor and Kingdon Ward.

Sobhe La, crossing the range, 1935. Kingdon Ward.

Gorge of the Yigrong, 1935. Kingdon Ward.

Lochen La, crossing the range, 1935. Kingdon Ward.

No native name is known for the range. The Tibetans themselves shun this difficult country, and the Tibetanized tribes who live in the gorges appear to have formed no conception of it as a continuous range. The heights of the peaks are unknown. In May, 1924, when Cawdor and I first recognized the range, we were astonished at their size as seen from a distance of at least 50 miles, and estimated them at not less than 25,000 feet. From the close-up views I obtained in 1935, and from the size of the glaciers to which they give origin, I have no reason to modify that opinion for the highest peaks.

It is interesting to note that, in the 100-mile section explored in 1935, this range is *not* the Salween-Tsangpo divide; that lies much further north.

To the west of me lay totally unexplored country, and I decided to follow the Yigrong River to its source, and at the same time see what I could of the great snow range I had discovered. From this point the Yigrong flowed through a succession of wonderful gorges, and progress was slow. My loads had to be carried on men's backs, and it was hard skilled labour, too. The gorges were well wooded with magnificent trees—pines, hemlock, oaks, maples and many others. Flowers grew on the cliffs in abundance. Sometimes we advanced only three or four miles in twice as many hours. The precipices were terrific and the rapids awe-inspiring. The gorges were intermittent; between them were little villages buried in the bowels of the earth as it seemed. Now and then we had glimpses of the snow peaks, and glaciers descended nearer and nearer to the river. On the twelfth day came the most formidable gorge. To get round the cliff we had to build a bridge and climb on to a gallery. We also had to cross an almost vertical smooth face, with shallow holes scooped in it, to fit our toes. Finally we crossed the river by rope bridge. After following the river for a hundred miles, I reached its source in some large glaciers, and for the second time crossed the great snow range. Eventually I found myself on the Gyalam, or caravan road, which for 3,000 miles runs from Peking to Lhasa. Here I fell in with a tea caravan of 200 animals, a mixed force of ponies, mules and donkeys,

travelling from eastern Tibet to the capital. They had been two months on the road. There were also many pilgrims making their way to the holy places, or returning thence. At Gyamda, an important town five days east of Lhasa, I found myself for the first time officially unwelcome, probably because I had ventured too close to the capital. The officials neither called on me nor requested me to call, thereby blandly assuming that I had no material existence—an attitude of mind easily adopted by a true Buddhist. However, one of the magistrates went so far as to borrow my field glass; but he returned it. After three days' rest here I resumed my journey, travelling towards Lhasa. Autumn was approaching; the alpine flowers were at their best, and there was an herbaceous border lining either side of the road. I began collecting seed of the early summer flowers. Less than a hundred miles from Lhasa I left the Gyalam and turned due south to explore the unknown mountains between the high road and the Tsangpo. Five rather long marches over the range, which again I crossed at 17,000 feet, brought me once more to the Tsangpo in the dry treeless plateau country.

To my botanical work was now added the labour of collecting seeds. It is not necessary to mark the plants, when in flower, of which seed is required. Constant practice enables one to recognize a given plant almost as easily by its fruits as by its flowers; and even though one follows a different route in the autumn, most plants are so abundant and widespread—where the climate is constant—that they continually recur. Thus one need not return to the same spot to collect seed of a given plant; and I frequently collected seed of a species a hundred miles or more away from where I had first seen it in flower.

September had come. Following a different route to that of the outward journey, I returned to Sanga Choling, where I found the Drukpa Rimpoche still in residence. We drank each other's health, and he requested me to take his photograph in full regalia. His gown and silk jacket of imperial yellow, and his mandarin's hat, gave him an imposing appearance. We parted good friends. Returning to where I had left my baggage, I found that a prisoner who on my previous visit had been condemned to walk about with a wooden board locked round his neck had finished his sentence. He was very smartly dressed and was by no means in need of aid as a distressed prisoner.

Putting my collections in order, I prepared to depart. The weather was fine, but cold; winter was fast settling down over Tibet. There

was some delay over transport, and we did not cross the main Himalaya till October, when at 15,000 feet the temperature fell to 16° F. in my tent—16° of frost. Nevertheless, the turf slopes sparkled with brilliant blue gentians, which thawed during the day, and were like blue crystals at dawn. Two yak carried firewood for us until we should reach the forests again.

Travelling slowly, we recrossed the high ranges, and came down to the Himalayan foothills, where I began to find flowers again; for many plants flower during the fine dry autumn and early winter. There were sharp frosts even in the valleys; but snow does not fall below 10,000 feet. Approaching the last range of hills, before the plain is reached, I learnt that I should have to go by another route; the bed of the stream up which we had ascended to the first pass was a raging torrent, all the bridges had been swept away, and the track obliterated. Following a different road, therefore, seeking another pass over the range, we travelled eastwards into the jungle country, meeting several wild Daflas on the way. The Daflas are the wildest and most backward tribe in Assam. Finally we found a low pass, and though the path was heavily overgrown with jungle and the leeches were bad, we got through to the plain of Assam, after a six months' journey. I had marched about 1,500 miles in 84 marching days, crossed twenty-seven passes between 15,000 and 18,000 feet high, ten of them not previously known, and collected numerous unknown plants.

SIR JOHN SHEA: Has anyone present any questions they would like to ask before we pass a vote of thanks to Captain Kingdon Ward?

A MEMBER: I would like to ask one small question: I understand it has been held that the elm tree disease started in Holland: is this a fact?

CAPTAIN KINGDON WARD: I believe so.

ANOTHER MEMBER: Can you please tell us the name of one of the plants you showed us, a pitcher plant and I think carnivorous?

CAPTAIN KINGDON WARD: Yes, that is correct. It was an aristolochia.

SIR JOHN SHEA: As time is going, I think the best thing now is to move a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer. From the way he spoke, one might imagine that he had no hardships, no privation, and no difficulties on his journey! But I can only say to him, on your behalf, that we were as delighted by the fascination of his lecture as we admire the journey that he made. (Applause.)

AN INCIDENT IN THE YEMEN IN 1934

(From an Occasional Correspondent.)

UNTIL the development of the Abyssinian situation, very little interest was taken by this country in the region which lies along the south-east shore of the Red Sea—the fertile and little-known uplands of Yemen. Few travellers go there. Their ruler, the Imam Yahya Muhammad Hamid-ud-din, though extremely courteous to such visitors as obtain permission to reach his capital at San'a, is not unreasonably sceptical as to the blessings of Western civilization in its newest forms, and is anxious to maintain intact his Arab independence.

British relations with this kingdom—important to us because it borders the Aden Protectorate and the route to India—have been steadily improving in recent years. We are, however, by no means the only power with interests in that country. Italy has an important trade in Yemen coffee, which is taken a night's journey across the Red Sea to Massawa, there "nationalized" as Italian, and exported to Italy under a preferential tariff. Before the Abyssinian adventure, half the Yemen coffee crop thus found its way to Italy.

In 1926 the visit of the then Governor of Eritrea, the Cavaliere Jacopo Gasparini, resulted in a commercial treaty between Italy and Yemen. This was only one among many acts, official or merely inspired, to spread Italian influence. For years past, Italian doctors, established at Hodeidah, San'a and Ta'iz, were extraordinarily well informed either direct from Asmara or—in the case of Ta'iz—by the Italian consul at Aden, and it is thanks to these men that the Italian Government is kept better informed of happenings in the Yemen than any other Government. The treaty expires next September, but it is understood that negotiations for its renewal will shortly begin.

The Imam rules his people with a strong hand. He deals with the various promises and suggestions made to him in a statesmanlike way, taking the gifts and suspecting the Greeks: but he is an old man, declining in health, and many factors are already at work preparing to dispute the succession. When he dies, general disorder and dissension are bound to follow, and the country will be vulnerable to a foreign Power.

How prompt the Italians might be to seize any opportunity that

offers may be inferred from an incident—scarcely noticed in the British Press—which took place at Hodeidah in May, 1934.

The King of Sa'udi Arabia and the Imam of Yemen were then at war, and the Imamit soldiery had fled from Hodeidah after the announcement that the Sa'udian forces were approaching under the command of the king's son, the Emir Feisal. The following is the account of an European eye-witness long resident in the Red Sea:

> "The town was left without protection of any kind. Fortunately for the inhabitants, H.M.S. *Penzance* (a sloop) happened to be in the neighbourhood and was instructed by the Resident in Aden to proceed with all haste to Hodeidah. The Commander, Captain Bevan, a man of exceptional ability and resource, immediately took over the control of the town. A handful of sailors under an officer, marching through the town with fixed bayonets, was enough to restore confidence and prevent the pillage and looting which would otherwise have occurred.
>
> "Almost immediately after the *Penzance* an Italian sloop appeared upon the scene, followed the next day by two larger Italian warships, and if you had then seen Hodeidah from the sea you would have believed it was in Italian possession! From every house of any size flew the Italian flag. Italian troops were landed from the warships, about a company strong, and they remained ashore until the Emir Feisal arrived on the scene with a camel corps. The following day boats containing thirty to forty Italian soldiers reached the jetty, but before they could penetrate into the town they were met by a company of Ibn Sa'ud's soldiers, who refused to allow them to pass. The officer in command threatened to use his machine-gun, to which the Sa'udi warriors replied that he could do as he liked, but his men would only enter Hodeidah over their dead bodies. The Italian officer decided that the risk was too great and announced his intention of returning to his ship to consult his superior officer. The latter shortly after came to the jetty. In a visit to the Emir Feisal, he argued that the fresh batch of soldiers who had been refused admittance to the town had merely come to relieve the others. Politely, but with the utmost firmness, the Emir Feisal replied that he had given his word to Captain Bevan that all property belonging to foreigners would be respected, and he added that he had personally undertaken to pay five times the value of any that was damaged. Since Captain

Bevan had expressed his complete satisfaction with this promise, he did not see why the Italians could wish to land troops in Hodeidah, and he demanded not only that the fresh batch sent should be ordered back to the ships, but that those already in the town should be withdrawn.

"During the discussion the whole populace of Hodeidah had collected on the sea front, and I leave you to imagine the sentiments that accompanied the Italians as they re-embarked in the pinnaces sent from their ships, under the delighted eyes of the officers and men of the little *Penzance*."

There is a treaty between Italy and Britain to veto the penetration of either into this independent Arab state. The local feeling about the incident was fairly strong, but if it had not been for the British promptitude the existence of a treaty alone might not have sufficed to induce the Italians to evacuate the town.

RUSSIA'S PRE- AND AFTER-WAR POLICY

By V. DE KOROSTOVETZ

Short notes on a Lecture given on October 27, 1936.

The CHAIRMAN, Sir CHARLES BELL: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are very fortunate this evening, since we are going to listen to a talk by M. Korostovetz on Imperial and Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy. M. Korostovetz has had a long experience in the Russian Foreign Office. He was one of the Secretaries in the Chancellery of M. Sasanoff, at the time when M. Sasanoff was Foreign Minister. He has served under other Foreign Ministers, and one interesting detail is that his uncle also served in the Foreign Service, and his uncle was the Minister who made the first treaty with Mongolia. M. Korostovetz was associated with his uncle in the signing of that treaty, and that first treaty with Mongolia was one that led the way to other great effects later.

I will now ask M. Korostovetz to address us.

SOMEONE rightly said "History is past politics and politics are present history." Therefore it seems to me, that in order to understand the present, one has to see events in the light of a right perspective, and this may only be when one has full knowledge of facts, because in our days when passions run high, half-knowledge is an especial danger. For in order to get public opinion on their side both political bodies and political nations are using generalities such as "Democracy," "World Peace," "Collective Security," "Recognition of treaties and obligations," "Self-determination of Nations," "Just and unjust wars." All these shibboleths are flung at us daily by opposed groups. And in the turmoil of conflicting interests, with passions running high, the fundamental essence of the past and even of the present are purposely forgotten. Even new words have been introduced to veil the essence of definite politics, especially so because "Internationalism," this fetish of to-day, is a vague definition which takes no account of national frontiers. The masses are raised to hysterics by unrestrained and misguiding propaganda coming from foreign sources. And unfortunately this appeal to emotional ignorance has taken root in many countries. At the bottom of this pernicious propaganda stand the forces of destruction, forces which under the veil of misguiding ideas actually tend but to one thing—"Clear out in order that we may get in." And if they do get in all these "high principles" are swept aside for merely party aims. There is a Russian saying: "If you sée in the Zoo a cage in which there is a donkey and

the cage has the inscription 'This is a Lion,' don't believe your eyes." Therefore, in my humble efforts to-day, at this lecture, I will try to deal with actual facts and not with misguiding slogans, for in this country as in others the inscription and the reality do not correspond.

My subject is Russia's foreign policy, past and present, and in order to understand the policy of Russia, Czarist or Red, one has to keep well in mind the fact that pre-revolutionary Russia was essentially an absolutistic military power. The Empire occupied, as you know, one-sixth of the globe. From the Arctic Zone to the sub-tropical areas, from the Baltic to the Pacific, there were 48 different nationalities, differing in history, tradition, language and often in religion in one state. All these nations and territories were, in the process of forming that Empire, brought under one hat, that of the One and Indivisible Czarist Absolutistic Russia. In the majority of cases, this process began by alliance with North Russia—the directing centre of the Empire—and afterwards there was the breaking up of treaties, followed by conquest, subjugation, annexation, the initiative coming always from the growing military power of Imperial Russia.

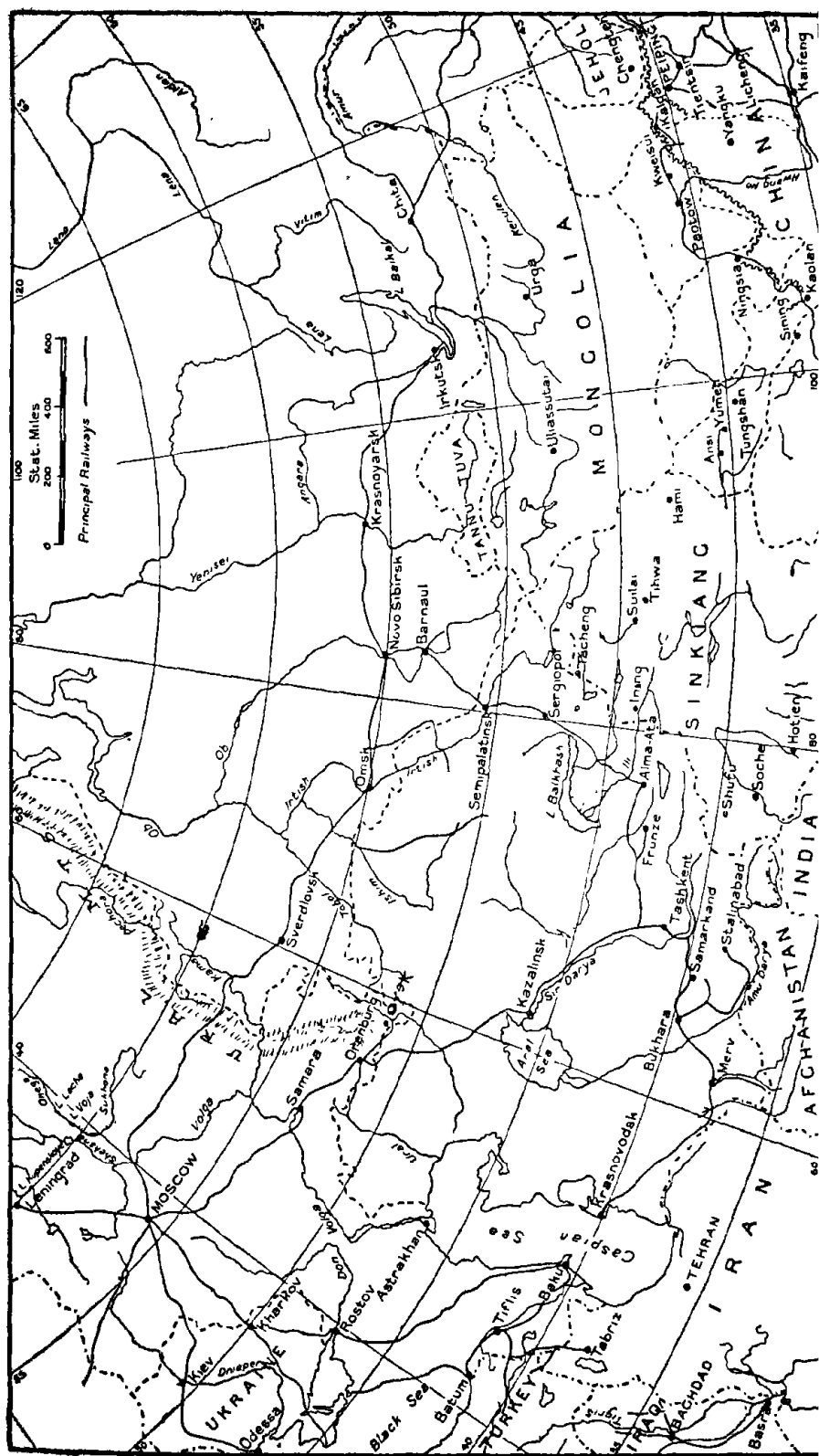
The directing centre of the Russian Empire was in the hands of a thin upper layer, which we, with a certain amount of precision, could classify as the "aristocracy." The "Middle Class" as a homogeneous body did not exist. There was a rather feeble heterogeneous body composed largely of intelligentsia, and including the *déclassés* which had lost their links with the masses and had not acquired a firm standing in the upper strata. Here discontent was prevalent, an inferiority feeling was dominant, coupled with a lack of statesmanship. It was, as it were, in perpetual opposition to His Majesty the Czar. And when the turmoil of revolution of 1917-18 swept away His Majesty and the upper class, the "Opposition to His Majesty" was swept away too. Then came the illiterate masses of peasantry and urban population, the "cannon fodder" in the hands of the rulers of that absolutistic Empire. And, as a good farmer looks after and feeds his cattle, so the rulers of Czarist Russia looked after these masses. Their mentality was that of serfs, especially in the North Russian territories, where serfdom was a tradition and a historical institution.

The non-Russian territories of the Russian Empire, including the Ukraine (over 30 million people), the Cossack lands and the Caucasian peoples, had their territories annexed and subjugated by military conquest and they played no important rôle in the guiding policy of the Empire.

Imperial Russia was a Continental Empire as opposed to the methods and ideas of a Colonial Empire. The aim was expansion at the expense of her immediate neighbours—expansion as a result of military conquest, followed by subjugation, annexation and denationalization of conquered territories. There was no place in that Empire for Tartars, Finns, Ukrainians—all were declared to be "Russians." The Colonial Empires expand chiefly as a result of commercial enterprise, recognition of national rights of the local nations, turning them into colonies or dominions whose interests are tied up with those of the Mother Country; the Mother Country does not look upon such expansion as imposing obligations and duties on one side, and privileges on the other, but as a fair play settlement, profitable for both sides. If the foreign policy of the Czarist Empire is examined it will be seen that Russia was usually at loggerheads with her immediate neighbours and coveted expansion at their expense; she made her alliances with her neighbours' neighbours.

Inside the Empire a draconic police régime was in force—religion and the Church were turned into *instrumenti regni* in the hands of the central power. I have already said that a strong, modern and well-equipped army was necessary, and for this some sort of contact with Western Europe had to be maintained; hence Peter the Great transferred his capital from the backward Asiatic city of Moscow to his newly built St. Petersburg—a city which he himself called the "window to Europe." He could close this window at his will, so as to allow the technicians their full say, but keep out the evolutionary as well as the revolutionary ideas of Western Europe. This window was finally closed by Lenin in 1918, when the capital was transferred back to Moscow.

The abhorrence of the ruling class of Czarist Russia to any European humanitarian ideas was patent, while the middle classes were weak and disseminated and the masses cowed by the police and centuries of serfdom into apathetic subjection.

War to the ruling class was a method on the one hand of external expansion and on the other of strengthening their own power internally. A successful war meant for them a new possibility of suppressing the Opposition. At the same time, the Opposition hoped that if and when war broke out and the Czarist power would have to ask for their help, they would only give it subject to the granting of liberal rights and a Constitution. So we see that war was a desiderata for both sides. We also know that the hopes of both vanished, as a

result of the Great War of 1914. Both were swept away, clearing the *way for the absolute power of Lenin.*

There were then two main instruments, two sides of the same medal, depending and supporting each other, which formed the mainspring of this absolutistic centralized power—a police force which supported it from within and a strong, well-equipped army for outside purposes. The former to protect, the latter to expand.

Every régime has its own ethics and code of morals—explaining and backing its endeavours, its policy and its aims.

First of all, this régime pretended to be the upholder of "True Religion," of which the Greek Orthodox Russian Church was the medium. Secondly, it pretended that it was entitled to become the bearer, or, as the Germans say, the *Kulturträger*, of European influence to the territories of the "barbaric" Asiatics. It must be noted here that Czarist Russia could not get away with this in her dealings with the West, and here her expansionist policy had to be veiled in other slogans. At the zenith of her power—*i.e.*, in the nineteenth century—these slogans were: to bring into Europe the "sanitary reaction against Napoleonic revolutionary ideas" by enforcing the principle of hereditary anointed monarchies. When the immediate danger of the Napoleonic wars was passed, this veil was dropped; it had served its purpose, having culminated in the Holy Alliance of Vienna and having, for the last time, been applied in 1848-49, when the armies of the "Holy Anointed Russian Monarch" were used to suppress the revolution against the legal monarch in Hungary.

Secondly, there was the veil of Slavophil ideas. This veil was to help the expansion of power of Russia over all the Slavonic races, with the ultimate aim of hoisting the Cross over Aya Sophia in Constantinople. The liberation of the Christian population from the yoke of the infidels was proclaimed. This policy with slight intervals dominated the Imperial Russian policy until the Great War of 1914. The débâcle of the régime in 1917-18 swept away the upper classes and intelligentsia, whilst the Opposition, personified in the Douma, was both too weak and had no contact with the masses, and so failed to retain power. The masses, having been for many a century cowed into subjugation and serfdom, were incapable of organizing, and this *Res Nullius* fell into the hands of Lenin's extremists.

We may say, then, that the foreign policy of Czarist Russia was to expand on land, to abolish any separationist traits in the conquered minorities, to force all her subjects into the North Russian mould.

Then came Lenin, equally absolute: I recall to mind the interesting, and, I would say, the prophetic talk I had with Lenin (then Ulianov) in Zürich in 1908, where he was an emigré preparing his revolutionary theories. He expounded to me his theory of introducing undiluted Communism in Russia. My argument was that it would be sheer madness to suppose that the masses in Russia, about 90 per cent. illiterate, would accept or understand the principles of Socialism. I pointed out that the masses in Europe, more advanced in culture as they are, would hardly be ripe for such an experiment. He bluntly declared that he did not want them to understand or accept. He would enforce it on them. "The Czars rule over Russia with their three hundred thousand nobility; why couldn't I form my own nobility and enforce my will on the masses?" he asked. I pointed out to him that 90 per cent. of the masses were peasants and as such not an easy prey for Socialism. Lenin was very bitter about peasantry. He declared them to be the foes of Socialism, but he said he would cow them to subjugation and obedience. He added that he well knew this would mean terrific bloodshed, but he was willing to carry it out for the sake of his experiment. He added that, after this happened, he knew that his power would not be long lasting and would be swept away by reaction, but that those reactionaries would not stay in power, and would prepare the ground for his return. Obviously being a revolutionary in theory and practice, Lenin's mind followed the revolutionary path, excluding any possibility of evolution. The débâcle and the downfall of the Czarist Absolutistic Power in 1917-18 brought Lenin to the helm. The slogans of his Red Absolutistic Power had to differ from those of the Czarist Absolutism. Lenin's slogans were: "The self-determination of Nations" inside the territories of the Russian continent and the "liberation of the oppressed nations" from without. His 300,000 "nobility" were the members of the Communist Party together with the O.G.P.U. The self-determination of nations was carried out by forming formally independent Soviet Republics, whilst the "liberation of the oppressed nations" was embodied in his policy of World Revolution under the cry of "Proletarians of the world, unite." From then onwards the centre and directing body became the Third International, whilst the Soviet Government was, and is, but the executive to that Third International. It must be noted in passing that the dictator Stalin has never had a post in the Soviet Government, but was, and still is, the head of the Third International.

What, then, was Lenin's foreign policy? As soon as he was firmly

settled in the saddle, he, having used the slogan of "self-determination" *of nations inside the Russian territories, did not hesitate to make* this declared slogan just an empty sound. The instance of Georgia or of the Ukraine proves this. Paragraph Three of the *Soviet Union Constitution* declares that any *Soviet Socialistic Republic inside the Union may leave the Union at any moment by simple declaration.* But in fact seventeen Red Army divisions and 100,000 special troops of the O.G.P.U. occupy the Ukraine, whilst the Soviet administration of the *soi-disant* independent Ukrainian Soviet Republic consists of 80 per cent. Jews and 20 per cent. North Russians coming from Moscow and nominated by Stalin. The Terror, enforcing Socialism and Communism, is applied as a system not only to non-Communists but to Communists too. The Soviet Penal Code is a proof of this. In this code scores of paragraphs describing offences are backed by heavy penalties, including, in many cases, the death penalty. The crimes are vaguely defined, giving a large scope to those who apply the punishment. The Penal Code is so formulated that every person (including Stalin himself) is a criminal offender against that code. At any moment even the most trusted Communist can be brought to account because, under the prevailing conditions in Soviet Russia, it is impossible not to be subject to penalty if such penalty be found necessary in order to exterminate the enemies of Stalin. The young Communists called the Comsomol (Communist Youth) in North Russia, having been born under the Soviet régime, and having never seen other conditions, are fervent adherents of the régime and are still more fervent believers in world revolution than the old Bolshevik Guard. For them a world revolution introducing Communism is not only a theoretical but a concrete aim. Neither Russia of the Communists nor Russia of the Czars has ever had a strong middle class, and the stabilizing power of the middle class cannot therefore be set to work.

Now let us turn our eyes to the last few years in Asia. In 1924 Stalin declared the large province of Outer Mongolia to be an integral part of China. Then came internal wars and disorders in the country, and in 1934 Stalin concluded a Treaty of Alliance with the Government of Outer Mongolia, with the firm promise of military support from Russia in case of attack, and Outer Mongolia was declared to be one of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Its chief men are trained in Moscow, its army leaders co-operate with Moscow. Its connection with China was severed. The same process may be seen at work in

Sinkiang, where the Terror is now at work. Both will be brought under the same régime as Russia and Russia's conquered territories.

But internally this huge territory has been developed, one might say, into a vast military camp. The old régime failed by bad communications; the new régime has worked hard. The most important communications are by way of the new waterways, a canal system partly under construction, partly achieved. Hundreds of thousands of men, mainly from concentration camps of political prisoners, are working on it. This system, more important to Russia than new railways, for Russians are no good at organizing railways, will connect the White Sea with the Baltic by a system of canals following the Onega, Suhona, Wychegda and Petchora rivers and Lakes Lachie, Woya and Kupenskaye, whilst Petchora is connected with the River Kama, an affluent of the Volga. The Volga flows into the Caspian Sea, which is connected to the Don and Dnieper by the Kuma-Manych Canal. It must be noted that the waters of the Dnieper and the Don, so badly needed for fertilizing the Ukraine, are largely drawn into the Caspian Soviet regions at the expense of the Ukraine. Protected and supplied by these waterways are the Ural Mountains. Rich in minerals, they are the backbone of the Soviet military industries. Further to the east, on the eastern slopes of the Urals, the canal system stretches out to include the West Siberian rivers, the Angara, the Ob, the Yenesei. These in their turn are to be connected with the Kuludinski Steppes, which form part of the Caspian-Aral areas.

Thus the waterways in the heart of Russia provide safe means of cross transport. To strengthen these areas the Soviet Government have sought to provide them with liquid fuel so as to become independent of imports of oil, naphtha, etc., from the Black Seas areas, which are more vulnerable and not so broken to the Soviet régime. They have worked to develop the Emba oilfields and oilfields in the localities between the Volga and the Urals. On the eastern side of the Caspian they are developing the oilfields of Middle Asia in the Ferghana areas. Their progress has been considerable. In 1910 under the Czarist régime the Turkmenneft field produced 125·1 thousand tons of oil products, whilst in 1935 it produced 335·7 tons, and the Emhaneft, producing 18·0 thousand tons in 1911, produced 274·4 thousand tons in 1935. And this is the same in other oilfields. This is developed in order to supply the Ural and Volga areas and Western Siberia with liquid fuel. A pipe-line has been laid from Gourief to Orsk, a total length of 725 kilometres, which can carry 1½ million tons of crude oil

from the Emba-Caspian districts to Orsk, the meeting-place of the three areas, Kazakstan, Western Siberia and the Ural, where a refinery is being constructed.

Several other towns in this district have been equipped with oil refineries. On the eastern side of the Caspian, in mid-Asia and even in Siberia there are refineries at Nafta-Dag, Chimion and even in Khabarovsk.

Large factories have been started in Central Asia. Tashkent has become a centre of machine and railway works and of aeroplane factories. Also a centre for storing up food products. In 1933 a colossal hydraulic station was constructed. Still larger are the factories built there for chemical products of gas for warfare. Forty miles from Tashkent a copper industry has been developed. In Askabad, the centre of Turkmenistan, industries dealing with conserving foodstuffs are being constructed. Stalinabad, the capital of Tajikstan, which now, owing to importation of immigrants, has 60,000 inhabitants, has been turned into food producing and food storing centres. A powerful hydro-station is under construction. In the Fergana area quicksilver, antimony and radium installations are being erected. In Charjui big cotton-wool factories have been erected. In Karakalpakistan coal and naphtha are to be produced on a large scale. They have even imported Egyptian cotton seeds and tried to make their own rubber plantations.

This development of the Central Asian areas is strengthened by railways; new ones are built, others enlarged. The Turk Sib and the new line running north of the Trans-Siberian, the doubling of the Trans-Siberian track itself are among these lines. In order to make the lines safe, large colonies of Communists have been established in their neighbourhood. The enlargement of the Ural and Magnitogorsk mineral areas is carried further in an increasing production of iron and steel. The Air Force, already so strong and so much pushed among the people, is established in force here.

So far we can see that the heart of Russia is turned into a vast military camp with its spearhead pointing to Central Asia. Again these peoples are being forced into the North Russian mould, now a Communist one.

The Lecturer then dealt at length with internal affairs, with the new Constitution, with the general poverty and misery of the population, with the exception of the few who had benefited from the

revolution. Ukraine and the Cossack country would never consent to a Communist régime; it had meant death by starvation and deportation of a great part of the population and was against the instincts and culture of the people. While in North Russia there had been the common field, the Mir, in Ukraine there was a strong yeoman population not to be uprooted.

Turning to foreign affairs, the Lecturer said he did not think it at all likely that Japan would attack the Soviets of her own volition. Japan was concerned in excluding Communists from her own territory, but did not care how much they penetrated into Europe; the greater the fear of a European war and the more the Great Powers were weakened, in so much more easily would she be able to pursue her territorial ambitions without interruption.

In conclusion he said:

Summing up the parallelism between the policy of the Imperialistic Czarist Russian policy and that of Red Imperialism of the Moscow leaders of the Third International, we can say that the latter, having acquired from the Czars the experience of many centuries' rule, have applied the same system of invasion by conquest and subjugation, but are carrying it out a hundred times more ruthlessly in and outside Russia than the Czars ever did. The slogans to hoodwink the people abroad have been different, but the aggressive policy is still there, acquiring impetus and threatening the whole civilized world and European civilization. The national revival in many countries as a constructive programme of combating World Marxism is noticeable and is carried out in accordance with the history, tradition and national characteristics of the nations involved. This national revival took different forms in Italy, in Spain, in Germany, in the border states, in the Ukrainian nation. In Great Britain this swing of the pendulum towards soundness, which is a national trait of your people, takes the form of a strong productive and efficient Conservatism, which stands for history, tradition and progress of the great British Empire. And if national revivals in other countries take different forms from that of England it is not too sound to dismiss it without enquiry. The great issue, whether we wish it or not, is between world revolution and world stability based on progress, and national revival of nations is the best vaccination against the former.

Sir Charles Bell: Before we thank the Lecturer for his admirable talk, has anyone any questions to ask?

A MEMBER: Do you consider that Stalin and his associates are actuated by a fanatical idea that a Communistic form of government is the best for the world?

M. KOROSTOVETZ: Some of them, including Stalin himself, are distinctly idealists; others are not. Stalin and Lenin were distinctly idealists and maniacs for the World Revolution. If they decided that Russia were no longer the best springboard for starting the World Revolution, but Timbuctoo, then they would leave Russia and set out at once for Timbuctoo.

A MEMBER: Do you hope that Ukraine may become a separate country like Poland?

M KOROSTOVETZ: Yes. The federation of single national states is the only alternative to World Revolution: and then a European Federation.

A MEMBER: I would also like, if I may, to ask the Lecturer a question. We know that the Soviet Union has a very large army on the borders of Manchuria and Outer Mongolia, and we read that a great many peasants have been moved eastwards to make that area self-sufficient for the support of those troops. Can the Lecturer perhaps tell us how far that area has now been made self-sufficient for those troops?

M. KOROSTOVETZ: I do not believe that Russia and Japan propose to go to war with one another. As far as the Japanese are concerned, they are interested in clearing out Bolsheviks in the areas controlled by them. But Litvinoff is their ally in giving them a free hand in the Far East. I do not think they purpose war, at any rate at present.

As for the Russian preparations, I have heard of them. But how far these preparations in the Far East have crystallized I cannot say, I am afraid. But the Russian policy is Down with War, and Up with Internal Revolutions. They hope to spread World Revolution by helping to foment civil wars abroad, and then in a country where civil war is going on, they help one side against the other.

Primakoff, who is famous for his ruthless suppression of the national movement in the Ukraine, is now in Barcelona. Neumann and others have also gone to organize the Terror, by which they mean to cow the people into a subjugated condition.

Another MEMBER: Is Russia as strong now in a military sense as she is going to be: for instance, *vis-à-vis* Japan or Germany?

M. KOROSTOVETZ: As far as Japan is concerned, I feel convinced that the Japanese army would go through the Russian like a knife through butter.

Between Germany and Russia the question can only be a theoretical one, because they have no common frontier. Between the two countries lies Poland.

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a very interesting talk, and have gathered a great deal of information, which we could never have gathered for ourselves. Therefore, as it is getting late, I will not detain you further, but ask you to join in a very hearty vote of thanks to M. Korostovetz.

REVIEWS

Raw Materials and International Control. *By H. R. G. Greaves. Pp. vi. + 166. London: Methuen.* 5s.

Ever since the termination of the Great War the question of raw materials and their supply and distribution throughout the world has engaged the attention of statesmen, industrialists, and economists. In the last six years the difficulties have become progressively more acute and urgent, and various palliatives as well as solutions have been put forward. No active measures have, however, yet been adopted, nor is there any unanimity regarding the best course of procedure.

There are indeed two aspects of the question; although closely interrelated, for purposes of analysis it is both desirable and necessary to keep them separate. The first aspect arises from the fact that the sources of the primary products, agricultural and mineral, are very unevenly distributed over the surface of the globe, and are in many cases adequately accessible to countries needing them only if international commerce be free from restrictive barriers and prohibitions. As far back as 1919, Italy drew prominent attention to the subject, both in the discussions connected with and arising from the framing of the Treaty of Versailles, and also at the first session of the International Labour Conference held at Washington in November that year. It is hardly necessary to refer to the subsequent political controversies that have arisen over the question. The memorable pronouncement of Sir Samuel Hoare at the Assembly of the League in September, 1935, opened a new chapter in the history of the question; in the remarkable joint statement of the Governments of Great Britain, France, and the United States issued on September 26, 1936, we have been assured that the three Governments "attach the greatest importance to action being taken without delay to relax progressively the present system of quotas and exchange controls with a view to their abolition." It is to be hoped sincerely that this declaration will not prove to be a mere pious sentiment but will be speedily translated into action.

It is true that this statement does not refer specifically to the wider and far more complicated question of the possession of colonies by the industrial powers of Europe. One had hoped that the world had travelled a long distance from the policies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when colonies were mainly looked at from the point of view of the economic and political benefit of the possessing countries and not from the point of view of the indigenous inhabitants of the territories concerned. It is some satisfaction to find that in Great Britain neither of the two great political parties, Conservative and Labour, appears to accept this antiquated and retrograde view on the subject of colonies or mandated territories.

The second aspect of the problem of raw materials concerns the national and international control of their production, marketing and consumption,

irrespective of the possession of the sources of supply by different countries. In the past as well as to-day there have been and still are national and international organizations, monopolistic trusts and cartels or loosely knit associations with or without the support of governments, which seek to control the supply of various products, both agricultural and industrial, sometimes with the sole object of benefiting the producers (entrepreneurs and workers) and sometimes with the object of protecting the interests of consumers as well. It is with this aspect of the question that Mr. Greaves mainly deals in the book under review. He states that his aim is "to trace certain tendencies of development in Government policy and to indicate the growth of governmental or semi-governmental machinery of an international kind, that aims at regulating the production and distribution of raw materials, foodstuffs and services."

It is true that the question has come into prominence for most primary and industrial products only since the Great War, but, as Mr. Greaves admits, conditions in the case of no raw material or service are static. There have been very striking changes in the position of all raw materials and services in the last three or four years, and Mr. Greaves' work published in the current year is already out of date, particularly because the figures and statistics which he has utilized seldom relate to the last four years. Mr. Greaves realizes this fact, but evidently believes that the various conclusions and recommendations that he sets forth are not vitiated by this circumstance, a belief which may not be shared by all his readers.

The work under review may be looked at in two ways. The author has furnished the reader with a summary of the various measures adopted by governmental and non-governmental bodies to co-ordinate activities relating to raw materials generally and to certain products in particular. In the second place Mr. Greaves has put forward his own views as to what should be done generally and also in regard to each of these products, for the benefit of the producer as well as the consumer all over the world.

Examining the "historical" part of the book, we find that Mr. Greaves has given an account of the co-ordinating work that has been attempted in this direction by (1) the British Empire, (2) the U.S.S.R., (3) the Allies during the war, and (4) the League of Nations. Mr. Greaves has then dealt in detail with the following products and services: Coal, petroleum, shipping, wheat, iron and steel, timber, sugar, cotton, tin, rubber and non-ferrous metals.

For the British Empire, Mr. Greaves has endeavoured to give a brief summary of the work of the Imperial Shipping Committee, the Imperial Economic Committee, the Empire Marketing Board, and the Imperial Committee on Economic Consultation and Co-operation. Unfortunately the present writer, who has been in the past in close touch with all four organizations, is unable to agree with many of Mr. Greaves' observations in regard to them. For instance, it is far from just to say in regard to the Imperial Shipping Committee, which has done very valuable if unobtrusive work, that "the Committee has, in fact, repudiated the idea of a co-ordinated imperial shipping policy"! It is true that the Committee has

not undertaken "a general investigation of shipping conditions," an investigation which in present circumstances would have been out of date almost before the report was considered, but to anyone who has carefully followed the work of the Committee it would be abundantly clear that, throughout, the Committee has endeavoured and has largely succeeded in harmonizing the shipping needs of different parts of the Empire, and in preventing conflicts which would have damaged the interests of the industry itself and of the component parts of the Empire, including their respective citizens.

Some of the facts enumerated by Mr. Greaves in regard to the Imperial Economic Committee may easily lead to incorrect impressions. He says that "in practice the High Commissioners have been the Dominions' representatives." This statement ignores the fact that some of the most active and useful members of the Committee have been business men from the Dominions and India who were not High Commissioners. Mr. Greaves seems to suggest, perhaps unwittingly, that the Committee in the ten years of its existence has only made two reports (on rubber goods and agricultural machinery). As a matter of fact, the reports would easily fill a whole shelf and, as the many persons who have seen them know, they embody the results of extensive research and thought, on the part of the members and the staff of the Committee, and have been exceedingly fruitful in guiding the policy of the Empire Governments in many directions. If there was one point on which there was unanimity among the delegates from all parts of the Empire who served at Ottawa and in London on the Committee on Economic Consultation and Co-operation, it was in regard to the valuable work that had been accomplished by the Imperial Economic Committee and the necessity of the continuance of that work.

Since the main purpose of the author is to describe and review the efforts made by Governmental and semi-Governmental machinery to harmonize the needs of producers and consumers, it is a pity that he has devoted so little space to the work of the Empire Marketing Board which had as its main object this very purpose. A whole book might well be written on the success or failure of the Empire Marketing Board in this respect. Our author seems also to have missed the real object with which was set up the Imperial Committee on Economic Consultation and Co-operation. It was not meant to be a permanent Committee, but its sole object was to furnish the Governments of the Empire with a review of the work that had so far been done in co-ordinating the economic activities of the various parts of the Empire and to suggest methods by which such co-ordination and joint efforts could be continued and expanded. The object set before the Committee was more political than economic, and the Committee foundered on the political rock because it was found impossible to persuade some of the Governments of the Empire that common action would not conflict with control by individual Governments. The problem was intrinsically the same as confronts those who wish to set up international for national control in economic matters.

The criticisms levelled by the author against the work that has been done by the League of Nations seem equally unjust on many points. Both

in the general chapters and in the chapters on specific raw products, the author has failed to recognize the crucial fact that the League after all has no super-Governmental powers. The committees and conferences set up by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations are powerless if the various Governments concerned, and more particularly the Governments of the Great Powers, do not feel ready or willing to accept the suggestions and recommendations made to them. The author seems to have very great faith in the work accomplished by the International Labour Organization, a faith which is largely shared by the reviewer, but one must remember that much of the work accomplished by the International Labour Organization has been fruitful only because public opinion was behind it and because the social questions involved are less complex and have a wider popular appeal than the purely economic questions dealt with by the author. In his concluding chapter, Mr. Greaves suggests that Governments should undertake to subject discussions of Economic Conferences to the same procedure as those of the International Labour Conference and to ratify any conventions passed. We believe that in countries where Parliaments exist, the recommendations of economic conferences can be made the subject of debate in the same way as the discussions of the International Labour Conference, but no Government has yet agreed to ratify a convention merely because it has been passed by the International Labour Conference. Otherwise, the Washington convention on "Hours of Work" would not have met the fate of non-ratification by Great Britain and some of the other Great Powers. Indeed, the efforts made by the League of Nations organizations to secure international co-operation in economic matters has received very little recognition from the author; there is little or no reference in the book to the Conferences to modify or abolish the restrictions and prohibition of imports and exports which met after the World Economic Conference of 1927, and to which, as their chairman, the present Prime Minister of the Netherlands devoted so much time and thought. In fact, it is the rapidly rising spirit of nationalism of the last ten years, caused mainly by political circumstances, which has rendered impotent the efforts made by the League of Nations to secure international co-operation and co-ordination in the economic sphere.

The greater part of the book is concerned with a detailed survey of national and international control over the raw materials and services mentioned in an earlier paragraph; these chapters will be useful to the student of economic history and must have involved very considerable labour on the part of the author, but they are already out of date for the purpose of a discussion of what can be done in the immediate future in regard to these various products.

As we have already mentioned, the author has put forward his own suggestions for future action not only in regard to these specific products, but also for the general co-ordination of the economic activities of the world, with the object of serving the interests of the consuming populations of all countries. All these recommendations are coloured by the confession of faith which the author has set forth in a very early part of his work in the following words: "National Sovereignty must be abdicated before we

can hope for anything from international organizations. To him who, blind to history, clings to national sovereignty as to some law of nature the perusal of this book is sheer loss of time." It follows naturally that the proposals made by the author are certainly not such as will commend themselves to any Government actually in power or, so far as we are aware, to the majority of the citizens of any country at this particular moment. It would be futile therefore to subject the author's proposals to detailed criticism. Parenthetically, it may be remarked that though a member of the Central Opium Board, the reviewer is unablė to share the author's view that comfort can be drawn from the powers that have been bestowed on that Board by the various Narcotic Conventions. It has to be remembered that the Governments of the world agreed to these Narcotic Conventions mainly because of their humanitarian character. It is possible that similar powers might be conceded to a central authority in order to secure a general limitation of armaments. But we shall have to travel a long way towards the idea of international sovereignty which our author believes in before there can be any reasonable hope of setting authoritative and powerful international organizations to regulate and govern the general economic relations between different countries. Nor is it certain that economic nationalism has not some justification even from the point of view of the social philosopher. It is recognized that economic considerations do not suffice for all the aims of either the individual or of a nation. A teacher of political science cannot ignore the desire of even primitive people for what may briefly be described as a full economic life. Industrial development may be sought after not merely in order to accumulate wealth, but with the object of providing outlets for certain energies and activities of the individual which would otherwise have no scope.

The author has addressed his book to the student of politics and international institutions with a view to influence him in the "purposive direction of economic as well as political change," but in political questions it is a mistake to ignore the existing temper of the people in power. For the practical man it is more worth while to secure slow but steady progress rather than to put forward ideals which however good cannot be attained in any reasonable period of time.

October, 1936. ATUL C. CHATTERJEE.

Soviet Money and Finance. By L. E. Hubbard. $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xx + 339. Macmillan. 1936. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Hubbard's book, as the publishers rightly claim, is the first detailed and scientific account of Soviet Finance that has appeared. It is in every way worthy to rank as the standard textbook on a subject of engrossing interest to students of monetary theory, statesmen, politicians, financiers, and business men. The author writes with authority: he is blessed with an unimpeachable literary style, and is at pains to be lucid. He keeps to his subject, and illuminates it with sound judgment. Instead of the usual discursive impressionism, casual and unrelated, that characterizes so many

books on Russia, we have here exact knowledge formulated by a trained economist who has mastered his matter and has the gift of easy exposition.

Mr. Hubbard's account of Soviet method and practice in money matters covers the whole post-war period from 1918 to the spring of 1936. The story is one of evolution from doctrinaire theory to a still growing form of state capitalism directed to optimum production for the national weal. The sparse rewards of individual merit increase as the structure grows, and the skilled operative or organizer may now enjoy more of the fruits of his labour and even of his savings, though he may not sell his modest holding of state bonds or leave much of it to his heirs. Production is entirely directed and controlled by the State, which takes all the profits and invests them in advance in more factories. The author is not concerned with the facts of actual production, and little is said of the high proportion sunk in armament and military equipment. The revenue is derived mainly from graduated taxes on turnover. Propaganda takes the place of advertising, which in the absence of private enterprise is happily unnecessary.

The difficult question of prices and the value of the rouble is dealt with at length. " Since the complete break between the rouble and foreign currencies (about 1926) the internal purchasing power of the rouble has steadily diverged from world gold prices, and to-day it is merely fatuous to try to symbolize the value of the paper rouble in terms of any other currency." It is emphasized that the rouble functions mainly as a unit for accounting and costing purposes and but little as a store of value. " It is plain that the great industrial development of the country since the first Five-Year Plan began was only made possible by compulsory national saving much in excess of anything that could have been done by voluntary effort." The " saving " was in fact abstinence due simply to the lack of consumption goods.

" Planning," says Mr. Hubbard, " is the attempt to concentrate in the hands of the Government the whole power of deciding a comprehensive programme of production, distribution, and consumption, aiming at an accurate and continuous direction of production to authoritatively determined consumption and the elimination of the periodic fluctuations inherent in capitalist economy." He is nevertheless doubtful of the power of the authorities to prevent unemployment when supply overtakes demand.

The author reminds us that " the Russian people have less share in their Government than the people of any democratic country. Soviet economy is therefore an almost perfect example of State capitalism. In effect, the State trades with the people from whom it buys labour in exchange for the means of subsistence. All surplus value created by the labour of the people is in fact the profit of the State, which uses its profits to further what in its opinion are the best interests of the country; but the opinion of the State and of the people do not necessarily agree, and this illustrates the chief difference between State capitalism and complete theoretical communism where the distinction between State and people disappears."

On page 288, again, Mr. Hubbard permits himself a philosophic reflection on State control versus private enterprise. "... it seems that the claims of the Soviet leaders and their foreign supporters, that the Soviet system of a planned economy is superior to the capitalist system, are largely based on the assumption that the directors of the Soviet economy possess a degree of wisdom, altruism, and capacity for harmonious co-operation denied to capitalist leaders. Is there in actual fact any reason to believe that the Soviet leaders as men are less tainted with human faults and imperfections, such as jealousy, avarice, intolerance, and lust for power, than the political and industrial leaders of capitalism? If in reality they possess the ordinary human frailties in much the same kind and degree as capitalist mankind, is it not possible that the Soviet system will fall just as short of perfection as capitalism?"

In dealing with foreign trade Mr. Hubbard writes: "The decentralising and commercialising of external trade cannot take place all at once, but rather by a process of gradual evolution. The first requirement, as already pointed out, is the abolition of differential price levels and the introduction of an internal open market; the second is an exchange rate for foreign currency based on the commodity value of the rouble and not on a mythical gold content. These changes will probably come about more or less concurrently with a relaxing of the intensity of the industrialisation programme." On page 328 he writes: "No doubt in due time either the paper rouble will be fixed as a definite fraction of the gold rouble or a new gold content will be given to the paper rouble, but there would seem to be no advantage in this before a restabilization of world currencies." On February 29, 1936, it was decreed that the exchange rate of 3 francs per rouble should entirely supersede the former official rate of 7½ roubles per 100 francs as from April 1, 1936. It is expected (September, 1936) that a further devaluation will be effected by following the new depreciation of the franc.

At the end of his final chapter Mr. Hubbard writes: "Whether the Soviet rouble will ever be dealt in on international bourses cannot yet be foreseen, but the path travelled by the rouble since the beginning of 1935 has shown a remarkable convergence towards orthodox capitalist principles. Even as politically the Soviet Government is visibly tending to become more democratic as the younger dictatorships become more despotic, so Soviet economic theory may soon be considered reactionary by the advanced advocates of social credit schemes and the manipulation of credit in Western countries." F. H.

Big Horse's Flight. By Sven Hedin. Translated by F. H. Lyon. Pp. 248. Illustrations and map. London: Macmillan and Co. 1936. 21s.

Dr. Sven Hedin, indefatigable and undeterred by the advance of years, was commissioned by the Chinese Government to lead a motor-truck expedition to Sinkiang with the object of exploring a motor route along the old "Silk Road" through Chinese Turkestan. The expedition, consisting of four motor-trucks

and a saloon car, travelled by the newly opened motor trail through Inner Mongolia and across the Gobi and arrived in Sinkiang in February, 1934. They immediately found themselves involved in the civil war then in progress between the Tungans (Chinese Moslems from Kansu) and the Chinese and Turkis; and the book comprises, after an introductory historical chapter, a graphic account of the adventures and hair-breadth escapes of Dr. Hedin and the members of his expedition. These latter included Dr. Hummel as medical officer, Mr. Bergman as topographer; two Swedish motor drivers, Messrs. Söderbom and Hill; three Chinese road engineers and surveyors; two Mongol motor drivers, Serat and Chomcha; and Chinese and Mongol followers.

The central theme of the story concerns the retreat of Ma Chung-ying, the leader of the Tungan army, down the South Road, via Karashar, Korla, Kuchar, Aksu, and Maralbashi to Kashgar, whence Ma later on withdrew to Russian territory.

Travel by motor-truck in Chinese Central Asia is at the best of times sufficiently arduous and adventurous; and when to these normal difficulties of travel are added the hazards and complications of a bloodthirsty Mohammedan war, the journey becomes a nightmare.

Having managed to get safely through Hami and Turfan, the expedition were caught up at Korla in the retreat of Ma Chung-ying's army, and, after Dr. Hedin and his colleagues had been arrested, roughly handled, and nearly shot out of hand, they had to surrender their trucks and drivers to the fleeing Tungans. Ma Chung-ying himself travelled from Korla to Kuchar in one of the expedition's trucks.

Having luckily recovered the commandeered trucks and their Swedish and Mongol drivers intact and alive, the expedition then got into difficulties with the pursuing army of Russians, Chinese and Turkis, who likewise commandeered their vehicles. Finally, thanks to the good offices of some Russian officers in the employ of the Chinese authorities, they were able to start off from Korla for Lop Nor, at which point the book ends. Dr. Hedin's original plan seems to have been to drive his trucks down the South Road through to Kashgar. The failure to get beyond Korla was, however, turned to advantage by the resourcefulness of Dr. Hedin, who was able to switch his route off to the less known and more interesting Lop country.

Dr. Hedin's story throws a picturesque light on the course of the Mohammedan war in Sinkiang and the doings of Ma Chung-ying and his army, concerning which very little reliable information has yet reached the outside world. The picture of General Ma himself is of special interest. The book also throws an interesting light on the activities of the Russians, White and Red, whose intervention proved a decisive factor in the defeat of the Tungans and the victory of the Chinese and their Turki allies. It seems from Dr. Hedin's account that the victorious army pursuing the Tungans down the South Road consisted mainly of cossacks, including both Red and White Russians, the present *Tupan*, Sheng Shih-tsai, having taken over the White Russian regiment of the former Governor, Chin Shu-jen, and reorganized them with Red troops. It is also of interest to read of the position and politics at that time of leading Turki personalities, who had at first made common cause with their co-religionists, the Tungans, but later went over, with the bulk of the Turki population, to the Chinese side.

The title of the English version of the book, *Big Horse's Flight*, taken from a pun on Ma Chung-ying's name, is rather clumsy and far-fetched. The photographic illustrations and general production are good, and, as usual with Dr. Hedin's books, the text is accompanied by an excellent map. Readers interested

in Central Asian affairs will look forward to the two further books promised on the work of the expedition, one dealing with the old "Silk Road" and the motor journey through Mongolia and Turkestan, and the other describing Dr. Hedin's explorations in the Lop Nor and Tarim country.

E. T.

South to Samarkand. By Ethel Mannin. Pp. 355, 20 illustrations and sketch maps. London: Jarrolds. 1936. Price 12s. 6d.

The book is very well written in the modern strain (*molto moderato*), and the few well-chosen pictures convey a vivid impression of Russian contrasts. E. M. betrays a fine sense of humour, mostly acrid, as befits the occasion. Her poetical passages reveal her as a sort of liaison-officer between the realms of highbrow literature and the fields of rough and ruddy adventure.

Anyway, the book appeals to me as a true and at the same time artistic word-picture. I do not pose as an authority on Russia if by authority is meant a ready command of vast scientific statistics. But so much eye-knowledge of the country has soaked into me that I can always recall it as an organism true to life. Hence a distorted view would never deceive me. I can see and feel what Mannin wishes us to see and feel as she did. What I did not know my imagination can easily supplement from her descriptions. It all fits into the unbroken logic of a phenomenon called Russia which must be seen to be believed.

I have had the privilege of meeting and reading Ella Maillart, while Ethel Mannin so far remains a vision stepping from the pages of her book. But my fancy will mix them up inextricably and for ever, even apart from the lure of initials. When I meet Ella I shall address her as Ethel, and the other way round. They are of *the* type, however many individual differences one may discover. It is simply the new breed produced by humanity as it is to-day, and absolutely demanded by the social conditions of a modern world awakened to the need of seeing needs and to the futility of mincing words. The legitimate, dutiful, and worthy desire for philandering is, for the time being at least, overshadowed by deep respect for the sterner qualities.

I confess unbounded admiration for women who dare seek out and face hard facts from a Paris brothel to a jakes or badrab-khana in Turkistan. (I speak as the book bids me speak. I refuse to believe in the squeamishness of Central Asians. Moreover, the schools for young ladies of the genteel classes harbour the Ellas and Ethels of to-morrow). Their books ignore nothing, save perhaps barratry, housemaid's knee and rape. As to the latter, however, I believe in a case of angels rushing in unharmed where fools would fall into the trap.

Ethel is a socialist; Ella does not label her faith. But the label means nothing much, considering that everyone with open eyes and a public spirit is a "socialist" nowadays, meaning someone who knows that something needs doing very urgently. The Mannin observes the rule of descriptive impartiality which is the first rule of the observing and critical socialist who

wishes to clear the ground. She also takes care not to overburden her tale with detail (an unpremeditated but significant pun), thus preserving for the reader an encompassing field of view. Her fairness in fact and interpretation, her pendulum-swing from high praise to utter disgust, necessarily reflects what, to us, is the age-old and shrill disharmony of the—fortunately or unfortunately—" immortal " East. By East I mean anything sufficiently south and east of us beginning at Gibraltar, hence everything Mediterranean, Levantine, Balcanic, Russian, or Asiatic. The jagged rift in Eastern civilization, as seen with occidental eyes, seems to belie the even tenor of Eastern philosophy. The wisdom of the Vedas—nothing but thought, thought, thought—clashes with brutal social conditions and filthy habits. Ethel gives us a good rendering of the " Spirit of the East " (modernized edition) in its true significance as a whole.

Critics of Bolsherussia are apt to forget that her revolutionaries were the very first to repaint the face of old Mother Europe. They took the lead in the outer and visible shapes of modern state-reform and state-propaganda. They started mechanization of a whole country on a grand and spectacular scale. It was they who first staged those impressive mass-meetings which put Hollywood to shame. And just therefore we deplore the failure (so far) due to that eastern soul-clash of extremes. We observe the lack of that true organization which balances every detail of the social machinery from colossal fly-wheels to a modest and retiring boiler rivet. Railway travel, so vividly described by E. M., shows plainly that distribution and communication were entirely forgotten in the scheme of gigantic production or housing. If one is unable to shift the population smoothly, then surely something must be wrong with the goods traffic also.

Travel reveals glaringly—even to those shepherded by Intourist—a ludicrous and/or ghastly contrast between the grandly visible machinery of civilization and the curtained recesses for the more intimate organization of civilized life. Russians hate attention to detail, especially details which can be screened from the public, though not from the individual, gaze. To them such devotion to detail is mere pedantry. Unfortunately for them all efficient machinery is the very embodiment of pedantry—namely, that pedantry which is the price of all smooth and delightful running. In the glorious East a new car after six months is a fearful and wonderful assembly of parts held together by string. Hence the terrible waste of work, material, and, as an immediate result, of human life, for when machinery fails the slave must step in. One half of the work done becomes undone again within a short time owing to neglect and the inability to grasp the intricacies of an economic whole. The Russian army, the pampered pet, is a giant. But one may well ask how long it will be able to keep in the field as a co-ordinate unit; how many tanks, planes, and guns will break down during the first week, not to speak of the staff-work, the repairs and supplies. For our peace of mind let us hope that the giant is loose-limbed and ungainly.

If I seem to be airing my own views and recollections, then because the author gives us her views in her book, let me confirm the impressions she

gives by the impressions which I have absorbed in the course of forty years. I appreciate in general; the reader must appreciate her in full. Ethel's romantic dream of the Golden Road to Samarkand touches me almost to tears when I think of the glories that have been, and especially of the truly Arabian Nights of Bukhara in the early nineties. Travelling third class or "native" was hard and smelly enough in those days, but pure-scented sweetness compared with what we read here. Even since my last visit in 1928 conditions in general seem to have become decidedly worse. True, one side of the balance has soared high as testified by the buildings of Moscow and its famous Metro. But the other side, the side that really matters, the side of public welfare, has gone down with a vengeance. The unfortunate disharmony of extremes gets more acute. Sorrowfully one asks oneself what is the good of this grand and grandiloquent show, when the daily life of the citizen is reduced to a chain of endless worries small and big, even apart from politics and the Gay Pay Oo, the outcome of the Eastern mania of suspecting and spying.

We older explorers find that the world has become exceedingly difficult. Then our ambitions were Afghanistan or Tibet. To-day we think twice about venturing to Tiflis. On the other hand this world renewed offers a better chance to our young adventurers, who may feel justly proud when they have hewed, starved, and smelt their way to Samarkand.

This book should be read by everyone who wishes to gain a vivid impression of extremes. Ethel spares us nothing of the unbridged gulf between public playground and sanitary arrangements, between the luxurious shop front and the unspeakable courtyard behind. Travellers in catholic countries remember the many patron Virgins of the Snows, of the Fisheries, of the Sea, or of innumerable localities. When I apply this to the manifold manifestations of Mother Russia, I cannot help believing that Mother Russia of the Stenches is the supreme revelation of them all. She is the All-Pervading One to whom tribute is paid with appropriate incense in every hut and palace. When Ethel Mannin finishes her book with "Nevermore" as a sigh of unutterable relief, then the reader who has shared her courageous venture will join in with a hearty: And them's my sentiments.

W. R. R.

Sven Hedin's Archæological Collections from Khotan. By Gösta Montell. Reprinted from the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No. 7. Stockholm. 1936.

Although the collection of terra-cottas forming the subject of this Bulletin is relatively small, it is very useful to have it properly recorded by so competent and careful a scholar as Mr. Gösta Montell. He begins with a concise survey of the history of Khotan compiled from the researches of Rémusat, Beal, Stein, and others. He agrees that there is strong evidence in support of the tradition that the population included immigrants from N.-W. India. This question has been exhaustively treated by Stein in his *Ancient Khotan,* a work to which the author necessarily frequently refers.

Whatever may be the measure of credence accorded to the legend relating to the banishment to Khotan of the blinded son of Aśoka, or, alternatively, of those responsible for his blindness, and the subsequent assumption of sovereignty by one or other of these persons, there is clear evidence in the objects acquired in Khotan by Sven Hedin, Stein, and others, that the art of the people was, in pre-Muhammadan times, more Indian than Chinese. In the momentous discovery by Stein at the Niya site of numbers of *kharoshthi* documents, as well as Chinese, the fact is clearly established that this Indian script was in regular use for official correspondence in the third century A.D. Yet, although at this period Indian influence seems to have prevailed in the practice of the arts, it is significant that many of the documents written in *kharoshthi* bear Chinese seals. In some cases two seals are attached to the same document, one Indian and the other Chinese.

The discovery of clay sealings and stone seals bearing such devices as Pallas Athene, the winged Eros, a classical quadriga, etc., denote contact with the West. Among the terra-cotta appliqué plaques figured in this Bulletin, the affinity which some bear to the classical Gorgoneia on the one hand and to the moulded ends of the Chinese roof-tiles found by Stein at Chiao-wang-ch'eng on the other, offers striking evidence of the migration and assimilation of decorative motifs.

The terra-cotta figurines of men, women, and monkeys are particularly interesting. They exhibit the local fashions in hair dressing and costume, and reveal certain social idiosyncrasies, often rendered with a keen sense of humour, especially in the case of the monkeys. The employment of monkeys in satirical reflection on the manners of men is typically Indian. It occurs also in the pottery of Peru. Among the Peruvian pottery vessels in the British Museum is a monkey playing a syrinx—a combination very common amongst the Khotan examples.

The author, in referring to a female figure acquired by Stein (Yo. 2, Pl. II., *Serindia*), remarks that it is cut off at the hips. It appears to me to be complete and in a kneeling or "squatting" pose, as I have described it in *Serindia*. A figure in stucco, rather similar in pose to the terra-cotta one (2 in Pl. XII.) of the Bulletin, is given in *Innermost Asia* (Pl. IV., M.B. 1,014). It is rising from a lotus and is holding the stems of two lotuses or other flowers at its breast.

The section on shapes of pots and the grotesque animal handles and spouts contains interesting matter. Mr. Montell sees in the winged animals veritable griffins. There is no doubt in my mind that the potters were more influenced by the horse, camel, and sheep in their rendering of the "griffin's" head than by the eagle. The hogged mane and arched neck suggest the horse, and the blunt rounded snout is more reminiscent of camel or sheep than of eagle or lion. It is true, as the author says, that when the Khotan potter meant to represent a horse he could do so, and the same with the camel. Then why not a more convincing head of an eagle for his "griffin"? However, as the creature was purely fanciful, one is at liberty to read one's own fancy into the vague resemblances.

The author next deals with Sven Hedin's discovery of Dandan-uiliq.

This ancient site in the desert was buried in the sand and was located after several days' arduous travelling across the desert. Brief quotations from the explorer's notes tell of his search, in the course of which he found the sites of Tavek-kel and Kara-dung (Stein's Tawakkel and Karadong). The gaunt weather-beaten uprights projecting through the sand indicated the positions of the timber-framed buildings. Examination of several of the ruined houses followed, when a certain amount of scraping and digging brought to light portions of painting on such parts of the plastered walls as had been buried and protected by the sand. Plaster of Paris reliefs of "women on pedestals," Buddha images, "women bearing garlands," etc., were found, besides Chinese copper coins. The author mentions the subsequent thorough investigation of the site by Sir Aurel Stein in 1900, fully recorded in *Ancient Khotan*, and refers to some of the painted work as "stencilled." In my critical examination of a great mass of this Central Asian wall painting I have found no clear evidence of stencilling.

The exceedingly hard fragments of plaster reliefs in the Hedin collection, referred to on page 203, the writer, correctly, thinks did not come from Dandan-uiliq. They are probably from Ak-sipil, which lies to the N.E. of the Khotan oasis; and their hardness is due to accidental burning. The houses, built of wood with wattle-and-daub walls, were very inflammable, and it is probable that when they were burnt, either by accident or during some political disturbance, the plaster decoration on the walls became detached and fell on to the burning material on the floor, where they were covered by falling burning roof material. They would thus be subjected to great and prolonged heat.

Finally the ruins of Kara-dung are briefly described. These have been fully dealt with by Stein.

The illustrations accompanying the text are excellent, and although reproduced by collotype or some similar process, are clearer than usual. Printer's errors are few. In the Plate Index, Pl. XVI., 2, should be Pl. XV., 4.

A very full Bibliography is appended.

Mr. Gosta Montell and the authorities of the museum are to be congratulated on the production of this portion of a very useful report, and the completion of the work, which it is understood is in preparation, will be very welcome to students of Central Asian archæology. F. H. A.

The Quest for Cathay. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. Pp. xii+280. A. and C. Black. 15s.

In this, his latest, work Sir Percy Sykes makes no claim to have broken fresh ground or to present any startling discovery. His object has been to recount the steps by which European geographers, during the long centuries prior to the discovery by Vasco da Gama of a sea route to the Indies, attained some knowledge of the vast lands lying to the east of the Urals—lands which held for ages a special fascination, because they were believed to be rich in all sorts of desirable commodities, from gold and gems to silks and spices. The literature of the subject is

large and complicated; and many readers will be grateful for the guidance of such an expert as the author. Even those who possess already some acquaintance with the topic will be glad to have that knowledge brought up to date.

Sir Percy Sykes has a special qualification for his task, in that he has himself travelled extensively in the regions of which he treats, and is able, therefore, to throw some interesting sidelights on the subject. For example, Marco Polo, journeying from Yarkand to Khotan, makes no mention of the great ranges which an armchair geographer would suppose to have been persistently visible. This enigma is solved by Sir Percy, who remarks (p. 151) that he himself, following the same route, never caught a glimpse of those mountains, "owing to the perpetual haze caused by the presence of loess particles in the atmosphere. Indeed, the ranges are only visible after the very rare rainstorms."

The story opens with a brief account of the knowledge of the East possessed by the Greeks, as shown in the writings of Herodotus and others, and explains the extent to which that knowledge was increased by the campaigns of Alexander the Great. The second chapter describes the attempts made by the Chinese themselves to explore the countries lying to the westwards; while the third deals with the actual establishment of trade between China and the Roman Empire. This trade was interrupted by the rise of Mongol power in Central Asia and the spread of Islam in the same direction; and soon Europe itself was menaced by the enthusiastic warriors of that faith. In the middle of the thirteenth century hopes of enlisting the aid of the Mongols against the Moslems induced the Pope to dispatch a Franciscan monk, named John de Plano Carpini, to Central Asia, where he spent four months at the court of the Great Khan. A second embassy, under William de Rubruquis, reached Karakorum in 1254 and returned in safety a year later. Both missions failed to achieve their object, though they added largely to the geographical knowledge available in Europe of the regions they had traversed. Interest quickens when the narrative reaches the story of the Polos, to whose memorable explorations and adventures six chapters are devoted. Cathay had now been actually reached by Europeans, and when, after seventeen years spent in the East, the Polos returned to Venice in 1295, the quest for Cathay by a land route was virtually ended. We are given, however, sixty more pages dealing with the journeys of John de Monte Corvino, Friar Odoric, and John Marignolli, the travels of Varthema (who, however, never got near China), the opening of a sea route by the Portuguese in 1514, and finally the attempt of Benedict de Goes to make his way overland from India to China, only to die at Suchau in 1607. With this tragedy the volume comes to an end.

The author has elucidated his narrative with nine excellent maps, and embellished it with seventeen interesting illustrations. A word of commendation must also be given to the index.

W. F.

Tamerlane or Timur the Great Amir. Translated by J. H. Sanders, from the Arabic *Life* by Ahmed ibn Arabshah. 8vo. Pp. xvii + 341. With a map and a frontispiece. Luzac and Co. 1936. 12s. 6d. net.

In this volume we have for the first time in English a life of Tamerlane written soon after the events described, and of corresponding value. Ahmed ibn Arabshah is on the whole a hostile witness. Mr. Harold Lamb, in his lively and interesting book *Tamerlane the Earth-shaker*, rather carried away by the marvellous achievements of his hero, says that Ahmed's work is "bitterly hostile and at times pure satire." But in these days we are apt to feel that the gilt is off the

gingerbread of war, and anyone who reads through this catalogue of the insensate destruction worked by Tamerlane and meditates a little on his arrogance, will be likely to agree with Mr. Sanders that he is indeed one of the world's great conquerors; in short, a scourge of humanity. Of greatness he had nothing, except what greatness may be discerned in military genius, yet he was of a bigness unquestionable, ranging over the world like a lion seeking what he may devour. So far Mr. Sanders, who perhaps tends to simplify the character of Tamerlane. The last chapter of the book, "Of the Wonderful Gifts of Timur and his Nature and Character," is of extraordinary interest: it presents a man of cold efficiency and limitless ambition and pride; the whole served by a keen intellect and a widely ranging curiosity. He loved learned men. For amusement he played chess; the greater, not the lesser chess: a game with a bigger board and some extra pieces, two camels, two giraffes, and so on; an interesting account is given of this one game to which he would condescend. "By nature he spurned actors and poets; wit and sport pleased him not"; a vein of hypocritical decorum made him not "allow any obscene talk or any talk of bloodshed or captivity, rapine, plunder and violation of the harem." "He was firm in mind, strong and robust, brave and fearless." Reading this description of his character after the recital of his dreadful life, one gets an impression as of one of Mr. Wells' Martians; hardly any character in history makes the blood run cold like that of Tamerlane. Of his eyes Ahmed says that they were "like candles; without brilliance." He was rather what is nowadays sometimes called a realist.

But he was of a bigness unquestionable. Whatever his quality, he had a very great deal of it, and here we have a close account of the man; of his origins—this is touched by malice—of his deeds, his character, his ways of thought, and his behaviour. To what is probably a natural repulsion Ahmed adds the feeling of an orthodox Moslem for one who preferred the laws of Jenghiz Khan to the law of Islam: "On all which infidels be the curse of Allah!" To the historian, and indeed to anyone who is interested to see of what human nature is capable, this book must be of great interest. How well Mr. Sanders has performed his task could be appreciated only by a reviewer capable of comparing his version with the original Arabic; how far also he has followed his own lines and what is his dependence upon the Latin version of Manger which he tells us he has used: in any case the English reads well. The original begins with a preface: "In the name of God," and so on: it is a pity that this has been omitted, not only because it lends colour to the book, but because in it the author gives a key to his view of Tamerlane: "the lame leader of wicked impostors." Mr. Sanders omits also the colophon, "Praise to God the Lord of the worlds," and the rest. In the opening words of the first chapter Ahmed takes great pains to prevent any subsequent corruption of the name Tamerlane by naming the letters and the diacritic points which, if only written, are apt to be mistaken by the copyist, with the result that the name may easily get hopelessly altered and corrupt. This passage is curious and interesting, and in the abbreviated form in which it is presented is to me at least hardly intelligible. When I add that the lettering on the map is rough and ugly, and that the index is of names only, I have done with fault-finding.

The style of the book, sometimes inflated and even extravagant, has many beauties. A man on the point of death is said to be "opening his hidden secret," for no man knows the day when he must die; "a high fort from the ears of whose heights there hung earrings of stars"; of another fort we read that "the sun at its zenith seemed like a golden shield fixed to its white ramparts"; such passages have an undoubted charm. But in the end it is Tamerlane himself

who is the centre of interest: one can see what he could do from the passage on page 145, describing his treatment of a prisoner, or from what is said on page 157 of the fate of Damascus. Mere bloodshed was not enough for the conqueror; the inhabitants of conquered cities had to be tortured to make them reveal their treasures. Among his own Tartars possibly Tamerlane was nothing more than an extreme example of a national type; to all others he must remain a monster hardly human.

A straightforward account of such a man cannot but be interesting. It seems extraordinary that two contemporary accounts of Tamerlane should still remain untranslated. We should be all the more grateful to Mr. Sanders, who might well go on to tackle these other histories.

R. M. DAWKINS.

Cronica de Dom João de Castro. By Leonardo Nunes. Edited with an Introduction by Professor J. D. M. Ford. Demi-oct. Pp. xxviii+241. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1936. 10s. 6d.

Portuguese dominion in the East lasted for a century and a half and it ended with the capture of Columbo, Cochin, and Cananor by the Dutch; the latter had already deprived Portugal of the control of the sea on which depended the State of India, extending from East Africa to the Moluccas, and they had even maintained for many months, in one year and another, a blockade of Goa, the capital. The political and military history of the Portuguese in Asia down to 1600 is related by the official chroniclers Barros and Couto, and their narratives are reinforced for part of the period by Castanheda and Correa and by many monographs. Our knowledge of the first half of the seventeenth century is much less full, and apart from Bocarro and the five printed volumes of the *Livros das Monções*, it is mainly derived from the summary of Faria e Sousa, since the manuscript sources are not available to students outside Portugal. An excellent attempt to remedy the deficiency is, however, being made by Captain A. Botelho de Sousa in his *Subsidios para e historia militar maritima da India*, the first volume of which covers the years 1585 to 1605.

The Viceroys and Governors of India (a term the Portuguese used to signify the west coast only) included many remarkable men who were chosen for their military as well as for their administrative talents, because, as Alfonso de Albuquerque once told King Manuel, " India can only be held by force." D. John de Castro lacked the lofty vision of Albuquerque, and his achievements were less important, but in scientific knowledge he was pre-eminent, and he is still remembered for his nobility of character. The printed materials for his life and work are ample; apart from general histories, they include a seventeenth-century biography by Jacinto Freire de Andrade (translated into English by Sir Peter Wyche in 1664), which, in the edition of Cardinal Saraiva (Lisbon, 1835), contains a large number of contemporary documents and two accounts of the siege of Diu by Leonardo Nunes, the later also covering subsequent events of his three years' rule.

The first of these accounts in order of date, a summary composed hurriedly in fifteen days to send to Portugal, was edited by Dr. Antonio Baião in 1925 under the title *Historia quinhentista do segundo cerco de Diu* and contains much unpublished correspondence of de Castro, D. John de Mascarenhas, captain of the fortress, and others; the second is the work we are noticing. Diu was a most important, almost a vital, outpost of the State of India; and the siege of 1546, which Nunes describes, was the second, the first having been in 1538, and it was

the third attempt by native powers to expel the European invaders. The first attempt had terminated in the famous sea fight off Diu on February 2, 1509, when the Viceroy, D. Francisco de Almeida, defeated an Egyptian-Indian fleet and secured for his countrymen a supremacy in the Indian Ocean which endured for a hundred years.

Freire de Andrade wrote at second-hand, but Jacinto Nunes accompanied the earliest relieving force to Diu, and was one of the heroic defenders of the fortress in the six months' siege. He worked at his first story when his burnt hands could hold a pen, and he wrote the second and fuller account on his voyage back to Portugal, completing it in Lisbon in 1550. He was not only an experienced soldier, but an educated man, and the *Cronica* contains many classical allusions. Its literary merit is considerable, and we cannot remember to have met elsewhere more vivid descriptions of stormy seas and battles on land. Above all, the work is reliable, and the author wins our confidence by his evident knowledge of Indian politics and fairness to his foes. Dr. Ford has done a good service to historians by printing the *Cronica*, and the book is admirably presented. We can only regret that he has kept the abbreviations of the original, thus making it more difficult for most persons to read, and that he has not supplied an index. There appear to be some errors in the transcription of the text which have eluded his vigilance; for instance *monção* appears frequently as *moução*.

E. P.

The Making of Modern Turkey. By Sir Harry Luke, C.M.G. 8½″ × 6″. Pp. viii + 248. Frontispiece. Macmillan. 1936. 10s. 6d.

This is a book written by a master-craftsman. Sir Harry Luke has a knowledge, possessed by few living, both of the Ottoman Empire that has passed and of the Modern Turkey of to-day.

To the European mind the changes effected by Mustapha Kemal in the religious forms, the customs, the garb and the social life of the Turk are nothing short of the miraculous. The result is indeed almost incredible and could have been foreseen by none.

Here, in this most concise and readable book, we have the story of the transition of the once great Ottoman Empire through varying stages, but with ever-increasing tempo, to its present-day fashion of Turkish Republic.

The author, I think, spends overmuch time, for so short a book, on an historical review of the Patriarchate and its influence within the Empire, and I should have liked to see a more detailed account of the effect of the Ghazi's later reforms on the everyday life of the modern Turk. This, however, is a modest complaint where so much else is given one.

W. F. S.

Quinze Ans de Mandat; l'Œuvre Française en Syrie et au Liban. Anonymous. Pp. 69.

This anonymous pamphlet on the progress of Syria and the Lebanon under French Mandate appears aptly at a time when France is about to relax the tutelage which she has exercised in that country since the war. The story it tells is an impressive one. Though any visitor to Syria of recent years cannot fail to have been struck by the enormous material improvements for which the French have been responsible, their achievements have not been so readily recognized by the

world at large. For this the abnormally developed political consciousness of the Syrians is largely responsible. To evolve a system of government in which the Maronites of the Lebanon, the Moslems of the Four Towns, and the Druses of the Mountain can work together harmoniously for their common interests is a political problem of the same kind of difficulty as that which the revolution of three bodies offers to the mathematician.

The French as the Mandatory Power adopted what was probably the only possible solution. It is much too soon to be able to know whether its sequel—the creation of two independent States of Syria and Lebanon—will achieve political permanence. The omens are not too good. Already there has been effervescence of the Moslem elements in the coastal towns which are to form part of the Lebanon. Union with the Syrian Government in Damascus is not unnaturally the desire of the Moslems who live on the Mediterranean littoral. In the north also an old problem has been revived in a new shape with the Franco-Syrian treaty which is to supersede the Mandate. This is the future of Alexandretta. So far France has shown a firm front to the Turkish claims for this predominantly Turkish district of Syria. But if France became seriously involved in a war elsewhere, it is clear that the Turks would merely have to walk in and take what they wanted. The same thing would be true for Mosul, supposing that the Turks decided to revive their claims to the northern portions of that pre-war Turkish vilayet, if this country were engaged in a major war. General Beqir Sidki's lambs, who defended themselves so valiantly against the Assyrian wolves, would find General Fauzi's Turkish legions had much longer fangs.

Such speculations, however, are beside the point, which is not the future stability of Syria, but the economic, material and moral progress of the country during the fifteen years under the French Mandate. This pamphlet covers every sphere of French activity, from banking to archæology and from education to tourism. On this last point some interesting statistics are given which show that the attractions of Syria as a holiday resort, with its mountains and cities, are becoming more generally recognized. The number of visitors in 1931 was 4,000. It had increased to 20,000 in 1935. Last summer it was higher still. Anyone who desires a holiday in perfect scenery, reasonable comfort and unsophisticated surroundings cannot do better than visit Syria. If he is an Englishman and also goes to Cyprus he will be able to apply a comparative standard to French achievements in such things as roads, hotels and civics generally. The result will not be unflattering to our neighbours across the Channel.

H. E. W.

Euphrates Exile. By A. D. Macdonald. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 301. Illustrated. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. 7s. 6d.

This is a delightful book written in a very easy style, and, though the author has chosen the rather dangerous technique of writing a number of short sketches, he has managed to avoid any sense of snappiness. He is obviously a thoughtful as well as a sympathetic observer with the ability to paint a vivid picture in a few words. Captain Macdonald spent some nine years in Iraq, firstly as a member of the British Military Mission and then as Intelligence Officer attached to the R.A.F., and it is of his experiences in the latter capacity that he writes. Not that he says much about the details of his rather difficult work, except to explain very clearly the *raison d'être* of these intelligence officers. And this explanation could even now be read with advantage by Iraqis, for most of them, and especially

those of the official class, viewed the R.A.F. intelligence officers with much suspicion. Indeed, the reviewer has heard a certain sheikh, who certainly was not anti-British, speak of the Chief Intelligence Officer as "Rais el jawasīs," or chief spy. So he was in a way, but the R.A.F., like any other military force, had to have its own intelligence, and this, particularly in a country where an administrative blunder, caused by ignorance or over-enthusiasm, might bring about a rising, which the R.A.F. would be called upon to quell.

Though he fully realizes the difficulties which have to be overcome, Captain Macdonald is not in the least prejudiced against Iraq and the Iraqi. On the contrary, he sympathizes with the growing pains of the young nation, and the name "wog" is very distasteful to him. He laments the fact that the effendi type, on whom the success or failure of the attempt to build up a modern state must ultimately depend, is far less liked by the average Englishman than the old-fashioned type of sheikh. Certainly "the effendi, that trousered and not very prepossessing product of the Western impact upon the Eastern," is not attractive, and it is doubtless true that most Englishmen prefer "of the two evils an honest to God religious fanatic who had never heard of Iraq." At the same time he admits his affection for the simple tribesman, with all his faults, though he finds little to charm him in the Bedouin, as represented by the Dhaffir.

Captain Macdonald has a good deal to say of the Englishmen and the English women in Iraq. He admits that the British official had an extremely difficult task and one that was not rendered any easier by the knowledge that, when his well-paid service in Iraq was over, he had no obvious future. It was a pity that British officials in Iraq were not on the permanent Colonial Office list. Had they been, they would have suffered less in self-respect in holding on to jobs which most Iraqi wished them out of, and would have felt easier in giving unpalatable advice, such as might bring them closer to the "axe." His criticisms of the ordinary Englishwoman's attitude are, perhaps, a little unkind. It is true that not many "escaped from the Cantonment," but a woman's life in exile, often separated from her children, is far more trying than that of the man, and in a hot and trying climate few had the energy to learn a difficult language well enough to get to know the Iraqi.

But most of his comments are very sound. He thoroughly understands the Arab mentality. He rightly says that the Arab is interested in facts and not in ideas. He lays stress on that lack of security which underlies all life in the East and points out that the Government—and in the East Government means the administrative machine and not merely the Cabinet in power—is an ever-present thing; "every administrative step, every judgment in the courts, every imposition or remission of taxation, every arrest and every bankruptcy is by the nature of things rendered complex and flexible by the intrusion of personal emotions."

The book contains some excellent stories, of which that of the Old Mudir is so typical of the East before the war and so almost unbelievable to the Western mind. His description of polo at Diwaniyah, a very different game from that seen at Hurlingham, was a delight to one who has taken part in it.

Captain Macdonald has written with humour and understanding of the many types which make up modern Iraq, and his book will be read with profit as well as with pleasure not only by those who already know Iraq and the Arab. The illustrations are unusually good and very well chosen.

R. S. S.

Richard Burton, Explorer. By Hugh J. Schonfield. 8¾″×5¾″. Pp. 303. Frontispiece. London: H. Joseph. 1936. 15s.

Richard Burton is undoubtedly one of the most mysterious figures of nineteenth-century England. His unconventional childhood, spent wandering from one city to another in France and Italy, was doubtless largely responsible for his cosmopolitan outlook on the world, his hatred of narrow national prejudices, and the facility which he displayed for making himself at home in any country and with any people.

But his upbringing cannot account for his dauntless courage, his sensitive pride, or his literary genius. Who but Burton could ever have ventured, with very little previous experience of Egypt or Arabia, to set up openly in Cairo as a Moslem doctor and to solicit patients? Burton's pilgrimage to Mecca must be one of the most extraordinary examples in history of successful disguise.

But the appreciation of Burton's linguistic and literary genius renders the story of his failures and embitterment all the more poignant. Why do famous men so often insist on defending their own exploits, instead of leaving them to public opinion to judge? We cannot but regret that Burton at times lacked the self-control to treat Speke's activities with silent indifference.

The author may be right in comparing Burton in some ways to Lawrence, in that neither could brook criticism, show respect for authority or submit to conventions. But how different were their careers, though they possessed in common so many qualities—literary genius, indifference to danger, and independence of character.

Everything about Burton was unconventional—not least his marriage. Mrs. Arundell's refusal to agree to her daughter's marriage because Captain Burton was not a Christian and had no money is a delightful, if unconscious, sidelight on early Victorian respectability. These pious Christians seem at times to have forgotten a certain story about a camel and the eye of a needle.

Mr. Schonfield is to be congratulated on having given us a book which will be read with pleasure by all who are interested in the history of travel and exploration, or rather in the history of high endeavour and great adventure. For Burton was in many ways a paladin, born out of due time.

Hebrew Origins. By Th. J. Meek. The Haskell Lectures for 1933-1934. Pp. viii+219. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1936. $2.

This book represents another attempt by a scholar to fathom the unknown. In six chapters Professor Meek, who is abreast of biblical scholarship and fully conversant with the latest discoveries, attempts to trace the origins to their most remote beginnings. But from facts he goes back to hypothesis and tries to reconstruct the history of the Hebrews in a quite original manner. To him also the Bible is the result of so much mixed authorship, that he does not hesitate to follow the example set by others: first, to tear it into pieces and then to try the fascinating game to fit them together like in a jigsaw game into a plan devised by himself. Whilst fully conversant with the material that has been accumulating, especially in consequence of the various discoveries made through excavations, he is not satisfied merely to arrange the material in such a manner as to be convincing to the reader, but he starts from hypothetical origins which on the next page

become already facts and thus fit into the preconceived theory. I take the chapter on the origin of the Hebrew God. There we have, first, a description of the primitive mind of man, which no one has yet been able to discover in that state. Then he goes on to nature-worship, ancestor-worship, always finding with great ingenuity supposed numerous examples in the Bible. Then he goes on to the spirit—*i.e.*, the wind—which becomes the soul. Then he discusses the name of God, revealed to Moses on Mount Horeb. In this he discovers—by changing entirely the letters—an imitation of an Egyptian prototype. From this he goes on to the tetragrammaton to finish the chapter, by leaving the matter where it was before. It is not necessary to discuss the other chapters, in which the author displays great erudition and no less great originality; yet, in spite of it all, not more convincing than other attempts which have hitherto been made to solve the problems connected with the history of the Hebrews. Any discovery like that of Ras Shamra may with one blow upset all the theories which have hitherto been advanced in connection with the history of the people of Israel and its book, which remains the Rock of Ages.

M. GASTER.

Thy Neighbour. By Lord Melchett. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$. Pp. 284. 2 illustrations and 2 maps. London: Muller. 1936. 7s. 6d.

Many books have appeared in support of the Jewish movement in Palestine, but none has set forth the aims of the more aggressive school of Zionists, and the methods by which they are to be attained, with such uncompromising forcefulness and clarity as Lord Melchett's survey.

The book consists of five chapters only, preceded by an introduction which affords a disturbing challenge to Christendom in its relation to the Jewish question, and followed by a postscript dealing with the position that has arisen as the result of the disturbances this year. The conclusion is an appeal for the creation in Palestine of a Jewish Seventh Dominion of the British Empire.

At the beginning are reproduced two photographs, the one of a German Jew being exhibited to public indignity in a refuse cart, the other of a young Chalutz, radiant with glowing energy and hope, labouring at the plough that turns the soil, the sun-blest soil of Eretz Israel. These two moving representations set the theme of the book and tell a heart-searching truth.

The first chapter describes the vicious and inhuman anti-Semitism that is rampant in Europe to-day. Unfortunately, indeed, there is nothing here for the critic or the commentator; all is stark fact. The second and third chapters trace the tormented history of the Jewish people down to the British occupation of Palestine and the emergence of the Zionist ideal into the realm of practical politics. With this able survey, too, there can be little disagreement, with the exception that at its conclusion the author first betrays his animus towards the local British administration. The Palestine Government would not wish to claim that its officers are paragons or endowed throughout with exceptionally brilliant qualities; but it can rightly assert that few bodies

of men have given such devoted service, under sometimes the most thankless conditions, whereby such success as the Zionist movement has achieved has largely been made practicable. It is to be hoped that on further reflection the author may find himself more ready to align himself with the many among his co-religionists who give recognition to that fact.

The rest of the book sets forth the ambitions of Zionism in their most militant and unabashed form. The *leit-motif* is that the appalling fate that is overwhelming the Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe renders the complete fulfilment of the Zionist programme the inescapable duty of humanity, working through the pre-ordained agent, Great Britain. There rests the only hope of these suffering Jewish millions; and there, too, in a predominantly Jewish Palestine, lies the invitation to Great Britain to consolidate her shaken position in the Eastern Mediterranean. So nothing must stand in the way; the doors must be flung wide for Jewish immigration at the rate of, perhaps, 180,000 a year; Transjordan, too, must be opened up; a Jewish Defence Force created. All so logical, so honestly justifiable from the Zionist point of view—and all so impossible of attainment!

The remarkable paradox is that the Land of Israel is the one land where Jewish aspirations are circumscribed. There might be no obstacle in law to the sale of some colony to the Zionist organization and for the gradual displacement of its inhabitants to make room for Jewish settlers. But as regards Palestine the Council of the Nations has decreed that the rights and position of the Arab population must not be prejudiced by Jewish immigration, and furthermore that that portion of the Mandated Territory that lies east of the Jordan is to be excluded from the Zionist provisions of the Mandate. These are undertakings no less valid and no less binding on the Mandatory as the undertakings to the Jews. Would, indeed, that the circumstances were otherwise! But there they are, and they constitute the limiting measure of the contribution that Palestine can make to the solution of the Jewish question.

Lord Melchett quotes all the familiar arguments and repeats the statistics of which the Zionist protagonists make use. To all of these their opponents would be able to offer a no less convincing reply, so that the puzzled layman —or perhaps one of those British officials!—might be excused if he is tempted to say: " A plague on both your houses!" It is a pity, however, that he depreciates unworthily the general conditions under which the Arab peasantry live, from which it might be deduced that their standard of civilization is generally little in advance of that which pertains in an African kraal.

The book should be read by anyone who wishes to appreciate how formidable is the impasse that confronts the Mandatory in Palestine. It is much to be doubted whether its publication at this juncture may not prove a disservice towards those that the author would most serve; for it must afford an important exhibit in the brief of their case that the Arabs—if they are sensible—will be preparing for submission to the Royal Commission.

L. G. A. C.

A Plan for Lasting Peace in Palestine. By Nevill Barbour. Jerusalem. 1936. Equivalent 1s.

This pamphlet, published in Jerusalem at the end of August, 1936, is yet another attempt to state the problem of Palestine and from a "basis for discussion" find that peace which passes understanding, twixt Moslem and Christian, Arab, Jew, and the Government.

The author draws a brief outline of the Arab background and the Jewish background. He then goes on to say that Palestine is a tiny country, about the size of Wales. He states that the Arab objection to Zionism is twofold. The Arabs fear becoming a subject minority, and they feel Zionism is the agent of European imperialism and will embitter the Moslem relationship with the British Empire.

Mr. Barbour finds that if only the Arabs had equality—internationally and politically—with the Jews, all would be well. We are told that we require (*a*) provisions to terminate the Mandate; (*b*) to provide for the revision of the existing Mandate; (*c*) provisions for the protection of Arab *and* Jewish agriculture! After this we are given extracts of correspondence, the subject-matter ranging from the grievances of two farmers (who, strangely enough, don't want to leave the land of their fathers) to leaflets from 'planes; an Arab waiting about in a firm's office; Sir Flinders Petrie's desire to save the top soil; Mr. Ben Zvi's speculations concerning the racial origin of the Arabs; and, finally, "A. T." of Tel Aviv leaves us shaken and shattered with the remark, "There is, Mr. Barbour and Co., to Palestine, Eretz Israel, more than you ever dreamed of in your philosophy."

The Arab is not likely to agree to any degree of equality, and Mr. Barbour's plan will never, we believe, leave the realm of theory.

When we come to recollect the number of reports and books written about Palestine—*e.g.*, the French Report, the Johnson-Crosbie Report, the White Paper, the Hope-Simpson Report, etc., "Unholy Memories of the Holy Land" (Samuel), "Beside Galilee" (Bolitho), etc.—we must surely come to the conclusion that the best thing to do is to trust the British Administration, put the ink away, lock it up and throw the key into the Nile.

The popular press sends out special investigators who write: "These new civil servants have learned how one should deal with natives, and how to remain superbly English amid subject races." Remarks of this nature show the depth to which journalism may sink. One of the well-known weaknesses of the Civil Service in Palestine is lack of experience, especially with Moslem peoples.

When dealing with Palestine it is difficult to discover the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. One always feels about Palestine that it is not customary to take *quite* the shortest route between two points. As an Arab remarked some years ago, "What can we do in a country where the father doesn't trust his son?" The Arab feels he is not trusted and it hurts his self-respect. The Arab distrusts theory, and to frustrate his desires and repress his instinctive love of independence and life on the land, means murder, riots and arson.

We hope and believe a way out will be found whereby the Palestine Government is given more power, prestige and authority.

Quite a number of Englishmen with many years' experience of the Far and Near East have found residence in Palestine almost intolerable. Why is it? We wonder whether lack of tradition there has led so many to regard this poor country as a "second-rate place."

The Press asks us to "clean the stables." This must be done, and maybe in the process of cleaning the future will provide greater individual freedom for the Arab lest he turn Fascist; and, moreover, a Government free to rule and govern

come into being. We believe British statesmen will show genius again and that flair for right action, perhaps temporarily lost amongst democratic theories and the solving of "problems"

After all, it is the *castle* that protects the abbey and all it means.

A Palestinian Kaleidoscope, "Palestine on the Eve." By Ladislas Farago. Two maps. Sixty-three illustrations. Putnam. 10s. 6d.

Fairness and balance are maintained by the author in his descriptive book of Palestine as he found it during the Arab "strike" last summer. Mr. Farago reached Palestine last June via Beirut. He writes a journalistic and colourful account of conditions and opinions as he found and heard them, and in a short visit probably obtained a clearer perspective than a longer acquaintance would provide. Though a shrewd observer, he avoids political conclusions and offers no solution to the problem now confronting the British Government. But his book should certainly be read by anyone who wishes to understand the tactical issue, which has been created by British policy in Palestine.

Arriving from the north, at the frontier the author found Palestine labelled significantly in English, Arabic and Hebrew, indicating at once the three influences he was about to encounter. The Arabs, with their majority population, claim attention first. As one turns the kaleidoscope of his pages, beneath the propaganda and recent acts of violence, which Mr. Farago graphically describes, there can be discerned the existence of an Arab population which would be contented enough and prepared to take advantage of improved conditions, if allowed. The author was satisfied that the Arabs can live very economically, and that they still own 88 per cent. of the cultivable land in Palestine. They are industrious cultivators in their own conservative way and are learning. Their orange plantations are just as fine as the Jewish, but from their grain fields they are content with a small surplus over domestic requirements and, owing to their laws of inheritance, they do not care to invest in land improvement.

The author gives a picture of the population at farm work in the chain of Arab villages along the main road from Jerusalem through Nablus, Samaria and Jenin to Syria. He recalls the Mohammedan character of this road throughout history, but explains how the passing of the Crusaders and German and British soldiers accounts for the non-Semitic appearance of many of these Arabs. Arab dislike of the census must qualify figures, but he tells us that in the central highland district of Samaria (Sebastieh) 11,000 people live upon 2,400 square kilometres. He also notes that the birthrate is high, while infant mortality is decreasing, and estimates that the Arab population has increased from 500,000 to 800,000 since 1918.

It is interesting to learn that from 1,000 to 1,500 Arabs yearly emigrate from their only industrial town, Nablus, to districts where there are Jewish colonies, and that Arab labour is still exclusively employed by the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (P.I.C.A.), while the Yemenite Jews employ Haurani Arabs in their gardens. Illegal immigrants from every Arab country infiltrate into Palestine. These mainly find their way to Jaffa, as dock workers, to prosper on the transit requirements of Tel Aviv; nor are the Arabs averse to turning an honest penny in smuggling Jews into Palestine, agencies having been established in Beirut for this purpose. The author quotes official figures of 60,000 illegal Arab immigrants as against 40,000 Jewish. He reminds us that Arab historical claims, based on the Koran, include the exclusive right to all places connected with the Old Testament, and he observes that Arab architecture is still in demand. But he remarks on the

general illiteracy of the Arabs in Palestine in comparison with those in other countries. They do not speak a pure Arabic and the output of literature is almost negligible, their "leading" local newspaper having a circulation of only 3,000.

Like all other communities, the Arab population cannot escape the inexorable march of time, but the impression is gained that the Arabs have been hurried out of their stride.

Mr. Farago conveys the following impression of genuine concrete factors making for discontent. In the first place, there is not a single institution which has attempted to educate the Arab to apply his money to productive purposes, so that large sums of money, received for the sale of land to Jews, are quickly squandered, and the fellahin vendors soon find that they have to return to work as labourers or join the town "proletariat."

Secondly, the standard of wages has been forced up by Jewish immigration, so that life has become more expensive and uncomfortable for the local landlord. Thirdly, the price of a good wife has risen for the local Arab owing to the high offers which Arabs from Jewish districts are able to make; and, finally, the Arabs view with ever-growing anxiety the rapid development of an adverse trade balance. Imports in 1935 represented £18,000 as against 4·2 million pounds of Palestinian exports, and the Arabs see no prospect of reducing these proportions.

Such causes strike at the roots of Arab life, and prepare the ground for the ever-ready political activities of the rival families of Arab "Effendis." The organization of Arab workers is in its infancy, and the author considers that the impetus of the movement is weakened by subordination to the political aims of the Effendis, whom, in a chapter entitled "The Effendis' War," Mr. Farago entertainingly exposes, declaring them to be the real factors in Arab policy in Palestine. He says they are homesick for the time of the Turks and indicates clearly that they are actuated rather by personal ambitions than by genuine patriotism. Sir Herbert Samuel's experiment of endeavouring to reconcile the leading Husseini and Nashashibi families by giving religious posts to the former and municipal to the latter has not had the desired effect, as the Husseinis have now acquired both and rivalry continues.

The heading to Chapter VI., "His Eminence the Rebel," speaks sufficiently for Haj Amin al Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and President of the Supreme Moslem Council. According to the author, his word and will caused the whole Arab rising. He appears to be a man of great personal vanity and ambition, who has so far been successful in advancing his own interests and power. The author recalls how he was appointed by Sir Herbert Samuel, though he received only one-third of the votes recorded. Lord Plumer, when High Commissioner, had his measure. A good photograph of him accompanies the chapter which records a conversation in which his propaganda does not seem to have unduly influenced Mr. Farago. The views are also recorded of Fakhri Bey, the political head of the rival Nashashibi family, who was disappointed at the result of his lecture before the Royal Central Asian Society in September, 1935, so that, to the author, he advocated promiscuous shooting in Palestine as the only means of attracting world attention to the grievances of the Palestinian Arabs.

Mr. Farago indicates that the real aim of the Arab Effendis has become the establishment of an independent Palestine in a Pan-Arab Federation, each faction, of course, playing and intriguing against the other for power. The Jews are in their way.

It must be a Pan-Arab, as opposed to a Pan-Islamic Federation, for the influence and activity of the Christian Arabs are out of all proportion to their numbers. The author gives the figure as 70,000 Christian to 300,000 Mohammedan Arabs,

but says that the Christians share leadership equally with the Mohammedans and that propaganda and intellectual activity are almost exclusively in their hands; even the presidency of the Arab Congress has been occupied by a Christian, for the Arab movement has wiped out religious differences in Palestine.

It is the younger generation which is forcing the pace: Arabs educated abroad, at Oxford and Cambridge, at the Al Azhar University in Cairo, and in particular at the American University in Beirut, which, the author explains, is an active centre of a Great Arab idea. One political and two "terror" organizations have been formed, and when the elder leaders are arrested younger men are immediately ready to take their places. A favourite meeting-place is the Y.M.C.A. building in Jerusalem, which was founded with American money.

The leader of Pan-Arabic thought in Palestine is Awni Bey Abdul Hadi, formerly Emir Feisal's Secretary at Versailles, who definitely stands in the way of any Arab-Jewish understanding, and whose party, which has adopted the "feisalia" cap for a headdress, is daily gathering strength. The author tells us that Arab propaganda was until recently puerile, but is now more actively organized in the form of collections and "informants" who attach themselves to individuals. The American Dr. Charles Crane has supplied funds for the Arabs, and money has been received from Syria, 'Iraq, Egypt and Abyssinia.

Mr. Farago describes the confident position enjoyed by the Italian Consul-General, who needs no escort, the high class of Italian political agent employed in Palestine, how the former Italian Consul at Haifa was recalled to Rome last July to conduct the Arab department of the Foreign Ministry, and how the Italian radio station at Bari circumvented official silences. He informs us that Italian literature on Near Eastern subjects is so good that British officials in Palestine learn Italian in order to be able to read it.

Such is the atmosphere in which Mr. Farago examines the problems of the Jewish National Home. He gives us first his impressions of the Zionists as he gained them at Tel Aviv, that "Miracle in the Sand" of which the population has increased since 1932 from 15,000-to 150,000. He conveys a picture of a mushroom city upon which an unpopular minority of land and building profiteers has set its stamp, where reverence and religion are at a discount, but which, rather surprisingly, is industrious in its labour, and prudish in its morals, and where the police have an easy time. The population, he says, is a young one, but the people age prematurely and sap their mentality by refusing to adapt their hours and clothing to the climatic conditions. The popular shorts and shirts worn by both sexes, besides being an offence to the Arabs, expose their bodies too much to the sun, which induces mental disorders and leads to retirement from active life at the age of forty. Though standard wages range from £7 to £10 monthly, there are many very poor, in particular the Yemenite Jews, of whom 35,000 have already been brought to Palestine.

United in the desire for a Jewish National Home, the Zionists are bitterly divided into two principal factions: the blue-shirted Histadruth or labour party, which has effected a compromise with the Hapoel Hamisrachi or religious labour groups; and the brown-shirted Revisionists, who are organized on Fascist lines and parade with flags and music.

Through its labour exchange the Histadruth dictates labour conditions and so is able to attract members, whether or not they agree with its aims. This organization has its own schools, libraries and excellent hospitals, staffed almost entirely from Germany, and a membership of 85 per cent. of the Jewish "workers" in Palestine over the age of eighteen. The author states this number at 80,000, which does not seem to represent a very high proportion of workers from the

Jews now in Palestine, whose total he gives as 400,000 against the official figure of 370,000. The Histadruth has established a wide co-operative system which embraces practically all interests, and assists with credit the 10 per cent. of its members who are unemployed. But the primitive, hopeless life, revealed to the author, of a family in this category destroyed all his pleasure in the establishments of the Histadruth, which he characterizes as extravagant.

Turning to the colonies, Mr. Farago found that these are seldom situated on the main roads and are all to be found in the plains, a few in the Shfela to the south, but mainly in Sharon, Galilee and the connecting plain of Esdraelon. He first visited some of the post-war Kvuza colonies, organized on communal lines, encountering in them a very different class of Jew from that in the towns. The life is so rough that he says only 25 per cent. of immigrants are attracted to the land. He portrays a labour-hardened, obstinate, slow-witted population leading a dull, joyless life, devoid of romance and making no difference between sexes in the call for work. Many wives have married only to get to Palestine, and consequent divorces lead to melancholy among the men. Soon after birth communal rearing of children replaces mother care, and even the children are "cost accounted" at an estimate of £700 from birth to employment. This expense to the community keeps the average of children down to 0·7 per family, so that, the author remarks, without immigration the Jews would soon die out.

He explains that in these colonies communism is economical only, and not political. Occasionally the Government banishes Palestinian political communists from the towns to Kvuza colonies, but they are got rid of; and the author learned that one way by which this can be done is to exchange them for Jews who have been arrested by the Government in Russia, which welcomes Palestinian communists as recruits for the Jewish Soviet "buffer" state at Biro-Bidjan, near Manchuria.

It was not until after receiving his impressions from Tel Aviv and the Kvuza colonies that the author visited one of the colonies of the Palestine Jewish Immigration Society (P.I.C.A.), founded in 1891 by the settlers of the first Aliyah, who came to Palestine inspired by the original Zionist idea of living at peace with the Arabs. He describes how after original difficulties, overcome with financial aid from the Rothschild family, these colonies have thrived on exclusively Arab labour, so causing a definite break with the Kvuza colonies, and with the Histadruth, whose discontent is aggravated by increasing Jewish unemployment in the towns and the refusal of the Arabs to sell more land. But the P.I.C.A. colonists have remained true to their declared policy of distributing work between Jews and Arabs; and the author found their protests to be the loudest of any against the present-day Zionists, who flee from discrimination against themselves in Europe, but set it up against the Arabs in Palestine.

He found that the 30,000 Jews who have arrived from Germany since the Hitler régime are not popular in Palestine. They are laughed at for their former superiority complex and the failure of their efforts at assimilation in Germany, while the spread of German language is feared. The Hebrew language has been resurrected in its Sephardi form, away from the Arabic, and is very jealously guarded to the exclusion even of Yiddish, while only little interest is taken in English. It is largely this language jealousy which prevents any genuine social intercourse and helps to keep Jew and Arab apart.

In describing the labyrinth of Jewish organizations in Jerusalem, Mr. Farago emphasizes the governmental form assumed by the Jewish agency and how the intention is to make the internal affairs of the Palestinian Jews independent of the external activities of the Zionist Organization. He remarks upon the economy in

administration and the very small salaries of the officials, conscientious, painstaking functionaries who are at a disadvantage with the Arabs in appearance and oratory; they are the product mainly of Russia and Poland, men with unlimited energy, which they do not know how to apply, and still suffering from an inferiority complex which induces mistrust and an unconscious hatred. He sketches some of the leaders: David Ben Gurion, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and founder of the Histadruth, whom he considers to be virtually the dictator of Jews in Palestine; Dr. Weizman, whom it is necessary for the Zionists to retain in office for his diplomatic powers, but who no longer has any say in internal affairs; Vladimir Jabotinski, the best and most inspiring speaker amongst the Jewish leaders, but who is debarred from Palestine; Moshe Shertok, the indefatigable director of the political department of the Jewish Agency, who works twenty hours a day; and he mentions Dr. Judah Magnes, President of the Hebrew University, leader of a group which believes in peace with the Arabs.

The author does justice to the gift of electric power supply, which Pinchas Rutenberg has bestowed upon Palestine, and Jewish efforts to increase exports, but learned that Palestinian industries cannot yet stand upon their own feet, and expresses his doubt as to whether the country has any industrial future; only labour is really "Tozeret Haarez," made in Palestine.

In referring to the part played by Arabs and Jews in the redemption of Palestine from the Turks, Mr. Farago points out that it was not Palestinian Arabs, nor, in the main, Palestinian Jews who figured in the ranks of the Allies. But it seems remarkable that it should have been left to him to be the first to publish in English an account of the services to the British Empire, and to Jewry, of Aaron Aaronsohn and his family, and of his mysterious death. Though the account is inadequate and not completely accurate, it gives some impression of how Lord Allenby was assisted in his defeat of the Turks, not only by Lawrence and his Arabs, but how his task was simplified and British life economized by the bravery of this family and their sacrifices, not the least of which has been the ridiculous myth of their rewards, and the misrepresentation of their motives, fostered among post-war Zionists. But one day truth will emerge from the well, and the Empire will learn what it owes to Alex and Sarah Aaronsohn, Absalom Feinberg, and others of that devoted band who endured and died for their faith in it under the inspiration of Aaron. The author also pays tribute to Doctor Arlosoroff, who worked to bridge the gap between Jew and Arab, but who, like Aaron Aaronsohn, came to an untimely end. Amongst the heroes of to-day are the motor drivers of the Jewish Autobus Association, whom the author shows as maintaining a civil transport service and conveying British troops through danger zones with unfailing coolness and reliability.

Mr. Farago describes the armed state of the Arab population as well as the Jewish system of watchmen and the Hagana, or defensive "cell" organization. This has been held in commendable restraint during the recent Arab provocation; but we are given a good illustration of the willingness of the Jews and their capability to defend their own villages upon necessity, while the author discloses the potential assistance at the disposal of the British Government and the unaccepted offer of Jewish enrolment in the British Army.

Mr. Farago remarks how communications with Palestine are neglected by British Transport Companies, and how it was only upon an Italian steamer that he could find a passage there, while in his references to the British Administration he can bestow only cold comfort. The High Commissioner, a man of well-known gallantry, cannot dispense with an escort and appears as a rather pathetic figure who must excite the compassion of the reader. The problem in Palestine is one

calling for British representatives of high calibre and demanding understanding and firmness. It cannot be satisfied by the standardized conventions of colonial administration. The author illustrates the indifference of the average official to overcoming the language barrier, and emphasizes the lack of contacts with Arabs or Jews, excused to some extent by fear of creating jealousy or the impression of favouritism.

The most serious accusation referred to against the Administration is that of unevenness of sentences as between Arab and Jew, while, apart from the difficult question of general disarmament, it seems strange that in the middle of Jerusalem the author should have found access to the Grand Mufti barred by personal armed guards and terrorist gunmen.

As a journalist Mr. Farago cannot be expected to appreciate the exigencies of censorship, but he complains of the concealment of facts in official communiqués and criticizes the intelligence service, declaring that the population is better informed about the Government than the Government about the population. He found that, despite the personal efficiency and self-sacrificing work of Inspector-General Spicer, the British police have not overcome the unpopularity created by the "Black and Tans." As regards administration, he quotes a cynical comparison that the Government took ten years to lay 60 kilometres of pipes for the water supply of Jerusalem, against the two years required by the I.P.C. for their 1,200-mile pipeline across the desert.

The author devotes a chapter entitled "Which is Forever England" to British oil and other capitalist investments in Palestine, showing the mutual interests of British financiers and the Zionists, and marking the standpoint taken by the British Government in developing a naval base at Haifa. He also mentions the possibility of constructing a rival to the Suez Canal from Gaza to Aqaba.

Visiting the Emir Abdullah in his capital at Amman, Mr. Farago found Transjordan in a state of relative tranquillity, and that the small British Administrative Staff in the country have much less worry than the "huge bureaucracy" in Palestine with its mixed population. He recognized that Transjordan could accommodate all the Jews in the Diaspora, but recounts how the opportunist Emir has been restrained by his sons from selling any land. He concludes his book by indicating that the settlement of Palestine's problems is the task for a Messiah.

Where do Mr. Farago's observations really lead us? How can this land of three in one be made one in three? The Arabs have sold their land to the Jews, but wish to maintain their own former method of life. The Zionists wish to relieve Jews from repression in Europe, but can see only a material alternative in terms of statistics, dividends on the £90,000,000 they have invested, "progress" and political power. The British appreciate the strategic position, but their interest is to have a morally justified position in a Palestine which is contented and secure—peace in Jerusalem.

Surely the answer can be found only in an all-round change of heart in keeping with the greatness of the issue. A little of the leaven of the true spirit of England, a little reverence and mutual tolerance, patience and understanding between the Jews and the Arabs. The language barrier must be broken down in the schools. The old pre-war, bilingual Jewish colonies seem still to point the way, for "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

W. H. G.

New Zionist Publications—No. 2. New Zionist Press, 47, Finchley Ro London, N.W. 8. 1s.

New Zionist Publication No. 1 was reviewed in the Journal for July, 19 Publication No. 2 is entitled "Revolt by Leave, being Certain Criticisms on Anti-Zionist Policy of the Palestine Government," by Horace B. Samuel, M Barrister-at-Law, late Judicial Officer in Palestine.

We are informed that the author is not a member of the New Zio organization. This publication is a pamphlet of 75 pages, the contents of wh are sufficiently described by its title. It is a carefully compiled and unc promising document. The qualifications of the author are given as follows. lived in the country first as a judge in the original British Administration a subsequently, as a practising lawyer from 1918 to 1928 and from November, 19 to July, 1934, and during his absence from Palestine has endeavoured to keep touch with the trend and current of events. Prestige is a word often used loosely; but, if the true meaning of the word is the establishment of belief in ultimate power and will to furnish the offender and assert authority, any interested in the maintenance of British prestige will read these pages with gr anxiety.

The author describes the present situation (end of November), while the R Commission is sitting, as a temporary truce, and indicates that the Terro organization is being left in such a position that it will be able to resume hostili if not satisfied with the findings of the Commission. W. H. C

From Alexander Burnes to Frederick Roberts. A Survey of Impe Frontier Policy. By J. L. Morison.

In printed form this lecture fills but thirty pages, yet in this small space Morison has dealt in logical sequence with all salient features in the developm of frontier policy in India over a period of close on a hundred years. problems connected with determining a strategic frontier may be said to be fo reflected in miniature by those which have to be solved in the establishment of outpost line. Those to whom the latter duty has fallen on the North-West Fron will remember how, on reaching what from the valley below has appeared to the summit of a hill, a higher crest invariably will be found to dominate position gained, and will recollect the temptation to go ever a little further the difficulty of deciding exactly where to stop. It seems that, in dealing with subject of frontier policy, Mr. Morison found himself faced by a problem analog to that presented to the subaltern posting his piquet; for he explains in a foot that his first intention was to confine himself to a study of Lord Roberts's acts opinions with reference to North-West India, but realizing that an introduc would be necessary he concluded finally that a general survey of policy woul preferable. The point which he selected then as his most distant objective ma deduced from the title given to his lecture, and it is interesting to note that he found it necessary to climb to yet a further peak in history, for he actu starts at 1807, a date at which Alexander Burnes was still in the nursery. chooses that date in order to show that at the opening of the first of the t phases in which he considers his subject—the period during which the Panjab Sind still lay as independent regions between the British and the true frontie India—French rather than Russian aggression was the bogey. In this phase which Russia soon took the place of France as the chief bugbear, it is explai that we were not concerned with "frontier policy proper," but with the attemp safeguard India by creating a West and Central Asiatic power favourable to G

Britain. Throughout his survey Mr. Morison lightly sketches the characters of the chief actors, as influencing their ideas and actions, and he suggests that in this period "the respectable Bentinck as well as the foolish Auckland were affected by the notions of gallant young adventurers . . . whose record is one of fantastic, if heroic, extravagance." He points out how, during the years preceding the First Afghan War, English prestige in Asia, of which there was much talk, was poorly served by the insult, imprisonment, and massacre of Englishmen whom it proved powerless to protect.

Mr. Morison lays emphasis on the fact that frontier policy dates from the occasion on which British India for the first time touched its natural limits. In this second phase, which followed the Second Sikh War, he shows how it was not John Lawrence, as it is sometimes conceived, but Henry who founded traditional frontier theory and practice, and says: ". . . he would be a rash man who tried to base doctrines of a 'close frontier' on Panjab practice between 1846 and 1853. . . . The natural limits of the new border were really coincident with the limits of the moral authority of (H.) Lawrence's 'wardens of the marches.'" He claims, moreover, that the supreme position which Henry Lawrence secured for himself created in his time what was in all but name a frontier province. Similarly, it is pointed out that it was Herbert Edwardes rather than John Lawrence who had the soundest grasp of the Afghan side of frontier politics. But the correction of misconceptions on these points does not mean that Mr. Morison fails to recognize the greatness of Lord Lawrence; and, in dealing with the period of quiescence which succeeded the Mutiny, he is careful to distinguish between the policy of caution adopted by Lawrence and his concern for a peaceful and friendly Afghanistan, and the suggestion of Lord John Russell that Persia and Afghanistan should be left to fight things out among themselves.

In explaining how, on the revival of interest in the frontier that came with the continued advance of Russia in Central Asia, party politics were allowed to affect Indian affairs, Mr. Morison holds that "whatever defects and hesitations there might be in Liberal policy, these became negligible when compared with the profound errors of the other side," and he adds that "there are few penances more disciplinary to simple Tories than to have to read Disraeli's speeches and letters about the Indian border whether in 1842 or after 1876." This view, one thinks, will be accepted on reading that in July, 1877, it was Lord Beaconsfield's opinion that "the Empress of India should order her armies to clear Central Asia of the Muscovites and drive them into the Caspian." The quotation of this passage gives weight to the point made by Mr. Morrison later in his survey—a point which he suggests is often overlooked—that, though the Afghan campaigns did not begin till 1878, Lytton arrived in India in 1876 encouraged to speculate on a war with Russia. When it is said that "Lytton's troubles arose chiefly because . . . he kept his eye too much on Russia, and too little on his own border," one understands the suggestion to be, not that Russia could have been ignored, but that Lytton, instead of concentrating on defence, was led into contemplating an offensive.

The concluding pages of the survey are devoted to the period following the Second Afghan War, in which Frederick Roberts was the central and dominating figure, and when it had come to thinking of the North-West Frontier in terms of modern military science. It is shown that Lord Roberts's ideas were based on the belief that a struggle with Russia in Asia was inevitable, and how, combined with the political considerations of our attitude towards the frontier tribes and the Amir, his military reorganization and the importance attached by him to communications rather than to the construction of forts and entrenchments "furnished

the two greatest experts among those who followed him in India, Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener, with the material for their rectified frontier and its administration." Though it is said that at one time Roberts was drawn into considering operations to the north of the Hindu Khush, his true policy was based on the view that, while the probable point of contact lay forward on the Kandahar-Ghazni-Kabul line, the stable offensive-defensive line lay along the border strip from Chitral to Baluchistan.

In speaking of the great game between England and Russia in the nineteenth century, Mr. Morrison says that Englishmen, whose own record was not stainless, forgot that sometimes "honesty was a much more profitable policy for England than it seemed to Russia." Other instances might, perhaps, be quoted of a similar attitude gaining for our countrymen a reputation for self-righteousness. Yet surely it will at least be admitted that, while to Russia Afghanistan must always mean a step towards India, its importance to Great Britain can never be other than defensive. For, despite the opinion of Lord Beaconsfield that has been quoted, and which is characterized by Mr. Morison as touching "the extreme limit of political sanity," it is difficult to conceive what possible objective could be offered to a British Army which plunged into Central Asia.

Some knowledge of the subject is presumed on the part of those to whom this survey of frontier policy is addressed. To none with such knowledge can it fail to be of interest, while to some who, like the reviewer, find the subject presented in a fresh and truer perspective than heretofore, it should be of special value.

H. R. S.

The 1st Battalion Duchess of Connaught's Own (late 124th D.C.O. Baluchistan Infantry) and the 10th Battalion (late 2/124th Baluchistan Infantry), the 10th Baluchistan Regiment. By O. A. Chaldecott. $8\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5\frac{7}{8}''$. Pp. xiv+250. Eleven maps, two portraits. (Lieut.-Col. J. N. Soden, Baluchistan Regiment, Karachi.)

This is a remarkable record; a record of which the regiment has every reason to be proud.

As a regimental history it is primarily for the officers of the regiment, but it contains interest enough for a much wider circle. Except for the two introductory chapters, the book relates the services of the regiment during and after the Great War. These introductory chapters briefly summarize the history of the original battalion of the Bombay Army which had little consecutive relationship with the Baluchistan Infantry beyond passing on its number and a fine tradition. The second chapter tells of the mustering out of that Battalion in 1891 and reconstitution as Baluchistan Infantry at Quetta under a singularly gifted and unconventional Commanding Officer, Colonel M. H. Nicolson.

The reconstitution was by recruitment from the Border tribes, the results of which are of great concern to the Army in India. Recruitment was not limited to the Baluchistan border, but extended northward as far as the Mohmand country. The fighting qualities of the classes enlisted were put to extreme tests in the War, with magnificent results, especially from those often regarded as most intractable. Stirring instances of the heroism of Mahsuds are related on pages 29 and 30, and the author advocates their enlistment, maintaining that their soldierly qualities outweigh their alleged unreliability. However, the recent incident in the Khaisora valley is a reminder that fanaticism and treachery are characteristics to be reckoned with.

The exigencies of the War, following immediately upon the return of the regiment from China, brought many changes. It was called upon to draft of its

best to other units; it was split into wings; new battalions were hastily formed, intensively trained, and sent off in turn. The record of all these developments is involved and difficult to follow, but they are well summarized in the appendices. The narratives are those of detachments, of wings, and of battalions, contributed in all cases by officers who served with the various units, and ably edited by Colonel Chaldecott, himself the principal contributor.

The importance of the share taken in the major operations of the War is proved by the fact that on the Western Front companies of the 124th helped to stem the German onslaught at Neuve Chapelle and the Aubers Ridge, and at the first battle of Ypres; in Mesopotamia they took part in the campaign for the relief of Kut, including the attack on the Dujailah redoubt and the fighting for the Khudaira bend, and, later, in the advance to Baghdad, the battle of Tekrit and General Cobbe's operations north of Baghdad; in Palestine a battalion took part in Allenby's victorious advance.

It is, however, with the services of the regiment in less known theatres of war that the history deals in greater detail, especially in Persia under Sir Percy Sykes in the little-known tract between Bandar Abbas, Kerman, Yezd and Shiraz. These operations involved prodigious feats of marching and hard fighting under exceptionally trying conditions of country and climate; but of all the severe trials of this strenuous time the most distressing was the epidemic of influenza (p. 132) which prostrated the force at the end of the campaign with heavy toll of human life.

The story of the raising of the South Persian Rifles is told, and the author finds much to excuse their ultimate defection under the pressure brought upon them by their fellow-countrymen and co-religionists (p. 126). There is a good general map of Persia and several sketch-maps to illustrate different phases of their operations in Fars. The want is felt of a map to enable the reader to follow in detail the operation (Chap. V.) of the Bushire force against the tribesmen incited by the German Wassmuss, but as there are eleven maps in the pocket at the end of the book, the editor had good reason for not adding to the number. A handsome tribute is paid to Wassmuss (p. 50).

A still less known series of operations were those in Zhob during the Afghan War of 1919. The 3rd/124th, on returning war-weary from Persia, was allotted to the Baluchistan Field Force, and had to brace themselves for yet another campaign. The account of the Lakaband disaster (Chap. X.) is of great, though painful, interest. A mistake is made at the beginning of this chapter in referring the reader to map No. 5. It should be No. 11, a sketch-map of the Lakaband area. Here, too, a map of the Zhob district would be useful to those who are not familiar with the country.

Perhaps the most obscure side-current of the war into which the regiment was drawn was the protection of the North Persian border against the Bolshevik menace in 1919-20. The firebrand Khuda Verdi Sardar (to give him his correct designation) was not, as might be supposed from this account, one of the Bolsheviks himself, but a Kurd outlaw from the Persian Government who was instigated by the Russians at Firusa, the little hill-station of Askhabad, to raise the Zafaranlu Kurds to attack the British posts.

It is significant of the conditions on that wild border that Kurd levies raised from the local tribesmen formed part of the force for the suppression of Khuda Verdi.

The last war services recorded are those of the Manzai Brigade of the Waziristan Field Force in 1929 and the reoccupation of Wana. The history ends with a well-deserved tribute to the work of the Depôt at Quetta.

Carefully compiled Appendices, from A to J, give much statistical information There is a very complete index; also portraits of two of the most distinguished officers of the regiment, General Sir Alfred Pearson and Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob.

There is little to criticize in this well-edited volume; the misspelling of Colonel Nicolson's name throughout Chapter II. is unfortunate. The antiquated spelling "Belooch" intrudes in one place. J. K. T.

Diamonds and Dust; India through French Eyes. By Baron Jean Pellenc. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 306. Illustrations and map. London: Murray. 1936. 10s. 6d.

Monsieur le Baron Pellenc went to India to paint pictures, but presently, falling victim to the insistent writing urge from which few travellers seem immune, abandoned the brush for the pen and made this book. But from the preface the reader is led to expect in *Diamonds and Dust* something rather different from the usual run of travel impressions, and, as he explores its pages, he will find the expectation realized. For this is no globe-trotter's tittle-tattle, nor, for that matter, is it a partisan political tract or treatise on administration, nor has it much to do with English life in India. It is, in fact, a study of Indian life as seen in the course of a round of visits amongst the Feudatory Princes, with frequent diversion to British India proper, the whole recorded by one bringing unusual qualifications to his task.

A Frenchman of literary repute, a humorist and a philosopher, his personal charm and tact, backed by a formidable budget of introductions, opened all doors before him, affording endless opportunities for watching, at close quarters, all sorts and conditions of men and of women at work and play, and for admiring the artistic wonders amongst which he continually found himself. He spent most of his time in the Rajputana States, and through these delectable lands he wandered leisurely for seven months, gossiping with shopmen in the bazaars, communing with cloistered pundits, sporting and feasting with Maharajas and gracing Viceregal ceremonies. The Feudatory Princes seem to have vied with each other in entertaining him with regal prodigality, wherefore marble palaces, Rolls-Royce cars, "simpkin" pegs, and seductive dancing girls were, as often as not, the *agréments* of his daily life. His reactions to the great monuments of Indian art, her vast plains, her rivers and mountains, he expresses with an eloquence that brings a new lustre to these oft-described and rather hackneyed features of the Indian scene; but it is in the presentation of men—and women, *bien entendu*—in the infinite variety of their complicated social conditions that he chiefly delights; writing of the hosts of people he met with sympathy and humour, his French viewpoint lending an additional piquancy to his observations. Of the English, officials and others with whom he must have come in contact, he says very little, and concerning politics he is discreet almost to the point of total suppression. His infrequent remarks on British rule and organization and their results, as also on the personnel of the Services, are in the main laudatory, tempered by a friendly foreigner's good-humoured criticisms of some of our more characteristic methods. On the portentous changes in the form of government now impending he is practically silent, venturing on no more than a page or so of mild speculation as to the ultimate outcome of the great experiment.

Of the nineteen chapters into which the book is divided most are given to animated descriptions of the author's experiences in the society of his princely

friends and of their subjects of high and low degree, including a diverting, if slightly rhapsodic, account of the wedding festivities of the Heir-Apparent of Patiala, at which he was an honoured guest. There is an interesting chapter on Delhi, where the author was duly impressed by the stately ceremonial of Viceroy's House, the Council of Princes and the panorama of the New City. For the rest there are glimpses of the cities of the Punjab, of the United Provinces, and as far east as Benares, whence the author returned ultimately to Bombay, his starting-point.

The book is well got up, has twenty-eight excellent photographic illustrations, notably that of Lord Willingdon talking to the beautiful Rani of Mandi, a map of sorts, and an index. Such is the skill of the translator that English readers will scarcely realize that the work was originally written in French.

W. A. GRAHAM.

The Tiger Hunters. By Brigadier-General R. G. Burton. 8¾″ × 5¾″. Pp. xvi + 225 + xxxii. 16 illustrations. Hutchinson. 12s. 6d.

The traveller who looks back on life's road becomes aware that some parts of it, for no apparent reason, have sunk into oblivion, while others stand out clear as events of yesterday. This book of reminiscences seems to have been written by General Burton for the pleasure of recalling to himself, as much as for the entertainment of others, some of these high-lights. Scenes of childhood in India, somewhere about the golden days of "Little Henry's Bearer"; boyhood in an English school; soldiering in the West Indies. Then comes cantonment life in India, the same cantonment apparently, viewed from an allegorical Mount Pisgah, as that in which his earlier years were spent. And lastly, taking up rather more than half the book, a prolonged shooting expedition in the company of his brother, and the slaying of many, many tigers. This big game hunting narrative, we are told, actually records the incidents of several trips so welded together as to make a single story; an arrangement, it must be said, by which the book loses somewhat. It is rather disconnected, no dates are given, nor are we given much guide as to localities, though it may be guessed perhaps that the author's experiences were mostly in Hyderabad and the Deccan. There are also repetitions, such as the several descriptions given of the Banjara tribe. And finally the bag of tigers is bigger than would have been possible in a single trip, even in those palmy days of Indian big game hunting. Having said this, I must at once correct any false impression I may have given by saying that the book will give very great pleasure to all who enjoy reading about big game, though, having read it, they may perhaps mutter with a sigh—"India was!" The book, too, will be appreciated not only by those who can look back on similar scenes to those depicted. For the novice also General Burton is a pleasant and experienced guide, though it may be remarked that a preference for black powder as a propellent for buckshot would not be shared by many in these days. And why use buckshot at all?

Of the several ways of shooting tigers, dictated generally by the nature of the jungle, General Burton's was that of beating up to posted guns, a method that must eventually entail dealing with a wounded tiger on foot—probably the most dangerous situation in any sport; for wounded animals cannot be left to be a menace to local inhabitants. Of tiger "lore" there is not a great deal. The subject indeed has been treated exhaustively in a previous book by the same author. For all that, there are discussed some interesting jungle enigmas. Why, for instance, it is asked, and a reply suggested, should man-slaying carnivoræ reject the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet of their victims, as the dogs did that of the unfortunate Jezebel.

It will be noticed with approval that in this volume General Burton prefers not to mention Indian politics. Also that of the many Indians—soldiers, shikaris, servants and others—that pass across its pages, of no one is a harsh or critical word spoken. Is it not indeed a story of days when, to the Indian, British officers were really and truly *ma bap*?

On closing the book one feels inclined to apostrophize the author much as Kingsley did his "*burra shikarree*"—"You have played the great game in your work and killed the great game in your play. . . . How many starving villages have you fed with the flesh of elephant or buffalo? How many have you delivered from man-eating tigers, or wary old alligators, their craws full of poor girls' bangles? Your brains must be one deposit in which gaur and sambur, hog and tiger, rhinoceros and elephant, lie heaped together. . . . And therefore I like to think of you——"

R. L. K.

Honoria Lawrence: A Fragment of Indian History. By Maud Diver. Pp. 524. John Murray. 16s.

It seems almost an intrusion to try and review this charming book. It is in parts so very intimate. But nevertheless the reader will find it is good to be taken by the many pasages in Lady Lawrence's own words into the confidence of one of those remarkable women who, from time to time in our history, has journeyed to the confines of the Empire to inspire her husband, and to bring something very beautiful into the lives of those fortunate enough to be counted as her friends.

Honoria Marshall, brought up in the wilds of Donegal, had early developed a love of nature and of wild open spaces which tinged with romance an ardent and intelligent character.

"The little rills of Roona
Had wandered through her heart."

She first met Henry Lawrence, a tall lanky subaltern, when she was nineteen and he twenty-one. But it was only after ten years of punctilious and almost insupportable forbearance on his part, while doubt and uncertainty troubled her, that her longing, as constant as his, was fulfilled.

A tedious sea voyage, fortunately relieved by a keen sense of humour, and the daily writing of a very voluminous journal, brought her at last to Calcutta, where, however, another long wait had to be endured, as Henry Lawrence was delayed in coming. But on August 26, 1837, she was able to begin another of her intimate journals as Honoria Lawrence. Journals were truly the fashion of the period, for she daily recorded her "non-events," with occasional interludes in her husband's queer illegible handwriting. To these she would respond as if he had spoken, and in this quaint fashion they kept up a kind of written conversation.

Her first station—Gorakhpur—did not appeal to her. It is interesting to note that at the same time as the Lawrences were journeying to Gorakhpur, the Hon. Emily Eden was journeying up-country with her brother, Lord Auckland. Miss Eden's clever sketch of a small Indian station is an apt parallel to Honoria Lawrence's outspoken picture of Gorakhpur.

But Henry was soon to leave the small station in order to start on the survey of a large district, and Honoria found happiness in the sole companionship of her husband in the loneliness of the jungle. Major James Abbott, one of Lawrence's political assistants at a later stage, described how "in her enthusiastic love of him she found delight in the solitary tent, in half-furnished comfortless bungalows, in

wandering through jungles or dreary tracts of land. Nothing was without interest in her eyes." All through her married life her faithful journals continued to give shrewd and humorous comment on Indian life and character, and to tell of her life in various Indian stations in the Punjab, of her interesting experiences in Nepal, where Henry was appointed Resident, and also of the famous Lawrence Hill Schools founded for the children of British soldiers. While she was in England she found and inspired Mr. Parker, the Superintendent of the first Lawrence school at Sanawar.

Circumstances forced her to spend two reluctant years in England, but these "only served to confirm her allegiance to India, with its freedom and constant movement and escape from conventions. India that had blessed her with a unique marriage. For all her abiding love of Northern Ireland, this was the country in which she desired to live and die, never more so than during a secluded summer in Kashmir." All too soon that desire to die in India was fulfilled, and she passed away at Mount Abu at the early age of forty-five, leaving "a changed Henry Lawrence—changed in aspect and in speech—who faced the few years of life that remained to him."

Perhaps one of the most remarkable traits in Honoria Lawrence was her intense individuality. Though she idolized her husband and was singularly in accord with him both in taste and temperament, she was "neither an echo nor a shadow of him" and she gave him a married life of unclouded happiness.

> "Honour, anger, valour, fire,
> A love that life could never tire,
> Death quench or evil stir;
> The mighty master gave to her."

The author modestly claims that her book is a fragment of Indian history, but, in addition to the entrancing biography, it contains an admirable contemporary history of the Punjab, and a picture of the Mutiny up to the time of Henry Lawrence's death in the Residency at Lucknow.

The characters of the two Lawrences, Henry and John, are cleverly contrasted. Henry Lawrence's system of governing the Punjab, where his power grew from that of a Resident to something far greater, was to place officers, specially selected by himself, with a force of Irregulars in each tribal area, bidding each "settle the country, make the people happy and avoid rows." In a sense he anticipated the system of tribal responsibility which was later so happily inaugurated by Sir Robert Sandeman in Baluchistan. He strongly opposed the annexation of the Punjab and desired to use all its resources exclusively in the service of the province itself under British leadership. But the advice which the younger brother John Lawrence gave to Lord Dalhousie prevailed and the Punjab was annexed. This caused a definite estrangement between them, but the generosity of Henry's nature is shown in the characteristic lack of bitterness with which he said at the last, "I forgive my brother John."

Mrs. Diver's book is very skilfully written; for in it biography, history and romance are charmingly blended.

J. S. S.

Scott of the Shan Hills: Orders and Impressions. Edited by G. E. Mitton (Lady Scott). 9″ × 6″. Pp. 333. Illustrations and maps. London: John Murray. 15s.

With the annexation of Upper Burma, the Shan country, that important but loosely attached appanage of the Burmese Crown now known as the Federated

Shan States, became a part of British India, and its settlement one of the many problems that faced the Government of India as a result of the war of 1885. The disruption of Burma, intrigues of China, French Indo-China and other eastern and south-eastern neighbours, and the internecine bickerings of the Shan chieftains amongst whom authority had been distributed under Burmese rule, soon reduced the whole territory to a condition of chaos in which certain irreconcilables of the Burmese war found an Alsatia and recruiting ground for forces with which to dispute British authority in the newly acquired provinces of Burma proper. Thus the Shan problem very soon became one of the first importance, and civil and military expeditions were organized under officers, selected chiefly from Burma, to explore and subsequently to occupy this unknown land. And amongst those officers was James George Scott, recently appointed Assistant Commissioner in Upper Burma, whose memoirs, compiled by his widow from his own reports, letters and innumerable other writings, constitute this remarkable book.

As the title of the volume implies, its centre is Scott's career in the Shan States. It opens with the briefest possible account of his boyhood, and records in a couple of chapters his early struggles and adventures, themselves material for an epic; the wild prelude, as it were, to the main theme of his life's achievement. And it closes with not much more than an indication of the long years that followed his honoured retirement; first the disarmed hero, fretting for fields left unconquered, and, maybe, at man's ingratitude, and later the contented philosopher, happy in bucolic and literary pursuits sweetened by domestic felicity.

It is probable that neither the late Dr. Marks, the very astute Principal of St. John's College, Rangoon, who suggested Scott for the Burma Commission, nor Sir Charles Bernard, who recommended the appointment to the Government of India, realized anything like the full value of their man or how soon and how amply he was to justify their selection. How, within two years from the date of his appointment, he would have become a terror to the evilly disposed and his name a household word throughout Shanland and, by more than one act of conspicuous daring and ingenuity, would have broken up a widespread conspiracy and earned a decoration more usually the reward of long years of service. Such, however, was the case, and here is the story of those early exploits and of countless others that filled the years to come, told in the words of the man himself with all the spirit, the fire and the humour that came irrepressibly from his pen to the bewilderment of staid officialdom and the delight of the general public. The book is, in truth, a saga, second to none of the many that record the evolution of the British Empire and the devotion of her sons in all the corners of the earth. There is rare fascination in following this gay, generous-hearted, obstreperous and enormously capable little Scotsman through the stages of his astonishing career. As scholar in Germany and at Oxford; as journalist in London, and incidentally a prominent member of the "Harlequins"; as war correspondent in Malaya, French Indo-China, Burma; as schoolmaster; as student of the Inner Temple; as warrior, explorer, linguist, historian, novelist and diplomat; finally, as ruler of a great and prosperous territory, the peaceful consolidation and development of which were mainly the direct results of his own courage, personality and never-failing resource.

Scott grasped life joyously and with both hands, baulking at nothing and trying with all his might at all he undertook. Though Government Headquarters, alarmed by his impetuosity and impatience of control, and shocked by his frequently pungent language, sought at times to curb their fierce little satrap, he was not to be thwarted when once decided upon a line of action, but, evading inconvenient instructions, would trust to his star to see him through the tightest of places, and to results for subsequent justification. The Nelsonic incident of the

heliograph related on page 278 (there was no wireless then), with its sequel of acknowledgment and reward, is but one of many instances of this independence and readiness to accept risk and responsibility.

Doubtles Scott derived moral support from the knowledge that as an ex-journalist he had always a good press to back him, but, whether at football, writing or fighting, he never played to the gallery, but sought with single-minded persistence to do his duty as it appeared to him.

Lady Scott is to be congratulated on this fitting tribute to her husband's memory, a book that will be welcomed by the company of his admirers and which will doubtless be read with pleasure and profit by many to whom he was not personally known. The illustrations, especially the extraordinarily true portrait at the beginning, are excellent, many of the photographs being the work of Scott himself.

W. A. Graham.

Return to Malaya. By R. H. Bruce Lockhart. Pp. i+426. Putnam. 10s. 6d.

The Malayan countries fascinate all who have lived in them: the more so if trouble has been taken to learn the language and cultivate a mood sympathetic to the nature of the Malays, those "gentlemen-idlers," whose ideals were and are diametrically opposed to the hustling, vigorous, and ever more blatant West.

Bruce Lockhart was never unsusceptible to this fascination. A disciple of Pierre Loti and Conrad, he heard Malaya calling, more than a quarter of a century after he had had to leave her as a young malaria-riddled planter.

Sailing by Dutch mail-boat, he describes his impressions of Pulau Wei, off Sumatra's north-west coast. Though wrong as to the age of the port of Sabang, he describes that earthquake-visited islet vividly: equally vivid are his sketches of Medan in Sumatra, and all too short his few words on the lovely hill station of Brast'agi and that great inland sea, the Toba Meer.

Arriving at Singapore, he sets out the enormous changes effected in the last two decades: the increased and enervating luxury of the European standard of living; the almost universal knowledge of at least some English among its polyglot inhabitants; European baths; jazz-bands; "the huge increase in the number of white women" (greatly augmented by the families of the ever-growing naval, military, and air forces) "and the passing of the directing force of social life into their hands."

He extends his travels to Java, Bali, Macassar (though, alas! as regards the last, he did not continue his Celebes journey to include a visit to the Minnehasa country, that strange enclave of white descendants of Portuguese settlers). Of all these delectable spots his descriptions are minute, pungent, humorous and picturesque. Especially to be enjoyed are his word-paintings of Batavia and Buitenzorg, of the superb Puntiak view, of Lembang (where that charming and ill-fated genius Biretti built his "folly"), of Djokjakarta with its blended cultures, of Hindu Prambanan, of Buddhist Tjandi Mendoet, and of that architectural wonder of the world, Bara Boedoer. Description, political criticism, clear-cut observance of materialistic tendencies, ribald but amazingly excellent anecdotes, all issue from his facile pen. He sees the Governor-General; the graves of Djokja's former Sultans; the famous and death-dealing volcanic twins, Merapi and Merbaloe; a Javanese shadow play; and a Wayang Wayang by the dancers of the Sultan of Djokja. He describes the ruins of that Khmer civilization which, one thousand years ago, burst from Southern India across Java and Bali, and which, in a sister stream—but without leaving any written record of its birth, its apogee, or its decline—built the imperishable wonders of Angkor Watt. He goes to

Soerakarta, whose Sultan is the "Nail of the World," and interviews a Dutchman who was in sympathy with the Nationalistic Movement in Java—that flaring, flaming, sullen movement, so like the inmost nature of the Javanese themselves, which, starting in the intellectual Boedi Oetomo ("Beautiful Endeavour"), expanded into the more popular Sarekat Islam under Tjokro Aminoto—which last, together with the more dangerous Insulinde party, foundling of Sneevliet, has kept, and still keeps, the Dutch Government uneasy and apprehensive. "The Dutch, while the greatest colonists whom the world has ever seen, have also been the greatest exploiters." Wherein lies the cue to their present uneasiness. He sees how in that island teeming with 40,000,000 peasants, where Nature gives so lavishly, the Javanese peasantry, exploited and re-exploited, "are, in many districts, starving." Daendel's corvée-built roads, the curses of Heerendienst, coupled with gross official corruption, have left a hard legacy.

In lighter vein he then visits Bali, the most densely populated island in the world, that strange Buddhist territory, with its lovely nude beauties; whose storied attractions, seized upon by tourist travel-kings, are now being exploited with the inevitable result. Yet here again grim tragedy intrudes as he tells of the self-sacrifice in 1906 of the Balinese princes and princesses in the Den Pasar *poepoetan*, mowed down by the unwilling Dutch machine-gunners—a second rape of Chitor. With time, however, the Dutch here, as in blood-soaked Acheh, have wisely relaxed and, ruling through the native Regents, have now established an almost model control, with a minimum of European direction.

The description of Besakih, built, 3,000 feet above the sea, on terraced courts, "one of the Seven Wonders of the East," the annually visited Mekka of the Balinese, is followed, quite à la Bruce Lockhart, by a most apposite but salty anecdote—fit companion to the immortal chestnut set out on pages 120-121.

Throughout Bali there exists the Guild system, a form of natural communism. Sculptors, carvers, decorators and builders—and the Balinese are great at all of these—are bound in guilds. Like the ancient Greek, in Periklean days, every Balinese is an artist, expressing himself happily and naturally in dancing or sculpture—both intimately entwined with his religion. "And Balinese art is a living force, constantly progressing, continuously experimenting."

Finally, the author returns to his old 1907 home, Pantai, in the Negri Sembilan, the smallest of the four Federated Malay States. Here he sees the remnants of his erst famous football XI. Sadly he leaves Malaya, and in this sadness he holds those many readers who like him can say, "I, too, have lived in Arcady."

Return to Malaya, however, is no mere travel-book, delightful and brilliant as it is in that respect. It is a book which everyone who has lived in the Negri Negri Malayu should, and doubtless will, read with pleasurable interest. But the book deserves a far larger public. It is full of deep observation. With unerring and almost uncanny precision it probes the merits and demerits of British and Dutch Colonial Administration.

Among many points to which the author draws attention and which merit serious consideration and careful notice may be mentioned the following:

(*a*) Importance of Malayan iron and ilmenite deposits to Japan (p. 96); Japan and Singapore (p. 286).

(*b*) Is not the present tendency of the white man to sacrifice prestige for sartorial undress comfort much to be deplored politically? (p. 100).

(*c*) The Colonial Civil Service no longer appeals to the best type of educated young Englishman: contrast with the excellence of the present Dutch Civil Servants (pp. 103-104, 213, and 348). Suggestions for ameliorating our British Service in Malaya (pp. 412-414).

(*d*) Apropos of the excellence of the present Dutch Colonial Civil Service and its intimate grasp of many native questions: "It is astonishing that no arrangements have been made for an interchange of information and instructional visits by the Civil Servants of both countries" (Malaya and Java) (p. 293).

(*e*) Local Government initiative now curtailed; intense dependence on Downing Street; "Yes-men" promoted. The local Governor a human "post-box" for receiving the Home Government's instructions (p. 106).

(*f*) Greater need for selecting suitable Governors for the Straits Settlements; unfortunate appointments, with one exception, since the war (p. 107).

(*g*) The Local Government has been "rushed" from Downing Street over the matter of Malayan self-government (p. 163). [Malaya, like Irak, is not yet ripe for any such hurried curtailment of the European civilian cadres.]

(*h*) The important question of controlled or uncontrolled vice. Especial attention is called to this vital matter (pp. 122-127). [In this connection the "Straits Budget" of November 5, 1936, notes that "nearly 2,000 more venereal disease cases were reported at clinics in the Straits Settlements during the first six months of this year as compared with the same period in 1935"—the figures being 11,401 against 9,747!]

(*i*) The coming and ever more insistent dilemma: the "right" of members of races born in Malaya, but not Malays, to enter the administrative branch of the Malay Civil Service (p. 220).

(*j*) A concise condemnation of the "decentralization" movement for the Federated Malay States. "Now that local powers have been restored, the men capable of exercising this responsibility are no longer there" (p. 189). [This refers to the notorious "policy" of Sir L. Guillemard.]

(*k*) The grave evils of the "clerical" education of the masses—a direct inducement to communistic discontent (p. 116). [The sad example of Ceylon has been overlooked in Singapore, where as late as the end of October, 1936, the Governor made the banal admission that Government recognized the need to correct the clerical bias in local education!]

How true and pointed these and many other unquoted criticisms and suggestions are—how vitally important to Malaya is a careful and impartial consideration of them—is a matter which is known to the initiated and which has, in many cases, long been known to them. Their mouths and pens necessarily being muzzled, it is the more cheering to know that in this brilliant volume Bruce Lockhart has drawn the veil for a far larger public than could have been attracted by other means.

Return to Malaya, to sum up, is a remarkable book, providing food for thought, political instruction, a delightful *vade mecum*, a fund of well-told anecdotes, and a penetrating and varied attraction which merits the thanks, as it will compel the delighted appreciation, of a very large body of readers.

W. H. Lee Warner.

Far East in Ferment. By Guenther Stein. Methuen. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Stein, with good reason, defines the Russo-Manchurian frontier as one of the two storm centres of the world; and though he is not here concerned with European politics, he draws an effective analogy between Japan and modern Germany. He is no optimist; and indeed few observers perceive any easy solution of the conflict between the ambitions of China and Japan. The brightest hope for the peace of the Far East, which, in a narrowing world, is the peace of Europe also, lies in the Eastern genius for compromise. In North China, at least, this

has already postponed more than one crisis. In changing times postponement of trouble is half-way to settlement: the next day may see a new grouping of forces and a new alignment of contention.

The author provides a useful estimate of the opposing armies on the Manchurian frontiers, and of the economic resources on which they must rely, though one has to remember that accurate military statistics are not available. One of the surprising elements in this tension, and in the recent fighting on the Russian and Outer Mongol borders, is the lack of any real *raison d'être* for war, which might ruin both countries and would probably advantage neither. In attributing the antagonism to blind mistrust Mr. Stein no doubt comes near the truth.

His whole book might be described as a "still" of the situation at the present moment, with just enough historical background to place recent events in perspective. A student might criticize its freedom from detail, but this will make it the more welcome to other readers. The book is not one for the shelves of a reference library so much as for immediate reading. The subject is involved, demanding breadth of view and knowledge of the psychology of three peoples. That the picture is neither confused nor vague is a tribute to the author's familiarity with his material. After the "headline" style of so much uninformed writing on North-East Asia, it is refreshing to discover a straightforward and unexaggerated account of the trends that have led to the recent clashes between Japan and Russia, and between Japan and China. Mr. Stein neither passes judgments nor indulges in prophecies; and the immense interest of the subject-matter fully justifies an objective approach.

The strength and weakness of modern Japan, the extent of latent liberal thought, the degree of unity in the nation, are examined clearly and are what one needs especially to know, though one remains uncertain how far the mass of opinion supports a foreign policy of expansion, how far the cleavage between military and civil authority is real, how far apparent. That, however, is a hard question.

Mr. Stein appears to have a more intimate knowledge of Japan than of China, but his outline of the Chinese political situation is excellent. He believes the capacity of China for active as well as passive resistance to be growing steadily, though he does not underestimate the time needed before her military strength can be really equal to the defences of the country.

An unusually revealing opinion of a young Japanese general is given. "Finance does not exist when the country's future is at stake. Finance must adapt itself to Japan's needs. It cannot be the other way round." The attitude of the "young officer party" could not have been better phrased. In another chapter Mr. Stein observes that the natural rivalry of the army and navy may "play an even more important rôle in the future, as practically the only stabilizing feature in Japanese domestic politics." These quotations indicate that the book is anything but superficial, though the latter opinion is sufficiently important to justify development, particularly in regard to Japanese policy in China.

The spirit of the Japanese army and its traditions are amply discussed: in any future campaign these are likely to play an outstanding part. The weakness of the Japanese lies, as Mr. Stein points out, in the discouraging effect of a single reverse on the general morale. For the Japanese soldier, however, the traditions of war have a religious force: will his Soviet opponents, courageous though they are, fight with the same inspiration for the ideals of modern Russia?

There are one or two points that might have been emphasized; for instance, the determined efforts on the part of Japan to establish Manchurian representation in Outer Mongolia; and the recent campaign for increased Japanese control in the

International Settlement at Shanghai. But there is much more in the book to appreciate than to criticize, and it makes excellent reading for anyone interested in the development and future of Manchuria.

A few minor errors have crept in. Manchurian Mongolia is described as taking up the *eastern* part of "Manchoukuo." General Doihara is misspelt "Diohara"; and the province of Chahar referred to consistently as "Charar."

It is a pity that we should have to twist our tongues over "Manchoukuo" (generally misspelt Manchukuo) when the territory has long been known as Manchuria. In point of fact, the Chinese name of the new state since the Emperor's accession has been not Manchoukuo, but Manchoutikuo.

Key Economic Areas in Chinese History. By Ch'ao-ting Chi, Ph.D. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

This book is a study—written by a Chinese on a post-graduate course in the United States—of the history of public control and development of waterways in China. To most foreign residents of China, who can only think of the Grand Canal, the network of canals round Shanghai and, possibly, one or two isolated examples of irrigation systems such as that on the Chengtu plain or the Lo River Valley in Honan, it may come as a surprise to learn how much work of this nature existed in the past and of the number of gazetteers and other records on the subject that exist.

In the course of his study of the subject the author conceived the idea of tracing the history of regions which successively became paramount owing to their control of the water-supply of a neighbourhood: such regions he terms the Key Economic Areas.

His theory is that, primitive society consisting of a number of self-sufficient village communities grouped around a well or other permanent water-supply, the only possibility of development lies in the concentration of the resources of several such communities: the centre develops until it is no longer self-supporting, but requires to be supplied by the units which it protects, and the most obvious means is by making or creating waterways for the transportation of supplies: later these channels are used also for irrigation or drainage, as necessary according to the type of country. Actually—as in the case of the Cheng Kuo Canal in Shensi—the canal which was to create a Key Economic Area was often made casually and almost accidentally: but the effect of this canal was to make the Wei River Valley the first Key Area, and subsequent extensions and improvements inevitably extended its influence down into the Central Yellow River Valley and thence to the Huai and Lower Yangtse.

But here the theory appears to falter and even to contradict itself: for while the Yangtse, once it had been drained, was obviously a more fertile region, so that it inevitably became the new Key Area, the capital and centre of gravity was not necessarily established therein: in fact, after varying between Sian, Loyang, Nanking, and Hangchow, it was finally established, with only brief intervals, for centuries at Peking. No doubt this was due to other than economic factors, such as the preference of a Mongol or Manchu dynasty and the fact that the potential enemy lay always to the north: but the fact remains that the centre was frequently, if not generally, outside the Key Area, and in fact attempts were made at times to create an artificial Key Area in the vicinity of the political capital.

But however that may be—and the author does not claim to give a new

interpretation of Chinese history—this line of approach is certainly helpful in studying a very confused problem from a new angle. It would appear to have originated in the form of an academic treatise, and does not in consequence make for light reading: but the author has come upon, and made good use of, a valuable source of information on certain aspects of Chinese history, and in his introduction foreshadows his intention of developing the idea and utilizing the material for further studies of the subject. There is certainly scope for such a work, but it might be emphasized that for the ordinary reader, who does not carry the map of China in his head, the inclusion of a more detailed map—showing, where necessary, both earlier place-names as well as their modern equivalents—would be a welcome addition. A. G. N. O.

China's Red Army Marches. By Agnes Smedley. 8″ × 5½″ Pp. xxii + 311. London: Lawrence and Wishart, Ltd. 5s.

It is related that when the then termed Nationalist Army was moving on Central China in the winter of 1926-27 and having overrun the British Concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang was about to turn east to Nanking and Shanghai, the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was interviewed by a British missionary who asked if he realized the risk he was taking in accepting help from the Soviet, and that he was in fact "riding the tiger." To this Chiang is said to have replied that he realized the danger, but was confident that when the time came he could rid himself of the incubus, but in the meanwhile he could not afford to do without such help: in fact, without that his movement could not have succeeded any more than the numerous earlier attempts during the fifteen years of the Republic to throw off the domination of the Northern War Lords. He added that while he did not approve of many of the measures and methods, he regarded all that as the price that had to be paid for Russian assistance. This book gives some account of the price that was paid, and is still being paid, by the Chinese people.

For the armies moved on, leaving chaos and desolation in their wake: the leaders became the National Government of China, and just when they appeared to be gaining effective control of the whole country there came the Japanese forward move of 1931, and a new and more serious problem was raised. In the meanwhile, whenever the struggle with other enemies permitted, attempts were made from time to time to cope with the Red Menace in the centre. This book—written by an American woman who, according to her publishers, is one of those who can see little good in her own country or colour and has for years busied herself with the woes and subversive movements of Indians, Koreans, and Chinese—gives a good journalistic account of the earlier years of this movement and the attempts of the Central Government to crush it. It is naturally not a first-hand account, but the authoress obviously had access to first-hand information on the subject. It is frankly propagandist (and was, in consequence, promptly banned in China), and is marred by an attempt to force the picture of Chinese life into the frame of a nation of serfs, priest-ridden and crushed under the burden of landlord-usurers on the Russian or Indian pattern. The Chinese peasantry has had no doubt plagues a-plenty: and there are no doubt (especially in Hunan and Kiangsi, with which she is chiefly concerned) oppressive landlords and usurers who are sometimes the same person: but the Chinese as a race are certainly not priest-ridden, and when banditry, civil war, and natural calamities such as drought and flood permit, live a life that would compare favourably with that of the peasant population of most countries and most ages.

Two questions naturally arise in connection with the Red Movement in China, and it is interesting to consider the extent to which this book supplies an answer to them. First, how came it that the Central Government with all its resources was unable to cope with the movement for so long, and even now has not finally extinguished it? We need not concern ourselves with the propagandist's explanation for the description of the terrain—mountainous, wooded country with no roads, where aircraft was of no avail and communications by river were slow and uncertain—and the nature of the opposition, composed of a few fanatical professional soldiers and agitators, bandits and desperate peasants who knew the country thoroughly and could revert to their peasant status if pressure became too strong, made it an almost superhuman task for the best of troops: and in fact the surprising thing is that the ill-trained, ill-disciplined forces at the disposal of the Government—many of them peasants hastily recruited or brought in by press-gangs—were able to succeed as well as they have.

As regards the second question—the extent to which the attempt to set up a Red State succeeded—the book is equally illuminating in a negative sense. Anyone who lived in the Yangtse in the middle 'twenties will remember the ferment that was caused by the arrival of the Red Armies and their specious promises of a new Utopia. this was not so surprising in view of the oppression and spoliation to which the people had been subjected ever since the foundation of the Republic. But they were quickly disillusioned: communism showed here, as elsewhere, that it is a barren creed that can break down the old system, but has nothing workable to put in its place. In this connection it should be emphasized that the dust-jacket with its map, showing "the forces operating in China" and "the dates of the expansion of Japanese Imperialism," is most misleading. The only connection between "Japanese Imperialism" and the Red Movement is that, in recent years (for the map dates back to the cession of Formosa in 1895), each has taken advantage of the Central Government's preoccupation with the other to make a new move: on the other hand, there has been no such development or extension of the area under Red control as might be thought by the casual reader of this book and the map. In fact, it is clear—even from a partisan account such as this—that the Red Army marches indeed from one province to another, but only as a horde of locusts devouring and desolating the country and moving on to another part when there is nothing left to devour.

A. G. N. O.

"Living China": Modern Chinese Short Stories. Compiled and edited by Edgar Snow. With an Introduction by the Editor and an Essay on Modern Chinese Literature by Nym Wales. 8″ × 5″. Pp. 355. Frontispiece. London: Harrap. 1936. 8s.

So much has been done of recent years to popularize the Chinese arts in this country, that it seems extraordinary her literature has had so little attention. There are, of course, scholars' translations of the great classics, but beyond these and one or two modern translations of classical fiction, such as Pearl Buck's monumental "All Men are Brothers," little has been done. The modern Chinese literary movement is a closed book to the English reader, and as a first attempt to open it this work, slight though it is, deserves notice.

It is perhaps a pity that these translations are all of short stories, some of them little more than sketches. But, as the editor explains in his introduction, it is on the short story that the modern Chinese writer has mainly concentrated during the "renaissance" period of the last twenty years; and this is symptomatic of the

restless mood and lack of sustained purpose that distinguishes him from his ancestors; he seems to have lost the faculty for doing the big thing slowly.

It is also perhaps a pity that the editor, who is Peiping correspondent of the *Daily Herald* and *New York Sun*, should have devoted his efforts so exclusively to writers of Radical persuasion, most of whom seem to have been either banned, imprisoned, or even executed for their political views by the present only mildly (by many countries' standards) reactionary Government. Not all literary creative impulse necessarily resides in the revolutionary camp, and some of the slighter sketches included might well have given place to others, which no doubt exist, of more moderate persuasion. There is altogether too much political bias behind the book, as instance a statement in the concluding essay, which states that "our best writers are at present almost without exception Leftists. This seems to be because their writings are the only ones of sufficient vital content seriously to interest intellectuals." It is a pity, because many of the stories are so good in themselves that they lose value by the intrusion of editorial politics.

Pride of place is given to Lu Hsun, with seven of whose stories the book opens. There is also a short biography of this remarkable man, and a photograph which shows a face of fine intelligence and power. A middle-aged man and a revolutionary of many years' standing, he has been one of the mainsprings of China's modern literary movement. His stories, as translated, seem to possess high literary merit in English, as presumably in Chinese also. Indeed, perhaps the most noticeable feature of the book is the excellence of translation, at any time no easy matter, but doubly difficult where Chinese literary idioms are involved. Anything like a literal translation would be totally unintelligible in English, and the editor and his Chinese helpers are greatly to be congratulated.

Each of the remaining seventeen stories, all by different authors, is headed by a short biographical note, and at the end is a rather dull essay on "The Modern Chinese Literary Movement," by Miss Nym Wales, which is mainly a string of names and leaves the reader little the wiser.

J. S. S.

River of Golden Sand. By Thomas Woodroofe. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 325. Faber and Faber, Ltd. 8s. 6d. net.

This is a jolly book. About the only thing wrong with it is its title, which gives no idea of the contents. The River of Golden Sand is not strictly speaking the great Yangtze river, but that part of it, the Chinsha (gold sand) river, which flows from the mountain fastnesses of Tibet into the upper reaches of the Yangtze-chiang.

The scene is laid in the Yangtze valley, and the book is a rollicking naval yarn from beginning to end. It is so well and truly written that it can scarcely have been other than the actual experiences of the author, who rivals Bartimeus in the way he is able to reproduce with photographic fidelity the life of naval officers in the gunboats which patrol the Yangtze. On many occasions these vessels have played an important rôle in maintaining law and order, sometimes at the cost of lives. Most of this service has been inobtrusively and effectively carried out to a degree gratefully recognized by Chinese and foreigners alike. Fearlessness and disciplined commonsense have quelled many an outbreak which otherwise would have taken a serious turn.

Our consuls in the various treaty ports all along the river could testify to the tight corners out of which they have been helped by the timely arrival of a gunboat and the landing of naval parties who have stolidly and calmly proceeded to

fulfil the duties allotted to them of quelling disturbances in a good-natured way, without hitting back when being hit.

The author makes Toby, a young sub-lieutenant, the hero or principal character, and round Toby's movements are woven a series of incidents such as have often happened and are still occurring in foreign circles in China.

These incidents are real, amusing and at times tragical; the truth of them may seem stranger than fiction, but they are none the less true. They reflect the doings of British naval officers who are the product of our naval system of training, which breeds characteristics of a self-reliant, devil-may-care, gentlemanly kind.

When Toby emerged from the chrysalis state of midshipman and got his first stripe he went to the Admiralty to call upon the Commander in charge of appointments, whom he luckily knew. The Commander laughed when he heard Toby's request for a post abroad.

"Tailors dunning you or is it a girl?" he asked jokingly. Toby stammered: "Oh! I . . . er . . . no, sir. As a matter of fact I want to see something of the world." He pulled himself together: "And, sir, a small ship," he added firmly. So the Commander said: "*Beetle*. China. The Yangtze. How's that suit you?" "Oh, sir, marvellous. Grand, sir. Thanks awfully, sir. Just what I wanted, sir," gushed Toby, who had only dimly heard of China or the Yangtze and never of the *Beetle*.

The voyage out to Shanghai and the idiosyncrasies of the passengers are well described, and we follow the social activities of our hero in that great city while waiting for his ship. Soon we find him aboard the *Beetle* sailing up to Hankow, marvelling at his captain's grasp of the tortuous channel and his memory for the numerous landmarks on the banks. "Shanghai, 1919" and "The Great River" are two notable chapters which give a very accurate idea of all that concerns both these places. It is not long before stirring events happen, and we find Toby involved in an exciting search of an opium-smuggling steamer. Then the *Beetle* is summoned to help in quelling a riot at Kiukiang, when the Chinese populace got out of hand and tried to invade the concession there. Toby is sent ashore in charge of an armed landing party. The only word of Chinese that they know is "dzo" (tsou) –"walk" or, in other words, "Move on" He orders his men to keep smiling whatever happens. They approach the yelling crowd and gently but firmly move them back till the rioters melt away. The incident loses nothing in the telling.

At one time the *Beetle* runs aground, and how this came about, through a mental aberration on the captain's part, is well told. Next, the *Beetle* is sent to rescue the foreigners at Changsha during a period of civil warfare, and Toby meets great difficulty when sent ashore to bring off a fanatic missionary.

As is said on the cover, "There is nothing to be done with this book except to read it." It does not have a dull page, and is in addition lightly informative. The perusal of *River of Golden Sand* whets the appetite for more from Lieut.-Commander Woodroofe, who certainly wields a facile pen.

G. D. G.

Manchoukuo: Jewel of Asia. By D. M. B. Collier and Lieut.-Colonel C. L. E. Malone. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. iv+267. Sixteen photographs. Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.

In the introduction to this book the authors state that they are making an attempt "to put before the public a picture of the place and people without championing the claims of any nation or party or advancing any particular

policy." This is true, and it may be said that the book as a whole is fair and impartial, which is all to the good considering the amount of propaganda which has been given out on this region.

There is now, I think, a real need for some fairly large, authoritative, and impartial work on Manchoukuo of the present day based on extensive travel and observation and reinforced by a close study and analysis of the abundant literature on the subject which is now available. It cannot be said that this book supplies this need, but it undoubtedly supplies useful help to the study of this vast subject.

The book opens with a résumé of the history of China in general and Manchoukuo in particular from 2357 B.C. down to modern times. To us, at the present moment, it might seem that the recent history of this region is by far the most important, and it must be admitted that the treatment given to this is quite inadequate. The political history of modern Manchuria from the signing of the secret pact between Russia and China in 1896 which led to the great march of Russia eastward and southward to the seas, along the railway lines, down to the agreement between the Government of the U.S.S.R. and Marshal Chang-tso-lin, signed in October, 1924, handing over the Chinese Eastern Railway to the Soviet Government, is summed up in less than five and a half pages (pp. 64 to 69).

Chapters III. and IV. are mainly but not entirely devoted to a general study of the country and its population. It is regrettable that no clear picture is presented of the different types of country, including the main features of the physical geography, together with the main types of inhabitants dwelling in these various districts.

Information on economic matters—finance, natural resources, trade, and industry—is somewhat scattered. It might, with advantage, have been grouped in one compact block in the book, seasoned with a sprinkling of useful statistics. Nevertheless, a striking picture is given of the tremendous actual and potential resources of the new state. It is rightly pointed out that these will be mainly exploited in the future for supplying raw materials to Japanese industry and foodstuffs to the Japanese industrial labour force, and partly for the increase of industry in Manchoukuo itself. Such developments are likely to produce almost world-wide repercussions in the future. Owing to the obvious limitations of Japanese finance, it is a pertinent question as to whether British finance and industry can participate in this great work. But until the question of "recognition" is settled the answer will be in the negative.

A dark picture is painted of the labour conditions prevailing in Manchoukuo generally, although it is admitted that wages are higher there than in China proper. Taking it all round, it is probable that the standard of living is the highest in the Far East, excluding Japan. The late "Chang dynasty" inflicted much loss on the farming and commercial classes by forcing a rotten currency on the country. But, under their rule, Manchoukuo was preserved from the miseries and ruin of the general civil war. In recent years Manchoukuo has been suffering from the political instability, from the world depression, and from the fact that soya oil had been partly displaced in the world markets by other vegetable oils. There is good reason to hope, as the authors admit, that under Japanese protection, and with the developments brought in by Japanese finance and technique, steady if slow improvement will be achieved.

Due reserve is maintained as to the actual status of the new country, although distinguished visitors are quoted as maintaining that the country is independent. It is doubtful, however, whether any person who has resided in Manchoukuo would endorse this statement. A very fair tribute is paid to the achievements of the new régime, which are summarized as follows—development of communica-

tions and methods of transportation, reform of currency and finance, reorganization and reduction of taxation, diminution of graft and "squeeze." This last is perhaps the hardest task of all! A bright vision of the future is painted, but, as is clearly pointed out, much depends on the quality, tact, and adaptability of the body of Japanese advisers and officials who exercise the real authority. Complaints against the arrogant methods of the Japanese military elements and police are common, but the bulk of the Japanese civil officials, while steadily advancing Japanese interests, are doing their best for the new country.

In the final chapter we are given "a glimpse of the future," including two prophecies—a clash between Soviet Russia and Japan in the near future and the domination of China by Japan. It must be admitted that the authors' statements regarding the second possibility appear to be somewhat contradictory. But a Japanese Protectorate over the five northern provinces seems possible and even probable in the not far-distant future. It is difficult to believe, however, that the Central Government of China, which has improved and consolidated its position in recent years, would submit to this without a considerable struggle.

There are sixteen photographic illustrations in the book. Most of these are very Chinese in character. It is a pity that some picturesque and distinctive Manchurian types and scenes were not supplied. Two illustrations seem to call for some little comment. The illustration facing page 80 entitled "Potatoes are becoming Popular" portrays Japanese girls hoeing potatoes, as can be seen from their clothes and the *tabi* on their feet Some explanation might be given as to whether these are Japanese immigrants or not. The illustration facing page 176 entitled "The Bowler Hat adds a Western Note to this Japanese Immigrant" seems to be wrong, as the photograph displays a Chinese bridegroom and bride clad in Chinese costume (except for the bowler hat). The tiny map of Manchoukuo facing page 15 measures only about four inches square in all. Surely so important a subject needs a fair-sized map on which the whole railway system and other prominent features should be clearly marked.

D. B.-B.

When Japan Goes to War. By O. Tanin and E. Yohan. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 271. London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1936. 5s.

If the first five paragraphs of the Introduction to this book are to be taken at their face value, the writers' sympathies are not with Japan; for that very reason, they imply, they do not intend to supply answers to the questions, "When will Japan, shaken by a great war, reach the limits of her possible economic effort?" and, "When, exhausted by the sacrifices of war, will the masses of the people retaliate against the adventurist policy of their ruling classes by revolution?"

To engage in such prophecies, in the authors' opinion, would be to substitute subjective desires for scientific analysis. It needs little more than a glance through the pages that follow to show that their passion for analysis can leave but little room for any other desires, of whatever kind.

One could wish that this were not so; had it been otherwise, the present volume might have been more readable than it is.

The estimation of a nation's war potential is a matter, first of collection of the necessary intelligence and, second, of the application of that intelligence to the concrete problems of a war against any given enemy or group of enemies.

In the first task Messrs. Tanin and Yohan have succeeded admirably; their own terms of reference debar them from attempting the second.

To that extent, therefore, the book fails to satisfy. The reader is left to apply

the mass of statistics available in its 260 pages to whatever war may be in his mind, and to draw his own conclusions; with this exception, that one cannot read it without coming to the conclusion that Japan is not, and, failing a sweeping revision of her industrial and economic system, is not likely to be in a position to fight a successful major war against whatever Power.

This conclusion is not a new one. It has been reached by many observers, and figures prominently in at least half of the recent spate of books on the Far East. In the present volume, however, all relevant facts are assembled for the first time in accessible form. It is this which makes the book an indispensable addition to the library of serious students of Far Eastern matters.

As has been hinted above, the book is not without its faults. Statistics rarely make good reading unless presented by a genius. In this case the authors' genius evidently lies in the collection of statistics rather than in their presentation.

There is nothing to indicate that the book is translated from the Russian, but there are signs that it is the product of minds which do not naturally think in English; this leads to a peculiarly cramped style which does not add to its attractiveness.

It is, of course, impossible to check the accuracy of the statistics in anything less than a volume of equivalent length. The authors have drawn freely upon all available sources which, as students will already be only too well aware, are often mutually contradictory. On the whole, however, the figures given are of a satisfactory standard of accuracy.

The three most valuable chapters are those dealing with Japan's requirements for a year of war, with the war output capacity of Japanese industry and the availability of war materials, and with the question of war finance.

Japan: Recollections and Impressions. By Grace James. Pp. 285. Illustrated. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1936.

The authoress of this book has had a remarkable experience. The daughter of a British naval officer who went to Japan on a naval mission and remained on there in the service of the Japanese Government, she was born in Japan during the Meiji era and passed her childhood there until she was old enough to go to school in England. She then severed practically all connection with Japan until she returned there on a visit about forty years afterwards in 1934. She thus saw Japan when it was in the throes of the first stage of modernization and then viewed it as a great and powerful world Power. It is this experience which forms the basis and the genesis of her book.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with recollections of childhood passed in Tokyo. The second part contains pictures and impressions of modern Japan. In the third and final part an attempt is made to sum up and to interpret the achievements and accomplishments of Japan.

To many who read this book the first part may seem to be the best. The authoress is endowed with a remarkable memory, and she possesses in a high degree the gift of description. She provides us with a charming series of delicately coloured sketches made up from the peregrinations of three small English children, shepherded by a kindly Chinese *amah*, in what is rightly termed "a child's paradise." As on a film, many scenes pass before our

eyes—the Japanese house in which the family lived, the friendly servants, the street scenes, the quaint shops, the gardens, and the flowers.

Forty years on, and we find ourselves transported to the same scenes, but in a very different setting. The second part of the book contains a medley of impressions of modern Japan, as seen in and around Tokyo, written with the same delicate touch and often enlivened with gentle humour. Of these seven chapters the first two describe the authoress's reactions to the amazing transformation, while in the remaining five chapters there are delightful studies of a variety of subjects such as the Japanese servants, Japanese teachers, ghost stories, fox stories—those curious manifestations of demoniacal possession—the No drama, and the well-known tea ceremonies as practised by a gentleman of modern Japan. There is very little indeed in this part or in any part of the book which would convey to any person an idea of the tremendous activity and power of modern Japan in many fields of commerce and industry, together with the stress and competition of modern Japanese life. The authoress is naturally strongly biassed in favour of the Japanese and rightly appreciative of the fine basic qualities which form the foundation of Japanese character. She sometimes indulges in mild criticism, but she does not give any impression of the unpleasant modern Japanese characteristics such as jingoism and xenophobia which have to be faced nowadays. She stresses her conviction, however, in a very subtle manner, that behind the glittering façade of modern Japanese progress there stands an impenetrable screen of old Japanese habits, customs, beliefs, and superstitions which can never be overthrown.

The last part of this work, entitled "Impressions and Conclusions," is, perhaps, the least attractive. But the subject is of such great difficulty and complexity that she is perhaps wise not to attempt to dogmatize nor to indulge in prophetic visions of the future. On reading this book we may feel that modern Japan remains like a huge question mark on the Far Eastern horizon. It compels admiration, but it also causes much anxiety.

D. B-B.

Militarism and Foreign Policy in Japan. By E. E. N. Causton. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d.

This study of modern foreign policy in Japan is an attempt to show how great an influence the army and navy have exerted upon the civil government. The author believes that the spirit of feudalism, the code of ethics now known as Bushido, the influence of Shinto as well as of Zen Buddhism and Confucianism, together with the example of highly armed Western nations in their dealings with China and Japan, have provided a background favourable to the development of a chauvinist group. He examines the elements in the Constitution which enable such a group to exercise power over the civil authority; particularly in the conduct of military affairs, supremely important in foreign policy; instancing the ability of the army and navy to prevent the formation of a Cabinet by a refusal to allow officers on the active list to serve as War and Navy Ministers. Subsequently he traces the extent to which he believes the army and navy to have influenced actual foreign politics since the restoration.

The author has examined his material thoroughly; and though he offers little

new information, the essay is well planned and documented. It suffers, however, by reason of the method adopted of fitting events into a preconceived theory, and from lack of simplicity of style.

Stalking in the Himalayas and Northern India. By Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Stockley, D.S.O. Pp. 250. Illustrated. Herbert Jenkins. 15s.

It has been said so often that big game hunting and big game photography are incompatible that Colonel Stockley's book comes as a welcome proof of the falseness of this statement. It is true that the man who is interested only in amassing a collection of heads is unlikely to bother himself overmuch with a camera, and that he who is concerned only with the excellence of his prints will neglect the rifle entirely, but these extremists have held the field of debate too long. The true hunter is interested primarily in the approach to the beast, believing that the stalk is all-important, the shot mattering only insomuch as it should be taken at a range sufficiently close to ensure a clean hit or a miss.

But the full satisfaction cannot be won by the man who uses the camera only. In the first place, many of his best photographs must necessarily be obtained by the use of hides or of flashlight apparatus—a technique which is closer akin to that of the trapper than the hunter. Secondly, even in fair stalking, the moment of taking the picture cannot be compared to that of taking the shot. There is something of a grand climax about the end of the stalk, when the shot culminates in the chosen beast kicking on the ground or else disappearing over a ridge unharmed. It is this climax, this dramatic end to endeavour that is necessary to the stalk as a work of art: to click a camera and then to wait until the film has been developed before realizing success or failure is something of an anti-climax.

The rifle is necessary to the hunter as an artist, but that same instinct of artistry will forbid him from slaying an animal with a head inferior to one already in his possession. Therefore when a man has done some little shooting he may turn more and more to the camera where, if the drama is less, the difficulties and interest are greater.

This course has been followed by the author, and, his country being the Himalayas, he has had abundant material of the most sporting and difficult kind on which to experiment. The results of these experiments may be seen and read of in this book, which is an invaluable guide to all who are interested in stalking and photography, not only in the Himalayas, but in any hill-country, for the author does not hesitate to tell of his mistakes. The text of this book is worth reading and re-reading.

There are many hints of a practical nature on cameras, equipment, shikaris, hunting grounds, and the like which make the book a practical modern guide-book to sport in the Himalayas, but since there is an abundance of personal anecdotes it is a very readable one. The book would have stood further details on expenses and would have profited by the addition of an extra map, but that is only to say that when reading the work of an expert, one is always anxious for more.

To the casual observer the photographs are not of a high standard. In many of them there appears a blurring that seems sometimes due to faulty focussing and sometimes to camera-shake, while, apart from this, the animals do not stand out well from their background (a fact which sometimes prejudices people who do not always realize that animals seldom do show up distinctly against their natural surroundings). People who are accustomed to the large pictures of the

semi-domesticated lion and family that have appeared in many of our illustrated papers and which have been mostly taken in the Kruger National Park may not be impressed, but those who have done a little hill stalking of their own will think differently. Colonel Stockley's achievement in taking these pictures is a real one.

There is one point that I would raise in debate rather than in criticism, and that is that the author makes no mention of the miniature camera. In a country where lightness in weight and speed of handling are all-important, it would seem that the modern miniature camera should have every advantage over the bulkier reflex type. But the very fact that the book can produce such a point for debate proves that it is stimulating: an excellent book.

G. S. H.

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OBITUARY

C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE

By the death of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) Europe loses its foremost representative of Arabic and Islamic studies. His career is illustrative of two tendencies more often, perhaps, followed in this country than on the Continent. One of them is supplementing the knowledge that can be derived from books by practical acquaintance with Islamic countries; the other, combining the career of scholar and author with those of diplomatist, statesman, and administrator. After studying Arabic under the most illustrious professors of the subject in Holland and Germany, and winning a reputation by a treatise on the Pilgrimage, he was sufficiently courageous and enterprising to visit the original home of Islam, and spent from August, 1884, to February, 1885, in Jedda, whence he proceeded to Mecca, where he resided under the name 'Abd al-Ghaffār till August of the same year, when through the influence of the French Vice-Consul at Jedda he was expelled by the Turkish authorities. I remember his telling me that C. Landberg (afterwards Count) had offered to accompany him on his expedition, but that he had declined the offer, believing that acceptance of it would frustrate his purpose. His residence in the Arabian cities provided him with material for what is probably his best-known work, the two volumes on *Mekka*, of which one has quite recently been translated into English. Its value both for history and sociology is generally recognized. He appears to have kept in touch with the holy city after his return to Europe, and the difficulty of making political forecasts may be illustrated by his assertion that the Sharif of Mecca could not possibly take any part in the Great War—a prophecy which appeared in an English translation some little time after the Sharif had come in on the side of the Allies. Some part of his life was spent in the Dutch Malay possessions, where he served his Government in many capacities, chiefly as expert adviser on Islamic law; he found time, however, to compose works of great value connected with the languages, history, and institutions of these islands. Besides other professorial chairs, he was offered that which had been adorned by Robertson Smith at Cambridge. He ultimately accepted the post in Leiden which had been

held by the distinguished Arabist de Goeje, and after retirement from teaching work was till his death *Interpres Legati Warneriani—i.e.*, in charge of the famous Warner Collection of MSS. It may be noted that among the students who attended his courses is Her Highness the Princess Juliana. Academic honours were showered upon him; in this country he was an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society and a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy. A detailed obituary by E. Littmann occupies pages 446 to 458 of the *Z.D.M.G.*, 1936.

GENERAL JAFAR PASHA AL ASKARI, C.M.G.

JAFAR PASHA, "the Warrior," has died, as he lived, in the fearless endeavour to serve his King and country. Although the details of his murder are as yet unverified, his own position is clear. Faced by a clash between the Constitution which he had helped to establish and the Army which he had helped to organize, undeterred by threats and warnings, knowing himself the one man who might compose their differences, he went forth to speak with the enemy in the gate. And so he died at the hands of those whose honour he had tried to save.

Jovial and accomplished, broad in mind as in body (for, indeed, he was a very tun of a man!), he was known and liked by many members of the Royal Central Asian Society, and a fitting tribute has been paid in the resolution passed at a special meeting, as recorded elsewhere in this Journal. Those who knew him only as "a careful diplomatist and a most joyous and amusing companion"* during his service as 'Iraqi Minister in London may have missed the keynote of his character—his unswerving loyalty to King Faisal and his passionate devotion to the Arab cause and the State of 'Iraq.

The man who won the Iron Cross and the C.M.G. in the same war! Yet Jafar Pasha was a man of simple character and single purpose. The accident of birth and training had led him at the call of duty to undertake the direction of the Senussi attack on the western frontier of Egypt in the early stages of the Great War and inspired his hazardous attempt to escape from honourable captivity in the Citadel of Cairo to rejoin his comrades-in-arms. But here a greater loyalty supervened. Patriotism, duty, and friendship for the Amir Faisal enlisted him in the Arab revolt against the Turks. He joined the Army of the Hejaz and served with Faisal and Lawrence in command of the regular troops in

* *The Times*, November 2, 1936.

Allenby's campaign up to the fall of Damascus. Thus it happened that, wearing his Iron Cross, he was decorated by Lord Allenby with the C.M.G., in the presence of the Dorset Yeomanry, his captors and now his comrades.

During Faisal's short and ill-fated reign in Damascus he was Governor of Aleppo; but he had already returned to his native 'Iraq when Faisal became King in 1921. As Minister of Defence in the first two Cabinets he, with his brother-in-law, Nuri Pasha al Said, and in collaboration with Colonel Joyce, another of Lawrence's comrades, assisted the King to form the 'Iraqi Army; and it was he, again, as Prime Minister, who piloted through the Constituent Assembly of 1924 the Law of the Constitution and the Anglo-'Iraq Treaty, which secured the establishment of Faisal's monarchy and the ultimate independence of his country. This last undertaking was probably the highest test of his patriotism and loyalty to his friend, for, like all his kind, he was unduly sensitive to public criticism, however ill-informed; and the limitations on complete independence inherent in the Treaty and Constitution during the period of the Mandate made him and his Cabinet the butt of the "Nationalist" press and politicians.

It was, therefore, with relief that he resigned the chains of office and withdrew a second time to the congenial duties of 'Iraqi Minister in London, where he was still able to render valuable service to his King and country. It was at this juncture that he approached the writer with the astonishing suggestion that he should be called to the English Bar. He had a great admiration for British law and British justice, but the reason given at the time was characteristic. His days of soldiering were over, said he, and he was convinced that a legal training would equip him better to serve his country as a statesman and diplomat. And so the formalities were arranged; an honorary legal distinction was refused; and it was his own personal ability and perseverance which secured his call by Gray's Inn.

The termination of the Mandate and the alliance of an independent 'Iraq with his friends the British seemed to have crowned his life's loyalties and ambitions; but, alas! the end was not yet. Faisal's death in the hour of crisis recalled him to play his part again in the politics and intrigue of Baghdad. He joined the Government of Yasin Pasha al Hashimi and died in a valiant attempt to save the State from catastrophe and the army from dishonour.

Tragedy must not be allowed to mar the happy memories which he leaves behind. Many will remember with affection his jovial presence

at the meetings of this Society and at social gatherings of an international or diplomatic character. Others will recall his genial companionship, as kindly host or welcome guest, in the social intercourse of Baghdad, where British officials and 'Iraqi leaders exchanged a pleasant hospitality despite the stresses and strains of the Mandatory régime, and sometimes another Jafar shedding tears over the misfortunes of his race or thundering in the Council Chamber for the rights of his army. A few will go back further to the memories of the Arab revolt and the figure of Jafar portrayed in the pages of Lawrence. But whatever his environment, his name stood for loyalty, courage, friendship, and humour. So let it be held in honour by this Society and by all his friends.

N. G. D.

A meeting was held in the rooms of the Royal Central Asian Society on November 4, when the following resolution was passed:

The friends and admirers of the late Jafar Pasha al Askari met together in the rooms of the Royal Central Asian Society for the purpose of expressing their admiration and affection for this inspiring personality who had not only won respect for his gallantry in the field, both while fighting as a foe and an ally, but who also during his residence as 'Iraqi Minister in London had endeared himself to a wide circle of British friends.

Sir Horace Rumbold was in the Chair and Sir Denison Ross, Sir Edgar Bonham Carter and Captain Gracey proposed and seconded the resolution and expressed their sorrow for his death.

A large number of friends of the Pasha were present.

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S. M. IKRA

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NOTICES

The Annual Dinner will be held at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, W.1, on Wednesday, July 14, the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., President of the Society, in the Chair.

The Anniversary Meeting will be held at the Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, W. 1 (by kind permission of the President and Council of the Royal Society), on Wednesday, June 23, at 8.15 p.m.

Members are reminded to send in their changes of address to the Office.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

NOMINATION FORM.

....

....

....

(Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address)

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTR ASIAN SOCIETY, *we recommend* $\frac{him}{her}$ *for membership.*

Proposed..

Seconded..

$\frac{His}{Her}$ *connection with Asia is :*

THE LAWRENCE MEMORIAL MEDAL

The Lawrence Memorial Medal was founded in 1936 in memory of T. E. Lawrence. It is awarded for work of outstanding distinction in connection with the area covered by the activities of the Royal Central Asian Society.

The first award was made to Major J. B. Glubb, O.B.E., M.C., in recognition of his work in the creation of order in the nomad territory of Northern Arabia, which lies within the frontiers of Transjordania, and the success he has had in promoting friendly relations between the tribes of that region.

The second award, for 1937, has been made to Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., who has acquired a greater knowledge of the Tibetan language, literature, manners and customs than any other Englishman; while his friendship with the late Dalai Lama, which allowed him a long residence in Lhasa, was an outstanding event in British relations with Tibet. Finally, his recent journey through Mongolia and Manchukuo gave the Society an intimate and authoritative insight into recent happenings in those countries. His valuable books cover every aspect of Tibetan life.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Donations from members amount to	165	18	6	Expenditure to date amounts to	101	7	0
Donation from the Royal Air Force	30	0	0	The balance in hand is ...	94	11	6
	£195	18	6		£195	18	6

The Honorary Secretaries hope that members who have not already subscribed to the Fund will bring the balance in hand up to £100, when the Fund will be closed.

Since the end of 1935 subscriptions have been received from—

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LAND WITHOUT SHADE*

By HANS HELFRITZ

THOSE who have experienced life in the desert always wish to return there. Those who have lived with the Bedouins in South Arabia, those who have travelled with these people, meeting dangers and troubles with them, have set out on long caravan journeys with them, and have sat at nightfall with them round their camp-fires, often wish to go back to that free and simple life again. But it is not only the people of Arabia, but the country—the high bare mountains crossed by dry wadis, the frequent signs of a vanished culture, remains of towns and villages, of the former cultivation of plants—all these things must interest those who have once seen them and must make one want to return again.

Arabia, six times as big as Germany, my country, lies on the most prominent sea routes on the Red Sea, but is even to-day the least known part of the world. I do not, of course, mean Northern Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Iraq—all of them well known and under foreign influence—nor Central Arabia, the Nejd, and Hedjaz; the kingdom of Ibn Saud is an independent country and comprises the greater part of the peninsula. But in Southern Arabia there are small homogeneous States, parts of the kingdoms of Yemen and the Hadhramaut, where there are small sultanates and oligarchies about which very little is known. [It is true that in 1918 Hadhramaut was declared a British protectorate, but no white man lives there.] Their foreign politics are conducted through the British Government at Aden, but internally there is no interference; internal affairs belong to the sultans, and they are free to do as they like—to make war on each other or to trade peacefully in their own countries without interference.

Very few Europeans have penetrated these southern parts of Arabia,

* Lecture given on December 3, 1936, at the Royal Society of Arts Hall, Lady Evelyn Cobbold in the Chair.

In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman said that few Europeans had been in Hadhramaut and none in Shabwa until Mr. Helfritz was lucky enough to reach the place. After his second journey to Hadhramaut in 1933 he had written ***Land without Shade***, a book which he had illustrated with his remarkable photographs and showed the sky-scrapers of Arabia.

which the Romans named "Arabia Felix" ("Happy Arabia") as opposed to the rest, which they designated "Arabia Deserta," the desert of sand and stones. The first attempt to penetrate into the interior of Hadhramaut was made by Adolph von Wrede in 1843. Fifty years later Leo Hirsch made an attempt to continue his work. He was followed by a few travellers: Mr. and Mrs. Bent in 1894, Lee Warner in 1919, and later Colonel Boscawen, van der Meulen, and von Wissmann. In 1935 Mr. Ingrams, political officer in Aden, made a very noteworthy journey through Hadhramaut and penetrated the Mahra corner of Arabia by a European.

I made three journeys in the South Arabian countries in the last four years.

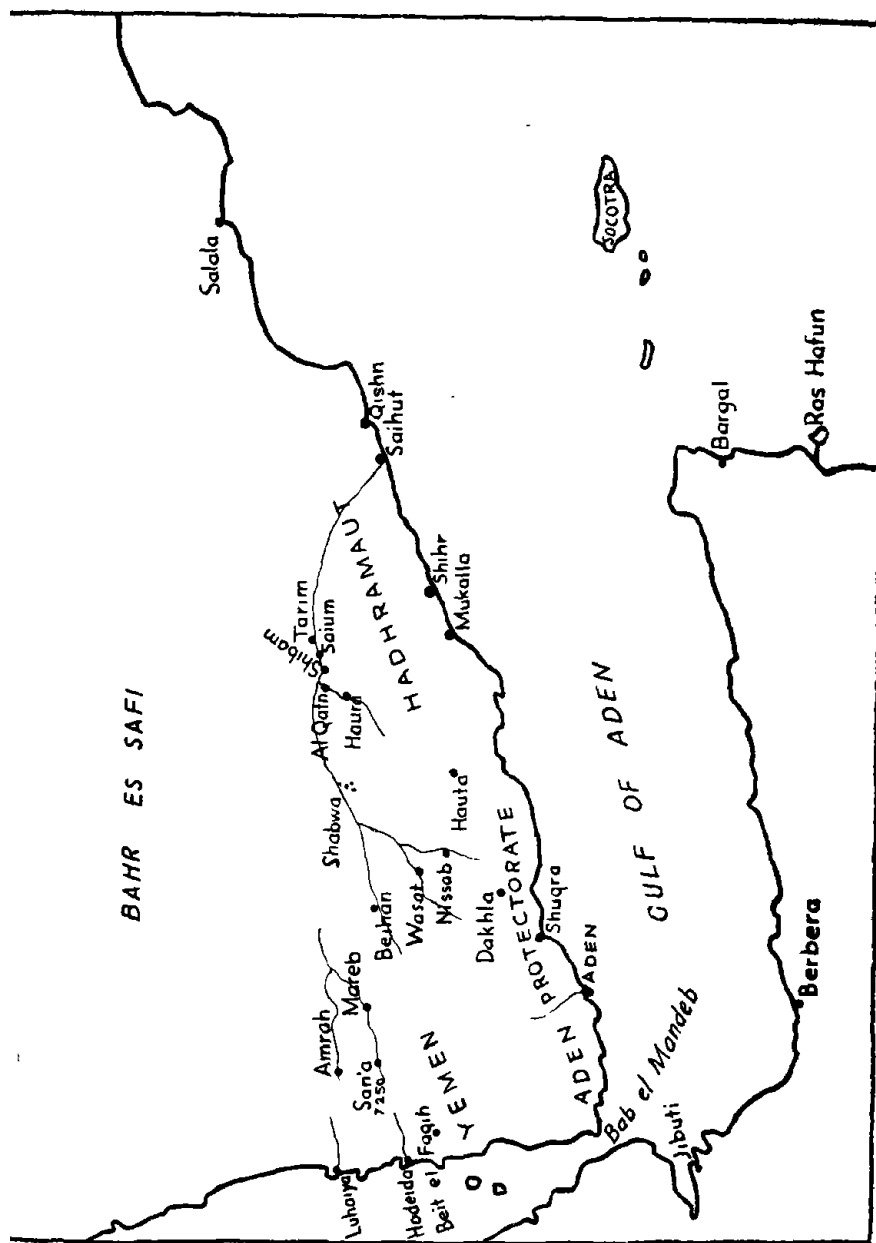
By pure chance I made the acquaintance of the Sultan Omar bin Awed al Kaiti, who is the ruler of a small State in which the towns of Makalla and Schechr lie. The Sultan was travelling for the first time to Europe and Berlin. He invited me to go to Makalla. We met one another again early in 1931 at Aden and went together from there to his capital. And this was the beginning of my first trip, but I only went to the large and small places in the Hadhramaut and Do'an.

In 1933 I made a caravan journey of some 1,200 miles from the Indian Ocean near Makalla to Hodeida in the Yemen on the Red Sea, thus accomplishing the first recorded crossing of the south-western corner of Arabia by a European.

Finally, in 1935 I started on my third journey to the south, where Arabia still guards its mysteries. It is the country Hazarmaveth, of which we read in the Old Testament. It is perhaps the country of the Queen of Sheba. She travelled, as we know, to Jerusalem and visited King Solomon, and her country was probably in the south of Arabia, in the land between the borders of Hadhramaut and Yemen.

Some six days' distance from the Hadhramaut were still unexplored the ruins of one of the largest and oldest towns in the Himyaritic-Sabäic age. Shabwa is the name. Pliny and Ptolemy speak of these ruins. My last journey was made to find them.

I left Aden in a small coastal steamer of 600 tons for Makalla and arrived at the place in three days early in the morning. The Sultan of Makalla was in India. He is in the service of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad as hereditary Jemadar of the Nizam's bodyguard.

After a short stay the steamer left Makalla for Shihr, a small coast town some forty miles north-east of Makalla. And from this place I

began my last inland journey early in February, 1935, led by Bedouins of the Ma'ari tribe, a sub-tribe of the Humumi.

On the second day out we entered the mountains and first followed a broad valley, through the centre of which runs the sandy Wadi 'Araf. To the left and right rise table-shaped uplands between 2,000 and 3,000 feet in height. After half a day's journey we came to the end of the wadi and took a narrow caravan trail along steep, wild, and rugged slopes. This led us to the summit, which we reached on the fourth day. The mountains here form a plateau at an altitude of 6,000 to 7,000 feet. The vegetation of the Jol, as such plateaux are called, is scanty; only dry thorn thickets and a few species of thick-leaved plants will grow there. Abundant dew, precipitated during the cold night, provides these plants with life-giving moisture.

Now the land falls towards the main Hadhramaut valley up to 2,000 feet, and then rises again to another plateau, or Jol, 3,000 to 3,500 feet above sea level. From this second plateau a series of wadis run out into the great desert of Arabia.

After four days' journey over the plateau we reached a system of numerous wadis, many of which are broad, with slopes that drop precipitously hundreds of feet from the plateau level.

The largest canyon of this region is the Wadi Hadhramaut, after which the surrounding territory is named. Only one part of the largest wadi is known as the Wadi Hadhramaut; it starts some way west of Henin and is for the most part barren and sandy. But eastward Henin enters more fertile land, and from al Qatn onwards the wadi is well cultivated, though the right bank is more fertile than the left. The name Hadhramaut, which is used for the whole country, is applied to the wadi as far as Husn Dhoban Masila beyond Terim, whence it is known as the Wadi Masila.

In Hadhramaut only the valleys are inhabited. There ground water, which alone makes irrigation possible, is found at no great depth. In many places, especially in the Wadi Do'an, the flow of water is below the surface. Therefore the valleys, which have centuries of alluvial deposits, are very fertile. Dates, tobacco, indigo, durra, Indian corn, and various vegetables are cultivated. Rain falls very seldom in this country. Early in March, 1933, I lived to see a cloudburst, which started late in the afternoon with a heavy thunderstorm and lasted almost all night long. It was the first rainfall after three years there, and it seemed nearly a miracle to the inhabitants. Seven houses in Terim had broken down overnight, and most of the others were

damaged, and the city wall was partly washed away, these buildings being made of mud. And many wells were completely choked with débris.

In this beautifully situated Wadi Hadhramaut, nine days' distance from the coast, there still exist the huge buildings of the three largest cities of the country—Shibam, Sewun, and Terim. Each of these cities, the capitals, and big and small towns, of which there are many, presents a wonderful architectural picture. And the people who inhabit these kinds of houses seem to come from the Middle Ages.

The first big town which I reached was Terim. Terim is encircled by a broad palm belt. It is a city of running streams and sparkling white minarets. The "tenements" of the poor, the quarters of the rich, and the palaces of sultans are all built of mud. But their purity of style cannot fail to make a lasting impression on all who see them for the first time. The reason for this peculiar style of building lies in the precarious state of the country. Southern Arabia has not ceased to be the scene of predatory warfare. Bedouin raids are the order of the day. During my travels I myself came across many different minor wars. Every house, every village, every city is a self-contained fort. Therefore the ground floor, which is used for the accommodation of goods or animals, is usually without windows. The Arabs themselves live in the upper stories.

During my stay in Terim I was put in possession of the whole palace belonging to the Sayyid al Kaf family, the richest family in the Hadhramaut, possessing enormous wealth away from the country at Singapore. Their property is valued at over two and a half million pounds sterling.

Terim consists of five *bilads*, or districts. Each district has its palace, belonging to one of the five brothers Al Kaf. The Sayyid al Kaf have a great influence on the surrounding Bedouin tribes, and they also possess big houses in Sewun, fifteen miles from Terim; it is now the largest town in the Hadhramaut, with a population of some 20,000.

And in the whole of Southern Arabia there is no building of more imposing dimensions and of more perfection of form than the palace of Sultan Ali bin Mansour al Kathiri in Sewun. The palace is said to be 400 years old; the white gleaming ornaments of lime and the old plaster work make this imposing building quite beautiful.

Good Sultan Ali placed a whole suite of rooms in his palace at my disposal. In these rooms I received visitors—sayyids, ministers and others—from morning to night. From six o'clock in the morning, when I was still in bed, the room would be filled with guests, who

stayed on till midday. This is the correct time for receiving visitors, but if I returned from a walk in the city I found again a great batch of visitors, to whom I had to act the part of a cordial host.

The living-rooms all closely resemble one another. The walls are decorated with white plaster, and the floors are cemented. Glass windows here are quite unknown. There is no furniture in the room. Carpets are spread on the floor, and big, gaily coloured cushions are used as back-rests. The windows have wooden frames and artistically cut lattice-work, and the ceiling is ornamented. The servants remain in the same room as their masters, and listen eagerly to any conversation which takes place.

When I went into the streets I found so many people surrounding me that after a short time I could not take any photographs or use my cinematograph camera because these wild and noisy people disturbed me so much, shouting and driving up the horrible dirty sand. Only when the Sultan's soldiers who escorted me came with their long sabres the crowd stood back, but then they usually began to throw stones, and now my good soldiers found it time to go away, and would seek safety in the palace before me.

All the cities and big villages in Hadhramaut are inhabited by people who differ from the nomad tribes of the country. The Sultans and the Sayyids are the leading people in the cities; then there are a few who carry on handicrafts and trade; but the majority of inhabitants of the wadis live on primitive agriculture and cattle breeding. Nearly all these belong to the same social class, which we in Egypt call the Fellahin—*i.e.*, they are settled Bedouins.

The women of the cities, being Moslem, live in the harem and are not permitted to take part in the entertainments of their menfolk. When they do appear in the street they go covered with a thick black veil, which has two small openings for the eyes. It is just as impossible for a woman to set out on a journey as to enter a mosque, a privilege which belongs exclusively to the men.

Despite the monotony of her life, a woman is allowed *one* small pleasure: she may keep chickens. And because a woman is more or less tied to her own apartments five or six stories high, and chickens have to be fed, the hen-houses are simply fixed outside the window or from a rope between the streets from one window to another. In the evening the hens fly up to these little chicken baskets, the woman pulls the basket with the hens into her room, and the hens are obliging enough to lay their eggs in the women's rooms.

The Bedouins of South Arabia—at least, those whom I met on my travels—bear little resemblance to the Bedouins from North Arabia. They are short and slight, also they have a splendid physical constitution, and the majority of them are nearly black skinned. Despite their very dark skins, there is nothing negroid about the Bedouins. A negro can always be recognized by the lighter colour of the inner surfaces of his hands and feet, but those of the Hadhrami Bedouin are always of the same colour.

The Bedouins are divided into many tribes, big and small, which go their own ways. The most important of all the tribes in Hadhramaut are the Säibani, belonging to the mountains between Makalla and Shibam, and the Humumi and Tammi, who live in the country up from Shihr to Terim. These tribes attach great importance to the old laws and customs, but are extremely lax in their religious exercises. The nomads do not live in tents of goat's-hair, as elsewhere in Arabia, but in caves and under overhanging crags in the high mountains. Tents I have only found far from Hadhramaut, on the Yemen border.

Some of the real Bedouins had never before seen a white man. Some of them touched my white skin, thinking the white colour would come off.

The Bedouin food is very plain; they travel by day and night from the coast to the interior; their meals are very simple, consisting of only rice and bread, which they make themselves between the glowing ashes. Occasionally, when they are lucky enough to have a little money, they buy a sheep, which they slaughter, cooking their mutton over an open fire. This is equally divided into the same number of portions as there are people present, and each is able to eat an amazing lot of meat; but in general they eat very little during the journey.

Fifteen miles distant from Sewun lies Shibam, and none of the Hadhramaut cities makes quite the same impression as the big city of Shibam—it reminds one of a skyscraper town.

The city, in the centre of the plateau of the big wadis, stands on a high clay "pedestal." There is no city wall, but the houses have been built so close together that they themselves take the place of an encircling wall. If you arrive along the wadi from the direction of Sewun you can see this great city with its houses of eleven stories, 100 feet high, many miles away. Shibam is the oldest town in the valley; it is the capital of the Shibam province, and the town has a population of about 7,000. Its houses are close together, and the streets form narrow,

dark tunnels between. Many Shibam houses are connected by subterranean passages.

The city has only one gate, a gate with an approach that puts one in mind of the entrance to the ancient castle. With its sturdy clay walls and high watch-towers on the top of the high, rocky sides of the wadi itself, Shibam is regarded as impregnable.

Of great ages are its wonderful mosques, of which there are many. Of great age also are the big cemeteries in the country, with numerous tumbledown tombs and weli domes, the resting-places of saints, which still exist on their ancient sites. The tomb of the first Kathiri Sultan who came to Hadhramaut is one of some historical interest.

The next town, which I came to for the third time in 1935, was El Qatn. Sultan Ali, the ruler of this town, had befriended me in 1931, when I went down with a severe attack of dysentery. In 1931 I found it impossible to take the ancient caravan road which leads through the Bahr es-Safi over Shabwa to Baihan and to the Yemen country. I failed to find a single Bedouin who would undertake to guide a foreigner through these dangerous tracks. Because the land between the Hadhramaut and the Yemen belongs to neither, robber Bedouins make this district unsafe. Therefore I changed my plans. I made for Hajarain, a beautifully situated old castle, where the outer walls form a straight line with the precipitous side of the cliff, and from there I reached the Wadi Do'an, with its old fortresses and palm groves, entered the plateau, and reached Makalla safely.

But in 1935 I was lucky enough to find a Bedouin from the Al Bureikh tribe belonging to Shabwa and to the Wadi Irma. His name was Salim.

Shabwa was the capital of the old kingdom of Hadhramaut of two thousand years ago, which Pliny calls Sabatha. The capital, Shabwa, carried the name Sabota up to the Christian era. Pliny, Ptolemy, and other ancient writers affirm that Sabota had sixty temples. It has not been possible for a foreigner to enter the ruins of this ancient place before.

It was during "El Arafa," the great festival fortnight, the time of marriages, when all the people stay at home and nobody will leave their places in the town or in the villages, whether townsmen or Bedouins. But those Bedouins who are accidentally far from their homes try to get back to their tribes as quickly as possible, and in this position was my good Salim, whose home was in Shabwa. We made an agreement. Half of the money I paid him before our caravan

journey; the other half I would pay him if we got back to Hadhramaut in good condition. Some other Bedouins of the same tribe travelled with us from Hadhramaut as far as the Bahr es-Safi, but after five days they left us for Wadi Irma, and we were alone—Salim, Ali, my Somali servant, and I.

Ali was a very good man, but he did not like the desert and was always begging me to return. Though he looked very strong and brave—he carried a gun and ammunition—he was very nervous, and later, if the Bedouins were troublesome, my Ali would sit down, take his head between his hands, and refuse to have anything to do with these rude people.

Early in the morning of March 10, 1935, we started from El Qatn. I took on this trip only the most necessary things—a camp-bed, some food, some medicaments, and the most important thing, drinking water for six days in goatskin bags. I had only one camel for riding and one for carrying the baggage.

We came in eight days from the sea coast over the Jol to the Hadhramaut. We had reached Shibam, we entered El Qatn, and not far from here was the boundary of Hadhramaut, and the great wadi ran out in the Bahr es-Safi in the " Sea of Sand." Slowly the northern mountain walls sank into the great desert.

In this large and majestic landscape our little camp almost disappeared. But we had not long to remain in our camp; we were compelled to ride twelve to fourteen hours each day, with a temperature about 120° in shade, if we were to reach the next water place in six days, and some wadis where the camels could get fed on thorn bushes. Then all vegetation ceased. This part of the Rub'al-Khāli shows geographical characteristics similar to those described by Bertram Thomas in the eastern part of the desert. Wherever the ground was firm, tracks were seen of the tread of innumerable camels which had gone by this way, and these are the only connection between Hadhramaut and the Yemen.

After five days we again approached the mountains, of which a broad range runs into the desert at this point. As night fell we approached the village of Shabwa.

It was two o'clock in the morning when we arrived at the place. Nobody observed us. At the moment we could distinguish nothing. But the very simple and mostly broken-down Bedouin houses stand on three big rubbish slopes, under which lie the ruins of the old town.

Salim put us immediately in a Bedouin house to rest, and in those

first moments when we sheltered we did not realize we were in a wasps' nest. The room was very small, with shuttered windows and gun-holes; anyone could protect themselves against outside danger.

Early in the morning twelve Bedouins of the Al Bureikh tribe, riding on racing camels, entered the place noisily. They came into our house. These Bedouins came from the Wadi Irma, the next place to Shabwa, by arrangement with Salim, who belonged to the same tribe. These twelve were to help us if we got into difficulties. Other people came into our room, making a great noise and holding me as a prisoner.

Those tribes, the Al Bureikh and the Al Korab, are very suspicious and warlike folk, but they are also very poor, living on the salt found in a big salt hill near Shabwa. This they take to the Yemen or Hadhramaut. With the money they get they buy food and everything they need, for round Shabwa nothing grows, and even the water is salty.

I had now a moment to walk through the narrow streets with Salim and two Bedouins and find the ruins.

I found walls made from very big squared stones, looking much the same as the walls in Mycenæ in Greece. There were stones with Sabäic inscriptions and ancient stones which the Bedouins had used again in building their houses. And, lastly, I found a very big building of big stones standing out from a large rubbish slope.

The town Shabwa must have been a very important place in antiquity. The classical writers Pliny and Ptolemy say that it was the capital of the old empire Sabota. Sixty temples were still standing, and it was the principal centre of the incense trade. Incense was still grown all over the country. An old law laid down that the incense which was gathered in the neighbourhood of Shabwa must first be brought to the city by the incense route. The incense passed a special door, arrived in the temples of the sun-god Sabis, and the priests took their dues. Then the incense was duty free and sent by the old incense routes to the Mediterranean countries.

Incense still grows to-day in the mountains of this country, but, unfortunately for the tribes, the trade in it is no longer important.

My stay in Shabwa was not long, only about two hours. Nowhere could I take photographs or use my cine-camera, but I was able to run over the hills and through the streets, and then Salim forced me to return to the resthouse as quickly as possible, because the inhabitants had started a fight with my Bedouin escort and were shooting from the roofs.

Good Ali in the resthouse was very anxious. We harnessed the

camels. Between the fighting Bedouins I took a last picture of this place, and then Ali and myself succeeded in getting away from the town.

We had a very trying march over the sand dunes, since we reached at noon a mountain range, which we climbed on foot because we were afraid of Bedouins, who were fighting behind us as we left Shabwa.

But on the top of the range Bedouins who came out against us caught us, and Ali was very anxious. The Bedouins from the tribe Al Atof demanded money and threatened to send us back. I offered these Bedouins medicines, for I had given all my money to Salim, who was to pay for everything that was necessary. And so my Salim bargained with the Bedouin leader, Abdulla bin Abdulla, for more than one hour before they would allow our passage through the Bedouin territory. These wild Bedouins saw that I was without any arms, and so they became friendly and allowed us to go to the Wadi Irma, where we arrived in the evening.

The Wadi Irma is a large dry river bed, but without very high slopes. The mountain ranges are kinder. Many small but well-fortified villages lie on the border of the wadi, not in the middle. One of these villages is named Dilla, the birthplace of my Salim. His very small house, made of mud, had no room for Ali and me, therefore we had to use the donkeys' stall, an open-air court with a high wall of mud—a safe place, but very dirty. In the shadow of the wall I put my camp-bed.

Salim told me on the road that we should find the most beautiful water in the world in the Wadi Irma. But Bedouins never can distinguish between the purest spring water and the water from a dirty pool; from both they drink with great pleasure. One can never trust a Bedouin when he speaks about the purity of water. And so we found in the Wadi Irma only one pool of rain water eight months old. Four villages exist only on this little pool, and the inhabitants sometimes fight over the water-place.

In this pool the women wash their clothes, the children take a bath, and camels and donkeys amuse themselves, and this was the water which I had to drink, not only during the three days while we stayed at the place—no, we had to carry with us water enough for the six days' journey back to the Hadhramaut.

At first I tried to use my pump filter, but the water with all the mud and all the little water plants, in which leeches and frogs and insects were swimming, would not go through the porous stone of the filter.

Then we boiled the water. We boiled it for a full hour; my Ali had to work very hard to keep up the fire. But next morning, when I opened the camp bottle with the boiled water, the water was absolutely spoiled, because all the little plants were dead and the water was not fresh. And there remained nothing else for me to do but to drink the water like Bedouins; now, I think, I also am immune from tropical illness just as are the Bedouins. Of course, I poured the water through a handkerchief before drinking, so that at least the fishes and the frogs remained behind.

After a stay of three days at Dilla with the hostile Bedouins of the Al Bureikh tribe, which, together with the Al Korab tribe, is a subtribe from El Amer, we filled our water bags with the dirty pool water and moved under cover of darkness in a wide détour round Shabwa back to Hadhramaut. The way straight down to the coast was unsafe, and for the Al Bureikh Bedouins it is forbidden territory, for they are at war with the other tribes. Therefore we must go back to Hadhramaut, where I said good-bye to my guide Salim.

On the return journey nothing of any importance happened. Only my good Salim has had many cares on the way. He did not know what he should do with all the money he would receive from me when we arrived. Unfortunately, he lent me some money on our travels for buying some Bedouin work, jewels, and weapons. I wrote all these little items in my book, and at least six times each day Salim came to me asking about the money, wanting to know how much he would get. I read entry for entry. He tried to add up, but could not get it in order. Then I reckoned up, but he would not believe it. It was our conversation from morning to evening, but in this way we had some entertainment. Only one thing my Salim had decided: with most of the money he would try to buy a new wife. It did not matter that he already had two wives in Dilla. It would be very fine to put the third wife in some place in the Hadhramaut, then with his two wives in Irma and one in the Hadhramaut he would have enough.

After nine days with Bedouins of the Ma'adi tribe I reached Shihr safely, where I sailed in the small coastal steamer *Africa* back to Aden.

Here was the end of my third journey to South Arabia.

Now follow me through part of the Bahr es-Safi in a western direction to the Yemen border and over the upper Yemen to the Red Sea coast, in which direction Bedouins led me in 1933 on my second journey. It is a four days' journey from Shabwa to Baihan. This time

we approached Shabwa without seeing anything of the place. The first day led us over even, firm clay ground. On the second day high sand dunes suddenly appeared in the distance. These dunes consist of loose moving sand, called *ramla,* and we had to get over these. It was a very unpleasant time. We came into sandstorms, and the air was so hot that I could scarcely breathe. I had just had a severe attack of dysentery, and now in the hottest time of the year, in May, I was at the end of my strength. We had only a little water, and I was so weak that I could not move without difficulty.

On the third day we came upon strips of vegetation between the dunes, but not to a single water-hole. At night time on the fourth day we reached Baihan. The low clay houses lie far apart, clustered in small groups round springs. I paid a visit to the sultan next morning. He received me cordially and even gave me a guide instructed to show me the places where there are remains of Sabæan Himyaritic culture. After two days we left Baihan for the Yemen. Again we entered the sand dunes and found that there were no human settlements between Wadı Baihan and the frontier of the Yemen. On the evening of the second day after our departure from Baihan we reached the frontier at a pass of about 3,000 feet. Beyond the pass, in a broad, barren valley partly surrounded by tall rocky walls, lies the city of Harib. On my arrival the Governor immediately put me in gaol, where I had to wait the decision of the Imam of the Yemen, and there I had to wait three weeks.

The time in Harib was not so very bad, apart from the sandstorms which rose every day; I had a nice room, I had two soldiers who kept watch over me, and I was allowed to go into the town with my soldiers, but not too far. Also they fed me quite well. The " Amel," the Governor, a very pleasant man, paid a visit to me every day and gave me chickens, so that I had enough to eat.

The valley of Harib is inhabited principally by the Beni Garvi Bedouins, whose faces differ greatly from each other and who have a dark skin. They never leave the boundaries of their territory.

The relations between the soldiers and Bedouins were anything but cordial. The recent subjugation of their land by the Imam had rendered its inhabitants exceedingly bitter. The big garrison which had to be maintained in Harib constituted a heavy burden on the inhabitants of that city, and if anything was needed it was taken without payment.

Harib is the chief indigo centre in Southern Arabia. The indigo is squeezed from the seeds of the small green indigo plant; outside the

city are several well-trodden squares, in which the seeds gathered during the day are deposited. The seeds are then put into large open vessels filled with water. Air and water combine to turn the mass into a dark blue solution. The dye is used to colour the cotton cloth, which is made up into clothes. Indigo, though, not only dyes the people's clothes, but it gradually dyes their skin also. They seem to like it, and actually rub the dye in and become gradually of a blue-black hue, which tempts one to call them the "Blue Arabs."

Finally, the Imam's decision arrived. I was to be transported under escort to San'ā by a route exactly prescribed, through Dhemen, Habab, Jeham, and Mirwa. These last two places lie in the region of the fertile green Yemen; the mountains changed their character, we entered large ranges with high peaks, we reached the highest point of our route, and the path which we then took led us on the "roof of Arabia," the famous mountain district, which lies at an average height of 6,000 feet, and whose highest peaks extend to 9,000 and more feet in altitude.

An old Arab writer, in a celebrated description of this country, said: "The inhabitants are notably strong and healthy. Illness is unknown there. The climate is of Paradise; the women never grow old."

After eight days' journey through the upper Yemen, through a district where no white man has ever been before, I reached San'ā, the capital of the country, which lies at 7,000 feet.

I hoped, and my soldiers firmly believed it, that a cordial welcome would be given me by the Imam, who had received me on my last journey to Yemen. But in vain; I was kept in prison for five days .

San'ā has also a very fine architecture, but different from the style used in the Hadhramaut. The lower parts of the houses in Yemen are constructed of stone, while the upper parts, often six stories high, are of clay. The windows generally are in two parts, the lower of wooden shutters, while above there are oval windows with a thin pane of alabaster.

San'ā is undoubtedly one of the oldest cities in the world. It was standing at the time of the ancient Babylonians. It is noteworthy, too, that the world's first "skyscraper" was built in Sana. This palace, "Ghandam," was erected during the time of Sheban kings.

Just as Fez in north-west Africa marks the western boundary of the Moslem religion, so Yemen is Islam's eastern bulwark. The many mosques with their tall minarets towering above the high houses and palaces give the city its distinctive character.

The king, the Imam Yahya el Mutawakil ed Din, has an enormous palace, but it is not as beautiful as many others in the town.

The title Imam means that its bearer is a direct descendant of the Prophet; the dignity of Imam is associated with the narrow ties of blood. The Imam Yahya, who adopted the additional title of king in 1926, took over the reins of government in 1902. The king knows, as well as any of his colleagues in other parts of the world, that wars cost money, so he has saved all his life and has gradually accumulated a vast treasure of Maria-Theresa dollars and of gold sovereigns, which have been received in exchange for goods. He saves his money and encourages his subjects to live in a modest way.

Strictly separate from the Arab city, and also enclosed in a wall, is the Jewish quarter, which is named Ka'a el Yahud. Here live about 20,000 Jews, side by side with an Arab population of 50,000. Their houses in the ghetto can only have two floors, and the synagogues are not allowed to differ from the ordinary living-houses. The interior of the houses, however, is scrupulously clean.

The Jew has very limited privileges, and is subject to strict regulations. He is not allowed to ride a camel or a mule, but only the donkeys for his transport. The Jew is not permitted to carry arms, and, on the other hand, he is required to pay a high tax to the Imam. And though he is allowed to trade in the Arab city, he may never settle among Moslems.

After five days' imprisonment I was released and allowed to go to the Red Sea coast, but only with an escort of three soldiers, and I had to return by the same route that I came by on my first journey. After three days we arrived in Manaka in the Jabal Harras. There we stayed one night. In the morning while the soldiers were sleeping I made my escape from the room with an old Bedouin of a sect which is named the Ismā'īli.

These Bedouins from the Beni Ismā'īl live, curiously, on the highest peaks of the mountains, where they built fortified villages. And for their safety the people can speak from one peak to another through a special call, not in Arabic. The people are very suspicious, and no European has been on the tops of these peaks.

One of the picturesque places in this region is Hatib, the native place of the founder of the Ismā'īli, and here also is the white tomb of the founder, Hatmi bin Ibrahim al Hamidi. I reached this place with my guide, but after a few hours my soldiers found me and brought me back to Manaka, from where we marched down to the Tihama.

Leaving the favoured highlands of Yemen for the plains, is like leaving Switzerland and suddenly finding oneself planted in the middle of the Sahara. The Tihama is a flat plain with sparse vegetation; this strip of coast land is formed principally from coral reefs, and was at one time covered by the sea. The Tihama now has the most unhealthy climate in the whole of Arabia; it is a breeding-ground for a very severe form of malaria, which is gradually killing off the local population. The Tihama is peopled by the dark-skinned Zaranig, a tribe which is mixed with slave blood. The Zaranigs live in small villages of straw huts, which remind us of the native villages in Abyssinia. Only the fortresses, built for the Imam's government, are of mud and stone.

The heat in the Tihama was at that time, in the month of June, so overpowering that Bedouins only travelled at night time. One day's journey from Hudaida we came to Bajil. From here I was able to ask for a motor-car from Hudaida by a very simple wireless, set up since the time of the Turks. After four hours an ancient Ford groaned its way into the place, but, alas! the driver and his assistant took up the room on the front seats, and there was only space for one man to ride beside me. There were three soldiers with me, and all wanted to taste the novelty of riding in the motor-car. One man took the seat. We started as quickly as possible. The other two were on the running-board, trying to haul their companion out, but they fell heavily in the sand.

We were off! We reached Hudaida. The steamer was there, but unfortunately we carried off the wrong man of my three guards At the harbour entrance I was stopped. Where was the paper with the Imam's exit visa? Just this soldier who was left behind at Bajil, and was certainly at this moment sleeping, had the Imam's papers. The steamer was going without me; the next boat was in ten days' time. And I was prisoner again. Next day my two soldiers watched in the town and brought the Imam's paper, and what was written thereon? I must leave Hudaida with the next boat.

In closing the lecture the Chairman thanked Mr. Helfritz for his delightful lecture and for his beautiful slides. Mr. Helfritz was a musician, but the music of Arabia, so fascinating in the wilds of the desert, needed to be heard in its own surroundings. After the lecture Mr. Helfritz played gramophone records which he had made in Hadhramaut, the songs of camel men, a song of a humorist, and others.

THE MAKING OF MODERN TURKEY

By SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E., D.Litt.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 10, 1937, the Right Hon. the Lord Lloyd of Dolobran in the Chair.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Our lecturer to-day needs no introduction to the Central Asian Society or to any people who are interested in the Near East. He is going to lecture to us on Turkey, at a moment which many of us think particularly interesting and opportune, because there is no member of our Society, I am assured, who has not marked during the last year the ever-improving relations between H.M. Government and the Turkish Government, which we all of us acclaim and welcome warmly. (Applause.)

Those of us who have spent many years of our lives travelling in Turkey and Middle Asia will look forward particularly to-night to hearing Sir Denison Ross put the history of Turkey briefly on the map again to us, and there is no one better qualified to do it.

Without any further ado, therefore, I will call upon Sir Denison Ross to address us.

I FEEL nobody who knows me in this audience will expect much from me in the way of pure politics—if politics can ever be called pure.

But I am more of a historian than a politician; in fact, I know nothing about politics. What I want to do to-day is, as Lord Lloyd has just told you, to try and put Turkey and the Turks on the map, and to explain, if I can, the miracle which has been performed in the making of modern Turkey. In doing so I shall not dwell on the long history of Turkey during the exciting period between the end of the sixteenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries. I shall leave you to read that up in your *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where you will find a very admirably written article by a very distinguished Turk. It is rather a rare thing to find the history of a foreign country in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* written by somebody belonging to that country.

What I want to do is to tell you how the Turks got to Turkey, and what it meant when they got there, what they represented in the first instance, what heritages they took over, and what depths they sank to by the time they were finished.

Few of us perhaps realize the preponderant rôle played by men of Turkish stock in the history of the Near and Middle East and of India

since the tenth century; and yet the names of some of these Turks are known to every schoolboy. For instance, Mahmud of Ghazna; Tughrul Beg in the twelfth century; Tamerlane, the most famous perhaps of all Eastern heroes, in the fourteenth century; and the great Emperor Babur of India in the sixteenth. Those men were all of pure Turkish stock, and they are only a few among many who rose to great eminence and fame: and though they were mostly famous for being great soldiers, they had that other gift of picking well their ministers, and their ministers were nearly always Persians.

But every dynasty that has ruled in Persia, down to the present one, since the tenth century has been practically Turkish, except for the great Safari Dynasty which included Abbas the Great; what he was it is difficult to say. He was born in a half-Turkish country and claimed descent from the Arabs, and was the most Iranian of all Iranians.

But I wish now to transport you to that curious little promontory —it looks quite big when put by itself—which sticks out and meets another little promontory, the first belonging to Asia, the second to Europe. These are separated by the Bosphorous, which is really no bigger than a large river—in some places smaller than many large rivers. It does not flow, but it has the most extraordinary tides, which have never been mastered by navigators, because about ten feet below the surface the tide runs a different way from at the top.

That little bit of Bosphorous separates what we call Asia and Europe. Both these little promontories have the Black Sea on the north and the Mediterranean on the south, so they have a very great deal in common, and it is only natural perhaps that the history of both sides should have during such a long period been the history of one dynasty or one nationality.

There were the early Greeks. In their time, of course, the colonies of Asia Minor formed a very important part of Greece. Then in the time of the Byzantine Emperors, as you know, they extended over the whole of Asia Minor, and in the time of the Ottoman Turks they had both sides of this curious Bosphorous.

When we first meet the Turks it is difficult to say exactly what the population of Asia Minor was. In the seventh century, when the Arabs began capturing half the known world, they spread over Persia, right away up into Transoxiana, Bokhara and Samarkand; they stretched right away down to the Indus and over to northern Africa. But they came to a stop at one of the most important parts of the

world, which is of interest to-day because this Taurus range marks the halting point of so many dynasties and so many conquerors.

When the Arabs reached Antioch, partly because the great Caliph felt that they were becoming demoralized by occupying rich cities, they were recalled; so the Arabs, though they conquered all Syria, did not conquer Asia Minor.

But they made no less than seven attempts to take Constantinople by sea, and it was chiefly the invention of the Greek fire which prevented that. So Constantinople has from the very earliest times played a very important part in the history of Islam, and it was at all times regarded by Muslims as the one great important town of Europe.

The first Muslims to reach Anatolia were a people called the Seljuks. The Seljuks came from far away. They came like the rest of the Turks from the region of Lake Baikal—that is, the big lake round which the Trans-Siberian railway winds its way. It is from far-away Mongolia that these Turks came originally.

They were constantly on the move, and we know of them already in the third century B.C. wandering westwards to find new pastures. At quite an early stage people of Turkish nationality and birth had arrived in southern Europe and wandered down into Bulgaria and into Hungary. There are many Turkish tribes, and those Turks were for the most part Christians; in fact, they migrated probably before the Muslim conversion of the Turks.

The Turks entered Asia Minor in 1071, a famous date when the great Sultan of the Seljuks met the Emperor Diogenus Romanus (who was an adventuring general who had become Byzantine Emperor) and defeated him. That was one of the turning points in history. They set up a dynasty, first of all in a place made famous by the Nicene Creed—namely, Nicea—which is opposite Constantinople. They penetrated right up to the coast within sight of Constantinople, but when they had been there a short time, a crusade was started. The famous First Crusade, which was led by Godfrey de Bouillon, crossed from Constantinople to Nicea and drove back these Turks.

But they were not bent on driving back the Turks. They were, of course, bent on getting to Jerusalem, and when they had defeated these Turks and driven them back, they continued on their way, and the Seljuk king realized that they did not want Asia Minor.

So they withdrew to the town of Iconium, and that became the capital of the Seljuk Empire. The Seljuks went there and prospered

and set up a separate dynasty, who were called the Seljuks of Rum, because that country was known by the curious name of Rum, which is based on the word Rome, and actually derives from New Rome—*i.e.*, Constantinople.

Then in the thirteenth century came the terrific flood of Mongols, also coming from the same part of the world, from their capital up near Lake Baikal. I would like to mention here that the reason why one group of the mountains north of India is called the Karakorum Mountains, is because they were the high road to Karakorum of the Mongols. That is why you have a similar name for a Mongol town in the heart of Mongolia and for a mountain range in the north of India.

In the thirteenth century rose the great Chingizkhan, and his men swept all over India and across Persia. Finally they came to Armenia, and there they got into touch with the Seljuks and defeated them at a famous battle in 1243. The Seljuks remained, but in name only, and the Mongols were the suzerain power.

In 1258 the Mongols defeated the Arabs; they destroyed Baghdad and put to death the last legitimate Abbasid Caliph. Rather than take the blood of a Caliph, they wrapped his body in a sack and had his bones broken. That was the end of the Caliphate, and the Mongols had no religion then but a sort of corrupt Buddhism: but they had that amount of respect for a Caliph.

I am trying to point out that this event brought to an end the central authority in Islam.

Another thing that happened in the thirteenth century was the invasion of Constantinople by the Franks and the setting up in the place of the Greek dynasty of Byzantine Emperors of a Latin dynasty, which had the traditions of the Rome of the West and not of the Rome of the East. From 1204 to 1261 they occupied Constantinople and did everything they could to subvert the Byzantine tradition.

In 1261 the little remnant of Byzantium, who had been sitting in Nicea and Nicomedia, managed to amass sufficient forces to drive the Latins out of Constantinople again and to revive the Byzantine tradition. But it could never be the same again, and I want you to understand that the inheritance of the Ottomans was twofold.

They came in shortly after the first arrival of the Mongols. One particular group, four hundred men strong, found the Seljuks engaged in fighting the Mongols and offered their services, and were successful in a particular engagement. As a reward they received some territory

somewhere between Angora and what remained of the Byzantine Empire.

These people were not slow to take advantage of their position, and little by little acquired various towns of importance. For a time they were, of course, subordinate to the Seljuks, as the Seljuks themselves were subordinate to the Mongols. But what happened in the end was that under a great man called Osman they set about conquering what was left on this side of the Byzantine Empire, and then they set their minds on conquering all that was left on the other side.

But the great point is that these Ottomans felt themselves distinct from the Turks in general. They took the name of Ottomans. To-day it is the Turkish Empire and not the Ottoman, but these Ottomans who inherited in about the year 1300 the Seljuk Empire, which had been part of the Byzantine Empire, with the conquest of Constantinople 150 years later, inherited practically the whole of the Byzantine Empire, and simultaneously became the greatest Muslim power in the world. That was due, I maintain, primarily to the Latin occupation of Constantinople for nearly 60 years at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and to the destruction of the Abbasid Caliphate in the middle of the thirteenth century. So that is the way I wish to put on the map what the Ottomans were.

They were simply a group of Turks who managed to profit by their geographical position and the power of collecting other Turks who were migrating, and also of having these great men as individual leaders, like Osman and others. They inherited the Byzantine Empire of the Christians and the Islamic or Muslim pre-eminence of Abbasid Caliphs.

It is a curious coincidence. All taking of opportunity is taking the opportunity at the right moment, but I would like to impress upon you this double event of the destruction of the Byzantine tradition on the one hand by the Latins and Franks and on the other hand the destruction of the Abbasid Caliphate by the Mongols, which enabled the Ottomans to succeed to two very great heritages.

I cannot give you the whole history of the rise and the capture of Constantinople in 1453. You are all familiar with the chief facts, that the great Mohammed II. managed to take Constantinople with the most extraordinary trouble and expenditure in men and money in 1453.

It is a very curious thing that the last Sultan was called Mohammed VI. The first Sultan was Mohammed II., known as the Victorious,

the Conqueror. Constantinople, as you know, was built by Constantine the Great, and the last Byzantine Emperor to rule in Constantinople was Constantine VI. I had never thought of that till this morning, but I think it is very extraordinary that you should have two Mohammeds and two Constantines, the first and the last in Constantinople.

Long before it was possible to take Constantinople the great rulers like Orkhan and Murad realized that you could not take Constantinople if you did not hold the surrounding country and the command of the sea. There were many elements that made the command of the sea difficult. It was eventually achieved without the command of the sea when Constantinople was taken, but not without the command of the hinterland of Thrace, Macedonia and so on.

That is how the Turks came to rule in Constantinople. That gave them a very large portion of the Balkans up to the Danube and sometimes beyond. It gave them, too, Turkey in Asia right away down to the frontiers of Syria.

The Ottomans up to then had always looked west rather than east, but when they were first checked in the west, then the idea occurred to them to turn east, and this barrier of the Taurus, which had stopped the Arabs and other people at various periods, no longer existed. When Sultan Selim the Grim came to the throne, he thought he would turn east. He turned to Persia, and in 1514 marched into Tabriz and defeated the great Shah Isma'il. But he did not want to hold Persia. After defeating the Persians he went back, and then he turned to Egypt, which interested him much more, and in 1517 he marched down and defeated the last Sultan of Egypt on the famous battlefield of Gaza. Just as in European history Belgium has often been a battlefield, so Gaza has frequently been a battlefield, and in the last war was so again.

Selim marched into Cairo, and thus the Turks in 1517 became the masters of northern Arabia and of Egypt. It was at this period that the empire attained its vastest limits and its undisputed supremacy among Islamic states.

Selim died in 1520 and was succeeded by the greatest of all Muslim rulers in Turkey, Sulayman the Magnificent. You know that at this period there was not that sharp distinction between East and West or between Muslims and Christians. Sulayman was indisputably the greatest king of his day.

Down to 1683, when the second and last attempt was made on

Vienna, the ambitions of the Ottomans in Europe knew no bounds. Even Bayazid said, before the great battle of Necropolis, which was one of the great disasters of Christian arms, "When I have done with these people here, I will walk on to Rome and my horses shall feed off the altars of St. Peter's."

In 1689 Turkey gave up all her claims to Bulgaria, but her Asiatic possessions still gave her control of the Near East. When the Great War broke out, as you know, Syria, Arabia and 'Iraq down to the Persian Gulf still owed obedience to the Sultan.

I must now turn for a moment to the internal state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire, which led to the rise of the Young Turkey Party. This is an exceedingly difficult subject, and it is impossible in one hour to explain at all how it all happened. I presume that many of you know it far better than I do, but the turning-point in reforms occurred in the reign of the first of the Sultans who had the prefix of Abdul to their names.

In 1859, in the reign of Abdul Mejid I., were inaugurated the great reforms known as the *Tanzimat,* which continued down to 1876, when they were brought to an end by Abdul Hamid II. I cannot go into details about them, but they were the most enlightened reforms and affected society in every way, especially in the matter of law. But you should all of you read what *Tanzimat* meant; it is mentioned in every history book.

Abdul Hamid was proclaimed Sultan in 1876, and by the end of the year, during the session of an international conference which had been called on account of troubles in the Balkans, a salvo of artillery announced the promulgation of a liberal Constitution for the whole Turkish Empire, and the institution of a Turkish Parliament. These concessions were almost immediately withdrawn, and it was this failure on the part of the Sultan to keep his word which led to the formation of secret societies whose aim was the restoration of the Constitution.

That is the beginning of the new history of Turkey.

Then came a series of disasters and misfortunes for Turkey. In 1877 Russia declared war on Turkey. Turkey's defeat was followed by the disgraceful Treaty of San Stefano, but this treaty was later on revised at the famous Congress of Berlin, and a new treaty—called by Beaconsfield "Peace with Honour"—was signed, by which Turkey lost Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania, while Bulgaria was constituted a semi-independent principality. As a result of a very neat bit

of diplomacy, Cyprus was to be administered by Great Britain, which it still is.

In 1881 France occupied Tunis. In 1882 Great Britain occupied *Egypt. In 1889 Germany obtained concessions for the Baghdad Rail*-way, perhaps the most important occupation of all.

The Young Turkey Party had from the beginning of the present century been preparing for the overthrow of the old régime. It had its headquarters first of all in Paris, and no one took it seriously except the Sultan and his entourage. In 1908 it changed its headquarters to Salonika, which then was under European supervision though under Turkish governors, and a Committee of Union and Progress was established, with the avowed object of organizing a revolution. Most of its members were military officers, and among them were the famous Enver Bey and Talaat Bey, who directed the propaganda in Albania and Macedonia.

On July 23, 1908, the Committee of Union and Progress under the presidency of Enver Bey proclaimed the Constitution in Salonika, while the Second and Third Army Corps threatened to march on Constantinople if the Sultan refused to obey the proclamation. On the following day the Sultan yielded, and restored the Constitution of 1876, ordering the election of a Chamber of Deputies. Kiamal Pasha became Grand Vizier.

In April, 1909, Abdul Hamid II., with what justice I do not know, was accused of organizing a counter-revolution, and was deposed, and Mohammed V. was set up in his place. It is interesting to note that it was Mahmud Shevkat Pasha, the brother of Sayyid Hekmat Sulaiman, the new Prime Minister of 'Iraq, who led the forces which deposed Abdul Hamid.

I must say one word of two movements which played a great part at the back of the desires of the Ottomans: that is the Pan-Turan, which meant the amalgamation of all the Turkish-speaking peoples, and Pan-Islam, which meant a unification of all Muslims, except, of course, the Shi'as. Both these movements played a fairly important part, but especially Pan-Islam was a favourite weapon of Abdul Hamid and had a great repercussion in India. But the curious thing is that both those ideas really come from the writings of two Europeans.

Very little was known of Central Asia in those days. Our knowledge of the early Turks dates from certainly not more than forty years back. We are always learning new facts about them, but a man called Louis Cahun wrote a book called *L'Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie*.

Although this was only a compilation, it gave the history of all the Mongols and all the Turks. It had a great success in Turkey, and gave the Turks knowledge of their early history. That was the basis of the Pan-Turan idea.

The Pan-Islam, I think, owes its origin to the fact that the Sultan was Caliph. When Selim in 1517 entered Egypt there was a remnant of the Caliphate left there. It was a young man descended from the one relic of the Caliphs, who had escaped from Baghdad in 1258, and this young man and his successors were brought out on State occasions and was nominally Caliph.

One of the chief functions of the Caliph is to be protector of the holy places. While Selim was in Cairo, there came up from the Sherif of Mecca a young boy of about fourteen, who brought a message from his father saying that he hoped the Sultan would accept the title of Protector of the two Holy Places, Mecca and Medina. That *ipso facto* gave the Sultan the claim to be Caliph, but of course it took a long time to reconcile yourself to the idea that anyone could be Caliph who did not belong to the House to which the Prophet belonged. That point was not stressed, but I do not think anybody till quite comparatively recent times pointed out that the Sultan was really the legitimate Caliph.

There was a famous historian called D'Ohsson, who began as an interpreter. He wrote a great book, *The History of the Mongols.* This book also had its effect, but that was in the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is interesting to think that two European books have had this great effect on the aspirations of a great people.

I must pass to Mustafa Kemal, who comes on the scene at the moment when Abdul Hamid was turned off the throne and Mohammed V. put in his place. He was born in Salonika of European-Turkish parents in 1881. He showed great talent for his studies, especially mathematics. He passed in due course to the War College at Constantinople. Since he was known to possess certain revolutionary tendencies, he was carefully watched, and in 1905, when he passed out as a captain on the General Staff, he was by way of precaution sent to distant Damascus, where he first saw active service.

His military duties did not prevent his continuing his revolutionary activities; and he was partly instrumental in founding a secret society called *Vatan*, the Fatherland. But, although Syria was far enough from Constantinople to make such activities possible, he felt that he could be more useful in Macedonia; therefore, having obtained leave

of absence, he proceeded in disguise to Salonika. There he remained for four months, at the end of which he only escaped arrest by receiving timely warning which enabled him to be back in Syria, where he was sent to an out-of-the-way spot beyond the reach of the Central Government.

During the next two years his military services were required first in Tripoli and then in the Balkan wars. The Balkan tragedy of 1913 was immensely far-reaching in its results. The chief of these were the mistaken impression the Europeans got of the fighting qualities of the Turks, and the conclusion of treaties with other people, and the reduction of Turkey in Europe to eastern Thrace, including Adrianople. This was actually a blessing in disguise, for it put an end to the continual waste of energy in that quarter.

In 1913 Mustafa Kemal was back in Constantinople. Enver Pasha, his lifelong enemy, now Minister of War, had decided to entrust the reorganization of the army to a German Military Mission. Kemal, now a lieutenant-colonel, wrote a letter of protest, in which he pointed out the folly of handing over the control and secrets of the army—the one going concern in Turkey—to foreigners. The only reply he received to this letter was to be posted as second Military Attaché to Sofia, and there he was when the Great War broke out.

He himself has said that he never had much faith in the ultimate success of the Central Powers, and in any case he felt that should they win, Turkey would only become a satellite of Germany.

I cannot go through his great career. I am more concerned with what he has achieved in civilian status. But, as you know, the saving of the Dardanelles was due principally to the prowess and exertions of Kemal. On April 25, 1915, it was mainly owing to his generalship that the Anzacs were prevented from making good their successful landing. Many are the tales told of his courage and bravery. The most popular picture in Turkey to-day is a picture of Mustafa Kemal standing, smoking a cigarette under fire, showing absolute calm in the greatest danger.

On one occasion, when he stepped out of the trenches and walked forward, the English opened fire, and a shell splinter was embedded in the watch which he wore over his heart.

When the English evacuated Gallipoli, he returned to Constantinople, but nobody wanted him, and he was removed by Enver from Constantinople.

One of the things he did was to visit the German Western Front

with the Heir Apparent—who afterwards came to the throne—as a representative of the Turkish General Staff. There they were received by the Kaiser, Hindenburg, Ludendorff and a large staff. All through the German tour Kemal was deliberately critical. He declared that, however successful the Germans appeared to be, he had satisfied himself that they were in a bad way.

There are many stories told of how he was shown a map presented by a man who had been an observer up a tree, and he said, "I myself will go up." When he got down he said, "The man is right, but what you showed me is wrong."

During this journey he got to know the Heir Apparent, and said to him that when he came to the throne, the one thing for Turkey would be to get rid of Enver and Talaat Pasha. But when the Heir Apparent came to the throne he said to Kemal, "I have made all my arrangements with Their Excellencies Enver and Talaat Pashas," and then dismissed him.

So that everything always went against Atatürk in those early days except his own courage on the field and his success as a leader. But he never gave in, and on October 30 the Armistice was signed. The Turks welcomed it as being the end of the great suffering of long years. But they soon forgot this suffering in the humiliation and persecution to which the Armistice exposed them. The Allied fleets and armies occupied the Straits, Constantinople and even places outside the Armistice line, and the terms of the Armistice were stretched to the point of violation. Under these conditions the Turks had a bitter foretaste of the peace they would receive at the hands of the Allies.

Both in Constantinople and in the provinces officers and intellectuals met in secret and began to discuss how to secure a tolerable peace, and as the Nationalists appeared in the forefront of the general reaction against the Allies, this agitation received the general name of the "Nationalist Movement." Meanwhile the Allies had been unable to come to an agreement among themselves over the Turkish peace. Finally the Greek army was landed in Smyrna under the protection of the British, French and American fleets, and the Greeks inaugurated their occupation by massacres committed in full view of those fleets on May 15, 1919.

The Greek massacres were followed by mass meetings of indignation in Constantinople. Turkey was now in a state of anarchy. The Party of Union and Progress was dissolved, and Talaat and Enver both disappeared from the scene—Enver to have miraculous adventures

in Central Asia. This disappearance of his two great enemies was of the utmost importance to Kemal. He was among those Nationalists who hoped that the country might be saved from disintegration by co-operation with the Sultan; but the Sultan considered only his own personal safety, and was in favour of giving the reigns of government to the High Commissioners of the Allies in Constantinople.

Meanwhile in Western Anatolia organizations for a national defence against the Greek invasion were rapidly arising, and similar organizations in Eastern Anatolia were preparing to oppose the attempts of the Allies to make the Armenians and the Kurds independent. Kemal was now appointed Inspector-General of the Northern Army zone in Anatolia, in order to control these organizations and disperse them if necessary. There had never been a more ironical appointment made in history. He was appointed there to keep order. What he did was to create a new Turkey. He landed at Samsun on May 19, 1919, four days after the landing of the Greeks at Smyrna.

This appointment was really the turning point in Kemal's career. His ideal now became a homogeneous Turkey, freed from foreign control or interference, and from the incubus of its own past; in other words, "a Turkey shaking off both the live hand of Europe and the dead hand of Islam."

The great wonder is that neither the Turkish nor the European leaders yet realized the master with whom they had to deal.

The madness which prompted English statesmen to believe that anything was to be gained by trying to reintroduce the Greeks into Asia Minor is only to be attributed to a combination of ignorance of history on the one hand and a blindness to the Nationalist aspirations of Turkey on the other. In palliation of the European attitude, we must not forget the slowness of the Turks themselves to appreciate the single-minded ideals of Kemal. The Sultanate and the Caliphate had outlived their respectability for nearly eighty years. Constantinople stood for everything that was debased and corrupt, and the great throne of Byzantium, which the Caliphs had occupied with dignity and success for four centuries had become the synonym of decadence, espionage, lechery and misplaced conceit.

From the moment that Kemal landed at Samsun down to the Battle of Sakaria in August, 1921, the scales of Turkey's destiny were being steadily weighed down on the Asiatic side, but the prestige of the Sultan-Caliph screened from the outside world the magnitude and permanence of what Kemal was planning and executing in Ankara.

From this moment Turkey practically became two states. There was a Turkey in Europe, submitting to the dictates of the Allies and still recognizing a Sultan-Caliph in Constantinople; there was another Turkey in Asia Minor, where the Nationalists were trying to find a means of saving the soul of the people. Here Kemal was both the leading spirit and the driving force.

I have entered into so much detail in regard to the events preceding the rise of Kemal to supreme power, with the object of making clear to my hearers the apparently hopeless state of Turkey at the end of the Great War, and the need in which that country stood of the most drastic reforms in every aspect of her life.

Kemal now calls himself Atatürk, which means Papa Turk. It is the most delightful and intimate name you can imagine. He is their father, not the father of the Turks. That is the way he is addressed, even in the most formal speeches. That shows a great simplicity of character, and a great feeling for having his way in carrying out these ideals that he has in his own mind.

As you know, apart from Atatürk, all Turks have had surnames given to them. There was nothing more confusing in the Moslem world than the fact that nobody had a surname. I once took a class in Calcutta in which there were forty boys, ten of whom had the name of Achmed with nothing else! That reform should be adopted throughout the Moslem world, and they should all have surnames.

When this was introduced in Turkey, they produced a great list, and for eighteen months it was possible for anybody to choose a surname from it. If he had not done so by then, a name was chosen for him. The great Ismet Pasha, for instance, accepted the surname of Ineunu after the great battle he won. The ambassador in London also, of course, has a new name now, as have the members of his staff, and I presume those names will become hereditary as family names.

I am especially anxious to speak of the radical reforms which Kemal has during the last twelve years brought about in his reborn Fatherland, so I shall be obliged to pass hurriedly over his astounding single-handed fight, both as an administrator and a leader, and the thrilling events between May, 1919, and October, 1923, when he became the first President of the first Turkish Republic.

Down to July, 1921, the poorly equipped Turkish forces in Anatolia, in spite of some victories—notably the two battles of In Eunu in 1921, at which Ismet Pasha so greatly distinguished himself—were unable

to drive back the Greeks, but with the capture by the Greeks of Eski Shehir came the greatest crisis of Kemal's career. It was now recognized that he was the only man who could save the situation, and he was somewhat grudgingly appointed *Bash-Commandan*. In less than three weeks from his appointment he had driven back the Greeks and assured the future of Turkey. The battle of Sakaria on August 14, 1921, was won by his military genius and personal bravery, and in recognition of this great victory he received the title of Ghazi. One year later he finally drove the Greeks out of Smyrna. He was, however, prevented from following them across the water to Europe by the presence of three British regiments at Chanak.

The situation was a unique one, for the Turkish cavalry were actually touching the wire defences of the British forces, and any accident might have led to dire results and the renewal of hostilities. In September, however, all danger was removed by the Convention at Mudania, signed by the delegates from Ankara (the Nationalist capital), the Allied generals in Constantinople and the Greeks. The Sultan's Government, however, was not represented, and as it was impossible to deal with two Governments, the Sultanate was separated from the Caliphate. To this latter office Abdul Mejid, the son of Abdul Aziz, was nominated. Mohammed VI. fled to Malta, and the Caliphate came to an end.

Thus ended the Ottoman Empire in 1922, after over six centuries of rule.

I am not going to talk to you about the preposterous Treaty of Sèvres, or the very much better Treaty of Lausanne. Capitulations were abolished, treaties were made with other states, and Turkey was reduced to a workable unit by being deprived of her Arabian dependencies.

In October, 1923, Turkey was declared a Republic, and Kemal was elected the first President. I have not time to tell you of all the wonderful reforms he has made, including the change in the alphabet from the very awkward Arabic alphabet to the Latin alphabet. He has taken a great interest in not only the language but the history of the Turks. I must just mention his very liberal policy of allowing foreigners to excavate. Professor Baxter has found right under the shadow of the Mosque of Sultan Achmed the most wonderful Byzantine pavement. He has dug down many feet and come across one of the most perfect examples of mosaic pavement ever found, dating probably from the fourth or fifth century. I visited, last August, Professor

Baxter several times and saw him at work, and it was delightful to see the help and encouragement he was getting from the local authorities in his great work. That he is able to carry out this work is due to a gentleman called David Russell, LL.D., who has provided all the expenses of this excavation. I do not know when that fund will dry up, but in no event must this work be allowed to cease from want of support.

A curious thing is that why you have to dig so deep is because Sultan Ahmad, who came to the throne in 1603, wished to build a mosque that would rival St. Sofia, and was determined that the floor of the mosque should be higher than the floor of St. Sofia.

Atatürk is a big man, a fine, athletic figure, with large blue eyes, not penetrating, sharp eyes, but liquid blue eyes, piercing but not penetrating like diamonds. When you look at him, you feel you must look away; and if you look away, you feel you have to look back again immediately. His manner is gentle, but you feel a latent force, even a latent fierceness. His voice is deep and quiet, and his enunciation is very clear. Although our conversation consisted mostly of conflicting views, he always gave me a hearing, and naturally he always had the last word! He is exceedingly smartly dressed, always very well groomed.

With regard to Constantinople to-day, Istanbul is obviously being neglected for Ankara. Here again you have the coincidence that the first place the Turks settled in was within a stone's throw of Ankara. Istanbul resembles a rich historical album with half its pages torn out. The last sound I heard was a muezzin calling to prayer from a minaret. It sounded like the swan song of the faithful in a land to which a new faith had been given. (Applause.)

DISCUSSION

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have heard an extraordinarily interesting lecture. I do not think anybody except Sir Denison Ross could have told us so much in a short time with such lucidity and clarity. I am sure everyone here is grateful to him.

I should like to echo the expressions of satisfaction to which he gave utterance at the end of his lecture in regard to the enlightened policy of the present Turkish Government in many matters, but particularly in the domain of art and of their appreciation of and assist-

ance to the efforts which Professor Baxter is now making for the discovery of the ruins of the palace of the Byzantine Emperors.

We are all of us aware in Asia of the very surprising strides and achievements in the field of economics, rural development, and so on, which the Turkish Government has made in recent years.

May I dare to correct Sir Denison Ross in two small matters? He left out, I think, one important movement in the Turkish Revolution. He said the two main movements were Pan-Turanian and Pan-Islamic. Of course, that is true, but there was in between, and more directly responsible for the Turkish Revolution itself, the movement of the Deunmeh Jews in Salonika. That movement was the immediate motive force of the Turkish Revolution at the time, and must, I think he will agree, be definitely mentioned in recording the history of the revolution. I happened to be in Salonika at that time and was closely conversant with the dramatic developments of that movement in connection with the Masonic Lodges.

The other correction must be in a little word of greater justice to Sultan Vehib ud Din. When Sir Denison said that he only consulted his own safety he was doing him less than justice. It is only fair to him to say that the Sultan consulted H.M. Government, the British Government, as to what to do at that time, and it was his loyalty to the advice of H.M. Government in the disastrous policy they were then pursuing which brought about the downfall of Sultan Vehib ud Din.

I have only now to offer to Sir Denison Ross our very warmest thanks for a most interesting lecture.

ZAKI BEY: You have just spoken, Lord Lloyd, of the possible interest of the Deunmeh in Salonika at the moment of the revolution in 1908. I am rather inclined to believe that perhaps the principal factor might have been the masonic facilities afforded by the existence of the Loggia, which gave in that part of Turkey—which was more or less supervised by European influence—a far greater liberty and sense of confidence to the Deunmeh, who were nearly all Turkish officers and functionaries.

I am rather hesitant to adopt the materialistic explanation of history which is so much developed by our Russian friends. The Turkish Revolution of 1908 has been often explained as a sort of revolution of the bourgeoisie in that part of Turkey where it was the most powerful. The revolution of 1908 was really the expression of the anxiety of the Turks to see the spectacle of the Sultan losing the empire and losing their possible future.

The Chairman: I was not for a moment suggesting that there was not behind the revolution an immense national motive power. I was merely suggesting that in rehearsing the factors of that period, one should not neglect the vehicle which enabled the revolution to be carried out: that vehicle was the Crypt Jewish Deunmeh organization of Salonika and its importance at the time must not be minimized.

Mr. Philip Sarell: As a native of Constantinople I want to echo your Lordship's remark. There is one little item, however, in the modern history of Turkey which I think might usefully have been supplied. That is the detail of the arrival of Lord Salisbury at Constantinople in 1876; his reception at the station by the Ambassador, Sir Henry Elliott; his audience with the Sultan Abdul Hamid II.; and the failure of Lord Salisbury from this date onwards to see either the Sultan or Sir Henry Elliott privately; or even to reply to Sultan Abdul Hamid's repeated invitations to the Yildiz Kiosk, so that the Sultan might have the advantage of Lord Salisbury's promised advice in the critical situation in which Turkey was then placed, and which Lord Salisbury had undertaken to give at the subsequent audience which never took place.

A JOURNEY THROUGH ARMENIAN CILICIA*

By E. H. KING

BEFORE embarking upon a description of the journey which forms the subject of my lecture to you this evening and which I undertook in the late spring and early summer of last year, I think it is appropriate to lay before you quite briefly the historical events which actually gave rise to the birth of the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia or Armenian Cilician Kingdom.

The Kingdom of Armenia Major had declined in the year 1045 when Gaghik II., the last of the Kings under the Bagratyd Dynasty, left his country in exile, having been either tricked or induced by the Greek Emperor into exchanging his capital, the city of Ani (of which the ruins are still to be seen to-day close to the north-west border of the Armenian Soviet Republic), for lands near the frontiers of Cappadocia and for a palace in Constantinople.

Now even as far back as the fifth century, during the critical periods which so frequently recurred in the history of their country, considerable numbers of Armenians emigrated westward into Asia Minor and small colonies sprang up in the regions of Cæsarea, Sivas, Amasieh, and in the Taurus Mountains to the south. These emigrations, however, perforce increased enormously in the year 1063, when

* Lecture to the Royal Central Asian Society at Burlington House on January 26, 1937, by Mr. E. H. King, Sir E. Denison Ross presiding. The Chairman said he greatly looked forward to hearing this lecture because he believed that it was to be entirely "high-brow" and historical. There might perhaps be some in the present audience who shared a mistake that was said to have been made even at the Conference at Versailles, of confusing Cilicia with Silesia. Cilicia is one of the most fascinating and one of the least-known parts of the world, and it showed great enterprise on the part of the lecturer that he should have determined to go for himself to see what is there, and to make the unique journey which was the subject of this lecture. This little strip of territory at the north-east corner of the Mediterranean is one of the most important regions in the history of the world. There is the "Bab ul Mulk," "The Gate of Empire," as the Arabs call it, where, in the days when Asia Minor was ruled from the West, the proper East was divided from the proper West. The Arabs when they conquered so many countries never got beyond that point. What the lecturer was now going to tell them would arouse their interest in an important phase of the history of that strategic position.

the Seljouki Turks, under their rapacious sultan Alp Arslan, after capturing and plundering the city of Ani and massacring its Greek garrison, drove the Armenians westward from their plains and villages and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Emperor Romanus Diogenes at the town of Malazkert north of Lake Van. Thirteen years later, in the year 1079, the exiled King Gaghik met with a well-merited fate at the hands of the Greeks, following upon his barbarous murder of the Byzantine Patriarch Marcus of Cæsarea a few months earlier. Whilst the patriarch was well known as one of the bitterest of the persecutors of the Armenians, one can hardly justify Gaghik's conduct in attending a banquet at the Patriarchal Palace, and subsequently causing his servants to seize his unfortunate host and to stuff him, together with his large dog, into an enormous bag which had been previously concealed, raining blows upon the innocent animal which, very naturally, turned upon its master, biting him to death. Fleeing from the Patriarchal Palace, we next hear of Gaghik, his cousin Reuben, and followers sunning themselves contentedly in the region of Tarsus in the south, when, without word or warning, they were pounced upon by a number of Greeks who had been lying in ambush and who thereupon seized and bound all except Reuben, hauling them off to the Fort of Kizistra nearby, where their disembowelled bodies were hanged from the battlemented walls.

Reuben alone succeeded in effecting his escape. He now fled into the heart of the Taurus Mountains in the north where, gathering a considerable number of Armenian emigrants about him, in the year 1080 he established himself in a castle known as Panderpert, and this little band of warriors constituted the nucleus of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom which existed for well-nigh 300 years, maintaining its independence (with the exception of one period of five years) under its own princes, despite the repeated invasions of Greeks, Seljouk Turks, Saracens, and Egyptians, the latter eventually ejecting them in the year 1375, owing to the inner dissensions which had weakened the country. During the whole length of this period, with the exception of a friendly alliance with the Crusaders who passed through Cilicia in 1097, they had been surrounded by enemies on every side, and for a people to be able after so many misfortunes to migrate elsewhere and establish and maintain a new kingdom under such circumstances is surely evidence of unique vitality.

It is impossible to clearly define the geographical limits of the country, which were constantly changing according to the fortunes of

war. During the more prosperous periods they extended eastward as far as Mount Ammanus, now lying in Syrian territory, westward into the country then known as Isauria, southward to the shores of the Mediterranean, and in a northerly direction they at one time occupied the entire Bindoo Dagh, whilst at other times they were confined to the mountains fringing the Cilician Plains in the south.

I left Ankara on May 29 by a night train, reaching Cæsarea, which lies some 250 miles to the south-east, at an early hour the following morning. The town which you see to-day stands upon a different site from the earliest city known by the name of Mazacha, a name derived from one Mosoch, the legendary founder of the Cappadocian race. This city lay about a mile to the south, between two spurs of the ancient Mons. Argæus, which dominates the landscape from a height of 13,900 feet. Nothing but a few fragments of walls served to remind me of the erstwhile flourishing seat of the Cappadocian Kings which existed on this site in the year 600 B.C., and which later waned in importance during the reign of Tigranes the Great, most powerful of the Armenian Kings of all time, who carried off thousands of its inhabitants in order to populate his new city of Tigranokerta in the south. Its prosperity again increased at the time of the Emperor Tiberius, from whom it received its present name, but it was as a great Christian Metropolis under the Greeks that it later acquired renown, above all at the time of St. Basil the Great, who was born here, became its bishop, and erected numerous churches and monasteries of great magnificence. St. Basil's city probably stood partly on the site of the present town, but it was entirely rebuilt during the reign of the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, and scarcely any traces remain. Justinian's city was in turn rebuilt by the Seljouki Sultan Alættin Kay Kubad in the thirteenth century upon part of the earlier walls, which are quite clearly discernible. I found the Cæsarea of to-day to be of great charm and interest, though for the most part extremely dirty, simply consisting largely of a veritable maze of gloomy alleyways, boasting a fine old Seljouki castle together with some exquisitely carved tombs.

Although the place has now been transformed into a military depôt, since the Armenians were ejected in 1928, and, as I anticipated, I was only permitted to view it from without, I was nevertheless anxious to visit the Monastery of St. John the Baptist, containing his traditional tomb, which lies in a valley some ten miles north of Cæsarea. Here, within a little ruined church still preserved amidst the extensive buildings, St. Gregory the Illuminator, the Patron Saint

of Armenia, baptised and educated in Cæsarea, and who established Christianity in his country about the year 300, was consecrated Bishop of Armenia by the Patriarch Leondius in the year 297. The Armenians first occupied the monastery in 1079, but the domain was greatly enlarged by Archbishop Karamanian of the town of Talas in 1779 and extensive school buildings added by Bishop Terdat of the same town in 1913.

I spent a few days out at Talas as the guest of the American College, which originated in the American Protestant Girls' School founded in 1886. To-day, under the energetic direction of its principal, Mr. Paul Nilson, a strictly secular education is provided for some twenty to thirty Turkish and Armenian students. I had gladly quitted the gloomy portals of the Hotel Istanbul in Cæsarea, and can never sufficiently express my gratitude for all the kindness, hospitality, and invaluable advice which were showered upon me. Talas lies about seven miles south-east of Cæsarea, and is curiously constructed in the mountainside, some of the old dwellings being hewn out of the solid rock, the town being celebrated as the birthplace of St. Sabbas, the founder of the famous monastery near Jerusalem.

I called upon the Vali at Cæsarea before setting out upon my journey. He had been requested by the Ministry of the Interior at Ankara to render me such assistance as was possible, and right well did he carry out his instructions, supplying me with a document addressed to all and sundry headmen of tribes, Kaimakams, Mukhtars, and others, whom I might encounter in the mountains, requiring them to provide me with food, shelter, guides, and transport. He also placed at my disposal a police-official speaking French, who was to act as my interpreter, it being clearly understood, however, that he was only to accompany me as far as I was able to proceed by car, and although I was not very optimistic on this score I was not in a position to command, but rather to be grateful for small mercies!

My driver quite rightly insisted upon a skilled mechanic accompanying him, and upon the morning of June 15 we set off in a due southerly direction, crossing the Tekir Pass, which skirts Mount Erjeus at a height of about 8,000 feet, and here a fine view of the summit and of the surrounding country is normally obtainable, but which was unfortunately obscured by a heavy storm which broke upon us, the landscape being completely enveloped in dense cloud and mist.

Passing subsequently through the little town of Everek, delightfully situated amidst extensive gardens, I reached the village of

Tomarza about midday. Accompanying me in the car was the Nahir-mudir, or Mayor of Talas, who had expressed great anxiety to visit his numerous relatives in what constituted his birthplace, and, in fact, the majority of the inhabitants of the village appeared to me to be related to him either directly or through intermarriage! We were most hospitably received, and plied with prodigious quantities of food in honour of our visit, since it appeared that some thirteen years had elapsed since the last family reunion! Upon the outskirts of the village there is believed to have existed at the time of St. Basil the Great a "baptismal pool," near which the Greeks erected seven large crosses, the upper arm of only one of which protrudes from the ground to-day, and upon which an Armenian inscription was added by King Appasian of Kars (a province in eastern Anatolia), who settled here in the year 1065, his kingdom having been swallowed up during the Seljouki Turkish conquest. He it was who built three churches side by side, the centre one dedicated to the Virgin and the two others to St. Peter and St. Paul respectively. Although the place is derelict to-day, I secured an early photograph showing a pilgrimage at the monastery, which used to take place annually on August 15, being the festival of the Assumption of Our Lady. Tomarza was, in all probability, linked up with the Armenian Cilician Kingdom at the periods when the confines of the latter stretched as far north, although these at no time comprised the city of Cæsarea.

The following morning at an early hour we set off in an easterly direction, my destination being the village of Shahr, some forty-five miles distant. The state of the road, or rather track, left much to be desired, and after travelling some five miles we became inevitably stranded axle-deep in thick glutinous mud, from which we were only extricated after over an hour's delay with the assistance of a pair of oxen, but when about three miles further on a like fate befell us, fortunately close to the village of Suwangen, I realized that further progress by this luxurious means was out of the question, and with the aid of my interpreter I ascertained from the Mukhtar, or head man, of the Yourouks (a Turkish tribe which, together with the Turkomans, occupy this region and the Taurus Mountains generally), that all their cattle were located at their "Yaila," or summer encampment, some four miles distant. Bidding farewell to my fellow-travellers, who, with the assistance of sturdy villagers, were able to cope with the mud-logged vehicle, I now therefore set off with the Mukhtar, and upon reaching the "Yaila" was able to procure an ox-cart upon which to

resume my journey towards the Dedi Bel (pass) which lies at the summit of a precipitous and rugged ravine at a height of 8,600 feet upon the western range of the Anti-Taurus Mountains.

Within the tent, which was constructed of dark brown goats'-hair cloth, I partook of an evening meal consisting of a pilav, hard-boiled eggs, copious draughts of the ubiquitous Yaghourt and Turkish coffee, which was repeated with deadly monotony (except that the eggs were only infrequently forthcoming) during the remainder of my journey. Having secured horses and a guide, I set forth upon the following morning in an easterly direction, travelling along the course of the Sarus valley, which constitutes one of the most notable regions in the whole of Anatolia. Across this valley once lay the Persian royal road, and the great Roman trade route to the East, whilst at least one division of the Crusaders passed this way during their journey to Antioch in the year 1097, but in the year of grace 1936, however, we must content ourselves with the bands of nomadic Yurouks and Kurds, which constantly traverse its historic slopes.

The village of Shahr, which I reached late in the day, stands upon the site of the "Comana Cappadociæ" of old, which is reputed to have formed one of the most magnificent cities of antiquity, rendered famous at the time of Strabo by reason of the sumptuous Temple of the goddess Ma, which he describes as being tended by some 6,000 votaries and priests of both sexes, and where the orgiastic worship practised included public prostitution after the Semitic manner. In the third century a Roman colony developed here under the name of "Hieropolis," but later, in the time of Justinian, it reverted to its former name with the prefix of "golden," but I have been unable to trace the date of the city's decline. As a result of the eulogistic vapourings which had reached my ears in Cæsarea anent the spectacular ruins which were said to abound on the site, my eyes strained the landscape for a veritable Carthage and Acropolis combined! Never have I been so utterly disillusioned! I had planned to spend the following day in their examination, yet they may be inspected with ease in the space of an hour! On the left bank of the Sarus, upon which the city lies, are to be seen a couple of Byzantine arches of no great pretensions, the almost unrecognizable remains of a small theatre, and certainly a rather charming little temple in a very fair state of preservation, whilst upon the right bank the Roman Empire is represented by a short terrace, upon which are to be seen a few bases of stone columns of no particular interest and which may be found by the hundred in part of

the world too well known to be even worthy of mention. Of the Temple of the Goddess Ma no trace remains, unless, indeed, the hoary mass of rubble which I discerned upon the right bank of the river constituted the remnants, and I could secure no information on this point, so am, therefore, quite unable to pronounce upon it. It is, indeed, strange that in a land replete with remains of the Greek and Roman Empires a city once so vast should have become so completely obliterated.

Having received hospitality overnight at the house of the Kaimakam and having secured fresh horses and a guide, I set off the following morning at an early hour, travelling now in a south-westerly direction, my destination being the erstwhile Armenian stronghold of Hadjin, some twenty-five miles distant. My route first lay through the fertile Maghra district along the banks of the Sarus, a region inhabited to-day by the Circassians, who settled here upon their expulsion from the northern Caucasus at the conclusion of the Crimean War.

Following a bridle-path from the village of Khasta-Khaneh, and skirting the lower slopes of the Firat Dagh, I ultimately reached the main chaussie from Cæsarea, which traverses the Taurus Mountains proper, and which I was now to follow for the most part during my journey southwards, henceforth lying within the very heart of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom, nor is it possible to imagine scenery more impressively romantic than that which now confronted me, the beauty of which seemed to become enhanced with every bend of the pass. A descent of some 1,300 feet through a precipitous ravine led to an open valley and towards the head waters of the Hadjin Su, upon which the town of Hadjin once lay. After following the course of the stream for perhaps an hour, a terrific thunderstorm burst upon us, which increased in intensity as I reached my destination; yet how completely and utterly did these tempestuous elements harmonize with the wild grandeur of my surroundings, the very mountains seeming to quake beneath the ear-splitting crashes, which reverberated overhead, whilst the vivid flashes of lightning alone, illuminating the darkening scene, threw into bold relief the stark and gaunt ruined walls of the castle and churches standing at a height of some 300 feet upon the summit of the Rock of Hadjin, which lies in a veritable "Devil's Punch Bowl," dominated by the rugged peaks by which it is surrounded. Of the fourteenth century town of Hadjin, which stood at the base of the rock not a trace remains to-day, yet until the year 1920,

when they were finally ejected by the Turks, this Armenian stronghold, so inaccessibly situated, had maintained a continuous independence under its own chiefs, who were direct descendants of the princes of the ancient Armenian Cilician Kingdom. Paying little or no tribute to the Sultans, this rude, stern, warlike people constituted a romantic link of surpassing interest with that little mediæval realm.

I passed the night at the house of the Kaimakam of the little village of Saambeyli which, since the year 1928, has grown up on the site of the former town, and in the morning ascended the rock amidst dense clouds and mist which, I regret to say, entirely precluded any attempt at photography. Upon the summit stand the remains of an Armenian castle, the roofless walls of an Armenian Catholic Church, and of a smaller Gregorian (national) Church; though the castle is not later than the fourteenth century, the two churches are probably not more than fifty years old, their ruinous condition bearing eloquent testimony to the bitter fighting which ensued before the defenders were finally dislodged. At the base of the rock and at the mouth of a ravine lies the large and ruined Gregorian Monastery, wherein resided the Bishop of Hadjin, who himself perished at the side of his gallant little flock.

Perhaps even more famous than Hadjin was its first cousin, the town of Zeitun, situated some forty miles to the east and possessing a similar history, and which figured largely in the Armenian deportations of 1916, which are so graphically described in Franz Werfel's famous book, *The Forty Days*.

I found it impossible to obtain horses in Saambeyli, but I was able to secure a seat on a bullock cart, which had arrived from Cæsarea on its way south through the pass along which my journey lay. Time seemed to be no object to the drover, who, for an extra consideration, was prepared to deposit me at the hamlet of Feke, lying at the foot of the rock upon which stands the Armenian castle of that name. My route lay southward over a distance of some twelve miles, and then due west through a precipitous and rugged ravine leading to my destination, which stands about eight miles distant from the chaussie.

Feke is situated at an altitude of 4,200 feet, or 1,000 feet higher than Hadjin, in similar surroundings, but although the castle is probably some two or three hundred years earlier, it is in an incomparably better state of preservation, due, of course, to the fact that it was never subjected to modern artillery fire, such as reduced that of Hadjin to its present ruinous condition. It was within the walls of this romantic old fortress that the Armenian King Leon I. and his son

took refuge upon the loss of their capital, the Fortress of Anavarza, to the Greeks in the year 1137, and where they were eventually captured, but of these events I shall speak further when describing Anavarza itself.

The accommodation at Feke being of a particularly foul and uninviting description, I sought hospitality for the night at a Yurouk encampment not far distant. I was again unlucky in securing horses, and therefore had no option but to resume my journey southward by the bullock cart in which I had arrived, yet, although our progress may have been somewhat slow and laborious, I was travelling through a land of great beauty and the sun was shining from a cloudless sky. My next destination, the site of the erstwhile city of Sis, lay some forty miles distant at the south of the pass from whence I should have to quit the cool air of the mountains and emerge into the heat of the Cilician plains. Perhaps the finest scenery along the route I was now following is to be seen near the Kiraz-Bel (pass) at a height of 5,300 feet, from whence a descent of 2,000 feet leads to the open valley of Tapan Dere, where I passed the night at a police post, and again within another valley lying about halfway between the Tapan Dere and Sis, whither I arrived as darkness was falling.

I found few enough traces of the former splendour of the city of Sis which once lay at the foot of the Fortress Rock, to-day dominating the squalid little Turkish town from a height of 1,200 feet. The city was captured from the Greeks by the warlike Armenian King Thorus II., in the year 1144, during his sweeping conquests over the Byzantines in Cilicia, but it appears to have remained neglected until the year 1186, when Leon II., or "Leon the Great" as he was styled, fortified and rebuilt it as, we are told, with great magnificence, erecting a royal palace, a cathedral, which still stands in part, and numerous monasteries and churches. He also built a castle amongst the fortifications which are to be seen at the summit of the rock; I clambered, at the imminent risk of broken limbs or a broken neck, amidst the ruined towers and arches of this castle, and where are to be found a number of Armenian inscriptions. The capital of the Kingdom now alternated between Tarsus and Sis, according to the residence of the sovereign, the former city having been captured from the Greeks by King Reuben II. in 1182, and the country at this time was enjoying one of its rare periods of peace and prosperity. Leon was crowned amidst much rejoicing in the cathedral at Tarsus, all his successors having been crowned at Sis, but dark days were to overshadow the city,

which was plundered and burnt by the Egyptians in the year 1266, after sustaining a prolonged siege. However, it rose again like a phœnix from the ashes during the reign of King Hethum I. in 1269, and, owing to its great natural strength, withstood successfully a combined attack by the Saracens and Egyptians in 1274, who thereupon laid siege to the city of Taurus, which speedily fell, Sis thereupon becoming in that year the sole capital of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom. Again and again were the forces of the Egyptians hurled against its walls in the fourteenth century, and at length in the year 1375, after a heroic resistance by Leon VI., the last of the Armenian Kings, the city succumbed after having been besieged for a period of three months, when the conditions became so critical that a bushel of corn was sold in the streets for 500 pieces of silver. When their presence could no longer benefit the doomed capital, the King, together with his Queen and daughter and a number of the Armenian chiefs, escaped to the Fortress of Capan not far distant, where they held out for nearly three months, and, before surrendering, a promise on oath was secured from the Sultan, Melek-el-Ashref, that their lives would be spared. The royal family were subsequently transported in fetters to Cairo, where they were held in captivity for seven years and thus the Armenian Cilician Kingdom collapsed; they were eventually released at the instance of King Juan of Spain, and Leon later travelled to Rome in order to seek assistance from Pope Urban VI., in regard to the restoration of his Kingdom, but beyond receiving the Papal blessing no help was forthcoming nor was he any more successful when he subsequently visited the Court of Spain, France, and England with a like intent. He died, a broken-hearted man, in Paris in 1393, his remains being interred in a magnificent tomb in the Convent of the Celestines, his wife and daughter speedily following him to the grave.

I wish to say a word regarding the cathedral. In the year 1294 the Supreme Patriarchate of the Armenian Gregorian Church was established at Sis, but in the year 1440, owing to the ruinous condition of the city, it was transferred by popular consent to the Monastery of Echmiadzin, close to the village of Vagarshapat in the Armenian Soviet Republic, where it has remained to this day; but the Patriarch and clergy of Sis vigorously opposed the transfer of spiritual authority, and a state of virtual enmity existed until the year 1900, when peace and goodwill at last prevailed and the Patriarch of Sis made his submission. His palace stood close to the cathedral, and here, where within living

memory (until the year 1920) the voice of priest and chorister echoed through its lofty arches, cattle to-day roam peacefully within its deserted aisles. Here was preserved, until the ejection of the clergy in that year, the ancient marble throne upon which the princes of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom were crowned, whilst to-day their tomb-house, the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, seen near the north wall, forms the sole link with the monarchs who reigned, whilst Sis constituted the capital, and even these were plundered when the city fell.

After spending a couple of days in the locality, which, despite its squalor, is romantically and charmingly situated within the very portals of the Taurus Mountains, I now descended into the torrid heat of the Cilician plains accompanied by the Kaimakam of Sis himself, who had not only provided horses, but had very kindly offered to act as my guide during the last stage of my journey in so far as this lecture is concerned, my final destination being the Fortress of Anavarza, which lay about seventeen miles to the south. In traversing this fertile region it is forcibly brought home to the traveller as to how severely the population must and indeed do suffer from the appalling prevalence of malaria, since during the passing of the centuries the courses of the rivers Sihun and Jihun have frequently changed, with the resultant formation of stagnant pools and marshland.

The Fortress of Anavarza, which may be discerned from afar in clear weather, consists of an enormous ridge of bluish rock some two miles in length, between 500 and 600 feet in height, and in parts narrowing to 2 or 3 feet along the crest. It rises like a great island from the surrounding plain, running approximately north and south. The arches of a ruined aqueduct may be traced from the Taurus Mountains in the north from which the water supply was obtained, and along the summit fortifications haxe existed since probably before the time of Alexander the Great, whilst upon the western side at the base of the precipitous cliff there was erected a walled city in Roman times much favoured by the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar.

This great natural fortress has (one might almost say as a matter of course in those distant days) been the scene of bitter fighting, and, moreover, it has been frequently visited by devastating earthquakes. The Greek Emperor Justin rebuilt the city and the citadel in the year 525 as a result of one of these convulsions of nature, renaming it Justinopolis, but it was again wrecked in the time of his successor Justinian from a similar cause and again rebuilt. Haroun-el-Rashid

captured the fortress from the Greeks in 802, but they regained it in 905, and retained it until the year 1100, when the warlike Armenian King Thorus I. seized it. It had been wrecked by yet a third earthquake in the preceding century and the ruins of the citadel—that is to say the fortifications upon the rock—were entirely rebuilt by the Armenians, who, however, left the city which stood at its base on the western side, in a ruinous condition with the exception of the inner fortress wall, which is still in a fair state of preservation. Thorus fixed his seat of government within the walls of the citadel in the year 1100, which constituted the earliest capital of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom, and here it remained installed until the year 1137, when the Greeks, angered by the Armenian incursions westward into their country of Isauria, brought an enormous army under the Emperor John Comnenus to bear upon them and succeeded in driving them entirely out of Cilicia. A terrible battle occurred in the capital, the Armenians disputing every inch of the ground, but they were finally compelled to forsake the fortress, King Leon I. and his son Thorus fleeing to the heart of the Taurus Mountains, where they were ultimately captured within the walls of the Castle of Feke, as previously explained. They were transported to Constantinople, where Leon died in captivity, but his son returned in disguise to Cilicia, and, gathering about him in secret a large force, he turned the tables upon the Greeks in 1144, recapturing Anavarza, seizing Sis and other important cities and re-establishing himself upon the throne of his forefathers. Anavarza thenceforward remained the capital until 1184, when the aqueducts broke and the place becoming unhealthy the seat of government was removed to Tarsus, which had been captured from the Greeks by Reuben II. in 1182.

I ascended the fortress in the blazing heat from the eastern side, but was only able to proceed a comparatively short distance on horseback owing to the slippery nature of the rock, and I eventually reached the inner enceinte on foot. In the interior of the keep the ridge of rock, on which the fortress is constructed, contracts to almost knife-like dimensions between the inner enceinte and its northern extremity. The inner and outer enceinte were once connected by a drawbridge crossing the intervening fosse, which of course no longer exists, and I therefore ascended the outer enceinte up a steep ravine at the south of the fortress, which I entered by the southern rampart, and here one sees the inner fortress wall which once protected the city at the base of the rock on its western side. Scarcely a vestige of the city remains,

whilst the ruined aqueduct may be traced leading to the Taurus Mountains in the north.

The most interesting feature is to be found within the outer enceinte—the little Royal Church of St. Zorovark, beneath which sleep those princes of the Armenian Cicilian Kingdom who ruled whilst Anavarza constituted the capital, an encircling Armenian inscription recording its erection by Thorus I. in 1100.

After covering a distance of some forty miles by car, about 180 miles by sundry other forms of conveyance, I reached the comparative comfort of the Yeni Hotel at Adana on June 29, where this section of my travels in Anatolia came to a hot and sticky conclusion.

I had travelled as a stranger in a strange land, a land, moreover, peopled, as I fancied, by the ghosts of that little mediæval realm long since passed away. Yet the scene has not changed, and those same great mountains within the fastnesses of which once dwelt the Armenian warriors of old still frown in unchanging majesty upon the lonely wayfarer to-day, and, as ever, it is the work of man's hand alone that has perished and decayed.

In thanking Mr. King for his lecture, Sir Denison Ross said that the story they had just heard was an epic one. Cilicia seemed to have been a sort of bull-ring, where Seljuks and Mamelukes had each had their try at wearing down the resistance of the heroic Armenian defence. But the cruellest part of the story was played by fellow-Greeks; and the spectacle of fellow-Christians being driven from pillar to post by those who ought to have supported them arouses our wonder. One figure stands out particularly from the lecturer's account, that of Leo II. Many brave men led the Armenian defence during those three centuries, but none of them was greater than Leo II. Those who were present would go away feeling that this king, of whom they had never heard before to-night, was a man worthy to stand among the great heroes of the world.

JAPAN ON THE MAINLAND OF ASIA

By P. H. B. KENT, O.B.E., M.C.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 19, 1937, Lieut.-General Sir George MacDonogh, G.B.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., in the Chair. (Transcript from the Shorthand Notes of Shedlock and Stammers, 87, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in introducing Mr. Kent. Mr. Kent has had a very long residence in China, principally in the North of China and in Tientsin, where he is Chairman of the China Association. He is the author of the book called *The Passing of the Manchus*, and also of *Railway Enterprise in China*, and he has a very wide and detailed knowledge of the conditions there. He is going to speak to us to-night on "Japan on the Mainland of Asia,"* and I am sure that we can all look forward to a very interesting lecture. I call upon Mr. Kent. (Applause.)

MR. CHAIRMAN, Ladies and Gentlemen, I must thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your very kind words of introduction, and you, ladies and gentlemen, for the kind way in which you have received them. I can assure you that I am in need of your support. As I stand before you, faced with the task of trying to paint in a comparatively few words a large canvas, I feel that I was rather unwise to have chosen a title with such vast implications. In the history of our time " Japan on the Mainland of Asia " will occupy a big space. In retrospect the date September 18, 1931, will prove, I think, a turning point in the history of foreign relationships. It will mark, in my judgment, something more than a milestone; it will be more like a crossroads. The results which followed showed that Japan is determined to maintain something more than a precarious hold on Manchuria. They also proved that the fate of nations still hangs on the sword. Finally, those events may be said to have rung up the curtain on the first real testing occasion for the League of Nations.

In approaching this subject, I have asked myself two questions: first of all, where to begin and, secondly, how and in what direction I should exercise the selective process. I have the impression, from various talks that I have had with people since I have been in England this time, that the chief interest is in what is happening in China at

* Mr. Kent has since published *The Twentieth Century in the Far East: A Perspective of Events, Cultural Influences and Policies*, a review of which is found in a later part of this issue.

the present time and what is likely to happen in the near future. On the other hand, there are many who wish to know something of the events which led to the present situation, partly in order that they can be in a position to form a sound judgment and partly because they desire, as we all desire, to be just to Japan.

As I weighed in my mind what would be the best method of approach, I received from this Society their very valuable memorandum for the guidance of lecturers, and I see that the second paragraph reads as follows: "While the Society includes numerous experts on different parts of Asia, many Members are not well informed about particular countries. The lecturer should, therefore, not take any great knowledge in the audience for granted." (Laughter.) The same observation may, I dare say, be applied also, without offence, to the guests of the Society to-night. That being so, it seemed to me that I could best start by sketching briefly the forces which had led to the forward policy of Japan, which started on that fateful day, September 18, 1931. When I have given some sort of indication of the background, then I will try to describe very briefly (for the benefit of those who are not so familiar as some others with the course of events) what happened between September 18, 1931, and the spring of the year 1935. After that I will take you from the spring of 1935 up to the present time. I make that division because, in the way in which I look at this matter, it falls naturally into those phases. The last phase undoubtedly is the one which started in about May, 1935. That, of course, is the important phase at the moment, in view of its practical bearing, and that is the phase with regard to which I am personally familiar, because I have been living in China for a great many years, and that particular phase has relation mainly to North China where I have my being, and where I have the opportunity (not always a happy experience) of direct contact, which brings to one rather vivid impressions.

That sounds rather a long programme. Even so, with your permission, I propose to add to it a few general conclusions. But I can assure you that I shall do my best to keep within bounds. Fortunately I am faced by a clock. I must say that I hate clocks. I think that all speakers must hate clocks, and I wish to-night that the crocodile that chased Captain Hook could eat up this clock too. (Laughter.) But I am afraid that that would not enable people who have to catch trains to stay and hear me out.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will now begin with the forces which led to the incident in Manchuria of September 18, 1931. The first thing to

which I want to refer is the provocative attitude of the Chinese at that time. In the few years which preceded that date, September 18, 1931, there was a very strong wave of anti-foreignism which may be said to have come to a head in the incident of September 30, 1925, in Shanghai. Unfortunately I cannot go into the details of that matter because it is not germane except as giving a general indication and as providing a background. I must ask you to take it from me that there was a very strong anti-foreign feeling. There had also been a number of breaches of treaty. Furthermore, there were numerous outrages on foreigners of all nationalities. The British policy of conciliation and generous recognition of the Chinese point of view (which received its great exemplification in the surrender of the British Concession at Hankow) and the liberal policy of Japan round about that time, under the Premiership of Mr. Shidehara, were taken by the Chinese as indications of weakness. The Nationalists of those days, inspired by Russians (and particularly by Michael Borodin, who had reorganized the Kuomintang), worked up a dangerously hostile sentiment towards foreigners. There is no sort of doubt about it that we were all feeling that acutely. In Shanghai in August, 1931, there was a big meeting of the whole British community, and the formation of a protective institution of which I expect most of you have heard, now the Shanghai British Residents' Association, which includes all British people in China who are concerned in the maintenance of the British position. We in Tientsin also had a meeting to formulate certain representations to be made to our Government. That meeting took place only three days before the events started in Manchuria. It was a very serious meeting, and very serious conclusions were reached. It was one of those meetings where the whole community was present in the historic Gordon Hall—the civic centre—which commemorates General Gordon who laid out the original Concession, and which was the citadel in the famous siege by the Boxers in 1900. There was not even standing room, such was the realization of the seriousness of the pass to which things had come. Those who spoke, spoke with a deep sense of responsibility. There is no doubt at all that there was very grave danger and provocation to foreigners in China. We all rather thought that at any time there might be trouble, and nobody was very surprised when the trouble broke out in Manchuria.

Another question that we have to touch upon is the strategic question. Those who are familiar with the early history of Japan will bear me out in this. Japan in early times had no mainland policy. Only

once in the whole of her history did she start on a serious military adventure on the mainland of Asia. That was in the sixteenth century under Hideyoshi. But from about 1860 onwards she began to be menaced by the advance of Russia. Ultimately, as you all know, the Russian advance threatened England through India, China through Manchuria, and Japan through Manchuria and Korea. It brought about the Anglo-Japanese alliance and in due course the Russo-Japanese War.

Jumping over several years to the period after the Russian Revolution, in a surprisingly short time we once more find Japan in danger, or feeling herself to be in danger, from Russia. Those of you who have attended recent lectures here or at Chatham House are very well informed as to the influence of Russia in Chinese Turkestan and Mongolia. Generally speaking, you must be aware that Japan has real grounds for anxiety as to what the future may hold at the hands of Russia.

Passing on to my next point, Japan has certain economic needs. These involve the problems of her surplus population, food, raw materials, and markets. I can only touch on those questions to-night. First as to population. You no doubt realize (because these matters have been discussed a great deal lately) this surplus population question is not solved by colonies. People are either stay-at-home people or they are people who like to get up and move about. We are people who get up and go about the world, or at least we used to be, but the Japanese are not and to any serious extent they never have been. They have had many opportunities of helping to solve, at any rate, this problem of population, but the people do not co-operate. Even admitting that in the places which are open to them they find it perhaps difficult if not impossible to compete with the people who are there already, the fact cannot be escaped that the Japanese are not colonists.

Turning to the question of food: A great deal of political importance is laid on the question of Japan's food supply, but it is not quite so serious as people seem to think. In point of fact, Japan herself grows 85 per cent. of her rice, and the remaining 15 per cent. comes from Formosa and Korea.

As regards raw materials, these she has never been denied. She obtains all the raw materials that she wants, but, of course, like all militarist nations, she wants to be in a position to control them in the event of war. Those three economic questions therefore can be discussed without the feeling that there is no answer to them. They

cannot, of course, be in any sense disposed of, but at any rate it may be said they do not appear to have quite all the weight which is sometimes attached to them.

The question of markets is a different matter. She needs her markets, but as she increases her industries, and the rest of the world increases its industries, naturally the area of the world which can take Japanese cheap goods contracts, and that is a very great problem. New markets have to be found or created. It forces Japan to do all she can not only to find markets but to exploit the possibilities of developing the markets on the mainland of Asia. Markets and raw materials are the problems that Japan has always thought Manchuria would go far to solve.

Another factor which has had a considerable bearing in relation to Japanese activities on the mainland is the psychological factor. Japan has a feeling (and I think that she justifiably has that feeling)—a feeling of soreness, and a sense of isolation. It began after the Sino-Japanese War, when she was deprived of part of the fruits of her victory. It was emphasized at the Washington Conference, when the Anglo-Japanese alliance was abandoned, and there was substituted for it the Nine-Power Treaty. Again in 1924 the American immigration law hurt her *amour propre* very seriously. Then there is the question of the White Australia policy. Japan undoubtedly does feel that she is rather up against it. Again, in internal politics she suffers from certain dangerous tendencies. The nearest analogy to her constitution is that of Germany before the Great War, Bismarck's Germany. There has always been a conflict between the Cabinet and the Army, and that conflict is emphasized at the present time, and has been during the past few years, by the activities of a portion of the Army which is known as the Kuantung Army—that is to say, the Army which has its headquarters in the Liao-tung Peninsula in the south of Manchuria. That portion of the Army, being in close contact with the elements going to provoke irritation, has been inclined to take the bit within its teeth. In consequence, in the opinion of a good many people the Kuantung Army has gone much further than any Japanese Government would have gone in the last five years. Finally, there is in Japan a good deal of industrial unrest.

All those things, ladies and gentlemen, show that there has been a tremendous concentration, as it were, of explosive forces, and if there was an attack on the railway (as the Japanese say there was) on September 18, 1931, there was every reason to understand why it was,

and how it was, that the subsequent events, or some of the subsequent events, occurred. The Chinese deny that there was any attack on the railway. I have not heard any Chinese say officially, but I have heard many of them suggest privately, that the Kuantung Army were determined to strike and made the opportunity. There had been a great many things that had happened in Manchuria which the Japanese regarded as breaches of treaty and as really amounting to an invasion of their rights. They had those feelings very strongly. I think that they ultimately claimed something like three hundred breaches of the Treaty. Of course, several of them were insignificant, and many were not breaches of the Treaty at all. But there is no doubt about it that there were a great many causes of friction, and no small amount of legitimate grievance. Therefore, if there was an attack, it is not at all surprising that the soldiers did what they did, or at any rate that they set in motion the events which have ultimately resulted in the present very serious and very dangerous situation. But the Chinese deny any sort of responsibility for the alleged attack, and the evidence, as far as one can see, is of a very unsatisfactory nature as regards support of the Japanese point of view.

Well, that is the background. I would now like to give you a very brief idea of events in Manchuria, because, as I have ventured to suggest, there may be a number of ladies and gentlemen in the audience who are not very familiar with the matter. First of all what happened on the night of September 18 was something like this: there was an explosion on the main railway line, the South Manchurian Railway, which runs from Harbin to Dairen and Port Arthur. That explosion was a slight explosion. It was so slight that the heavy mail train proceeding at full speed from the north was able to pass over the line a few minutes afterwards without mishap. The Japanese guard was shortly on the scene. They claimed they were fired on. Even so it was an occasion that did not amount to very much. In the Great War it would probably have been a matter for one or two Véry lights and possibly a few bursts of machine-gun fire. But in Manchuria in 1931 it was the sign for a general engagement. Next morning the people in Mukden woke up to find the town occupied by Japanese troops and under martial law. Within a few days all the strategic points of importance throughout Manchuria south of the Russian sphere of influence (which was to the north) were in the hands of the Japanese. All that area was in the hands of the Japanese. Within a few weeks the Japanese had proceeded down the Chinese Railway which runs

from Mukden southwards down to the Great Wall and through the Great Wall down to Shanhaikwan and Tang-ku, and from Tang-ku to Pekin. In other words, South Manchuria generally was under Japanese military control.

At the beginning of 1932 the Japanese embarked upon operations in Shanghai. The position there was entirely different from what it was in Manchuria. There had been so much Japanese interference with China, going back to the 21 demands in 1915, that a generation in China had grown up which had hardly known a time when there was not some anti-Japanese feeling. That is really rather an important thing to bear in mind when one thinks of the Chinese to-day—that is to say, the younger generation, the men who are really carrying on the country. The great majority of those men have really not lived in an atmosphere which was entirely free from anti-Japanese sentiments.

Events in Manchuria stirred Chinese feeling to its depths. There were demonstrations of anti-Japanese sentiment, a boycott, destruction and violent interference with the sale of Japanese goods, all of which was disastrous for Japanese trade. It seems that the Japanese thought that if they went into Shanghai they could compel the creation of more favourable conditions. In that they were disappointed. Illegal associations can be suppressed but not national sentiment. There were military operations, of which time does not permit description. But their net result was that, although the Japanese in the end were able to achieve their general military purpose, it was not a very distinguished achievement, while it had this advantage from the Chinese point of view, that it showed what modern Chinese troops could do under favourable conditions. It has since been admitted by Mr. Kawakami the famous Japanese publicist, that the course pursued was at the least unwise. Certainly Japan did her cause no good and only intensified Chinese feeling. That then was the general situation in Manchuria and Shanghai in the spring of 1932. The events of the rest of the year presented a curious spectacle. China had early appealed to the League of Nations. By the end of September, 1931, the League had passed a Resolution calling upon both parties to take no action which would prejudice a settlement. The Japanese view, strongly pressed, was that the outstanding questions could only be dealt with satisfactorily by direct negotiation between the two countries. When this seemed impossible, a suggestion came from Japan, in November, 1931, that the League should send a Commission to investigate and report.

Unfortunately the hopes formed as a result of this sound suggestion

were destined to be disappointed. Apparently the forces which had been let loose were too strong for the element of statesmanship in Japan which had proposed it. In consequence a series of events occurred long before the task of the Commission could be accomplished. These events in brief were as follows: Manchuria was declared independent under the name of Manchoukuo. The ex-Emperor of China, P'u Yi, was established as chief executive of the new state on March 1, 1932. Later in the year various pronouncements in Japan by responsible officials prejudged the issue.

Nevertheless, the League pursued its course. Appealed to by a weak China, it had no alternative. The ultimate outcome has become history. I have a number of notes regarding this phase. But I have my eye on the clock, and I cannot say all of what I would have liked to have said. But there is just one point to which I would like to draw attention. There has been a great deal of criticism of the League of Nations. But is this justified? There are certain facts which I think ought to be borne in mind. I see that I have four notes here which I will read out because it is the quickest way to cover the point I would like to make. (1) The League was appealed to by a weak China, and, as already remarked, it had no alternative but to respond. (2) The Commission to Manchuria was suggested by the Japanese, as has also been pointed out. (3) The report that was made by the Commission of the League was not only fair but it showed grasp and insight, if I may venture to say so, as a person on the spot and conversant with the conditions. (4) The recommendations of the Commission took liberal account of Japan's position. The report made various proposals, and amongst those proposals were three which have a particular bearing on this aspect of the matter. The first was that there should be clear recognition of the Japanese interests in Manchuria; secondly, that there should be Manchurian autonomy; thirdly, that there should be security against any external aggression.

At the end of 1932, or early in 1933, that phase came to an end, and we come to the next period, which runs to the spring of 1935. During that time the state of Manchoukuo became an empire, the Chief Executive, the ex-Emperor of China, P'u Yi, becoming Emperor. That was a matter of very great importance, for it carried to a logical conclusion from the Japanese point of view the steps which had been taken by Japan two years earlier, when Manchoukuo was declared an autonomous state independent of China and the ex-Emperor of China was established as the Chief Executive—that is to say, a sort of President

for the time being. Now, namely on March 1, 1934, he became Emperor. A little later in the year there was a statement by a spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office, a sort of "Hands-off-China" declaration, which was interpreted as a Monroe Doctrine for the Far East. In that year also the Chinese Eastern Railway in the north of Manchuria, which belonged to Russia, was acquired for the new state. Therefore, by the spring of 1935 the position was that the Empire of Manchoukuo had been established. It was not limited to the three provinces which constituted Manchuria. It also included Jehol, which is a very important part of Inner Mongolia having a strategic value. This, as I should have already explained, had been annexed to the new state by Japanese armies in the spring of 1933. Thirdly, Russian interests had been eliminated in Manchoukuo. Fourthly, Japanese troops had during that period gone into North China, where they established a sort of neutral zone by arrangement with the Chinese under an agreement called the Tang-ku Truce.

As a result of all these encroachments and developments, a very favourable position for Japan in North-East Asia had been established. China therefore hoped, and we all hoped, that a point had been reached when perhaps the tale had been completely told, and that there was nothing more to come. But in this we were destined to be disappointed. If there was nothing much worse to come, at any rate there were going to be certain further very important developments. That is what I call the modern phase. It is the phase in the midst of which we are to-day. I will now try to describe how this phase has developed and is developing and to give you some close-ups to reality.

In the spring of 1935 (I think that it was in April) various things happened in China which caused a great deal of annoyance to the Japanese. The situation became acute in May, when two Chinese journalists of strong Japanese sympathies were murdered in the French Concession in Tientsin. That almost led to military operation, but fortunately the matter was patched up. During the next few months various important pronouncements were made of a political nature as to the intentions of Japan in China. The most important in a sense was made by Major-General Tada, the General Officer commanding Japanese troops in North China, who issued to Japanese journalists an address of very great length, in which he attacked Chiang Kai-shek and the alleged corruption of Nanking, talked about Japan's sacred mission, and offered to exterminate all who opposed it. The "sacred mission" was supposed to be a mission of peace, and therefore the

method of establishing this happy state of affairs was at the least somewhat drastic. At that time it would seem that Japan had a rather definite plan, although, of course, none of us know what the plan was. One can only infer policy afterwards when things have happened which one cannot get away from. Results and the course of events, in conjunction perhaps with a certain amount of inside information picked up here and there, then enable one to piece the picture together. Briefly speaking, I would say that in broad terms the Japanese plan was something like this. First of all they had the idea of cutting off five northern provinces of China—that is to say, the country north of the Yellow River—and making what was called an autonomous government, by which a government was intended which would be for all practical purposes independent of Nanking. Actually there is a good deal of vague use of the term autonomy which is perhaps not quite accurate. Autonomy, as I understand it, strictly means independence, and would not mean, therefore, that it was under Nanking. But the general idea appears to have been that there would still be some semblance of a bond with Nanking, which would perhaps save the situation to a certain extent, although the actual government would be self-government of an independent character. In brief the central idea was that five of the provinces of North China, which are rich provinces—indeed, some of the richest in China, north of the Yellow River—would to all intents and purposes maintain a separate government. That would mean, of course, that the government would be run largely under Japanese advice and under Japanese control.

So much for the political aspect. Still more important was the bearing on the economic situation. By this time it was clear that Manchuria, from an economic point of view, had been a disappointment. Japan was getting nothing out of Manchuria which it could not have got if it had never taken the drastic measure of occupation and virtual annexation. The immense sums of money that they had spent there were showing no adequate return, and there was no great promise of their ever doing so. That can be proved more or less conclusively by figures, but, of course, this is not the time to go into the detail of the matter. By taking in North China economically there would be a better chance of deriving benefit from Manchuria since North China supplied certain elements which might make of Japan, Manchoukuo and North China a valuable and practicable economic "bloc."

Reduced to its simplest terms, with the addition of North China,

Japan would be able to divert to North China some of the exports from Manchuria which could not be absorbed by Japan such as the grain products and more particularly the bean products. Such products could be paid for by North China in raw materials, such as cotton, which Japan needs. Japan in her turn would pay for raw materials bought from China by discharging China's debt to Manchuria by Japanese export of machinery and other goods which Manchuria needs. Thus it was hoped that Japan, Manchuria and North China could be established in course of time on a basis which ultimately might be largely self-supporting. It would appear that a good deal could be done in that way, though it could not be successful to the extent to which perhaps it was at one time hoped, nor for some considerable time, as it would be necessary for its success to increase largely the cotton-producing areas in North China and improve the quality of the product. However, that was the idea, and the Japanese certainly intended or hoped to achieve success.

Another aim which the Japanese included in their plan was to help China in the suppression of Communism. But the Chinese have always maintained that they could deal with their own Communists, and it is to be hoped that they will succeed in doing so. I think that most of us in China believe that they can do it, although it has been a little unsatisfactory, as you will all agree, to note the events of the last few weeks when Chang Hsueh Chiang, commanding the Government troops, detained the Generalissimo. However, I do not personally think that amongst military persons there is any doubt that China and the Nanking armies can deal with the Communists if they will make the effort seriously. It is China's opportunity to demonstrate to Japan how far they have gone and are capable of going towards putting their house in order. If China fails on this occasion Japan may be relied upon to take advantage of it. The Japanese want to go into China because they are really afraid of this Communist menace. But the Chinese fear that they also want to get a footing in China for their troops. Of course they have a certain number of men there already. We also have troops in China. All nations which are parties to the Boxer Protocol, except in cases where it has been abrogated, have a force, or are entitled to maintain a force, in North China. But the Japanese certainly hoped that they would be in a position to maintain a larger body of troops there, and the Chinese realize that in such an event it would be very difficult to get them out again.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a word on the policy

generally of Japan. There are two dominant notes in the policy of Japan in China as I see it. I think that the experience which we have had in the past justifies the conclusion that the Japanese policy always aims to create an exclusive field. They are prepared to allow other nations to trade in those things which the Japanese do not want or are unable to supply, but their aim certainly is exclusionism. That is one point. The other point is that they certainly desire that China should be a weak China. It seems to me that one of the tragedies of Japan is that her needs give rise to conflicting aims. The strategic needs of Japan necessarily call for a strong China, a China that is strong enough to protect the Marches, a China strong enough to develop her individualistic characteristics to the exclusion of Communism. On the other hand, the economic aspirations of Japan call for a China that can be easily dominated and controlled. In consequence it appears from the facts as if the Japanese are determined to look after the strategic side themselves and rather to direct their policy from the point of view of securing the best economic results. The economic claims of Japan call for a tariff which is favourable to Japan, tending to promote monopoly in certain directions. Secondly, their economic policy must call for the restriction of Chinese industrial development. Thirdly, it is necessary that they should have control of raw materials. One sometimes hears the Japanese say that they wish to have a strong China. When they say that, I believe that Japan means that they want a settled China—a China that is able to be a good buyer of Japanese products, but a China that is too weak to insist on industrial development in the directions that she wishes and which might come into competition with Japan, a China that would not be strong enough to keep out Japanese goods by high tariff walls; in other words a strong China is merely a euphemism for a docile China, permitting of Japan's dominating influence in the development of her potentialities.

That being the general policy, as I see it, which may be legitimately inferred from the course of events of the last four or five years, I would now like to say one word as to the methods which have been pursued by Japan to carry out her policy. There are a great many lines of action which they have taken, and though time is pressing I really must run through them quickly because I think it is important that you should get at least an indication of the sort of methods that are prevailing.

First of all we have to admit that in North China there is an unpleasant provocative attitude on the part of the Japanese, and it is not

confined to the Army. Of course, one does not want to emphasize these matters, or to lay too great stress upon petty things. We hope that we are right in thinking that they do not represent the true Japan. But they are there at the present time and they are straws, to some extent at any rate, which indicate the direction in which the wind is blowing. We have a great deal of difficulty very often in avoiding unpleasant incidents. So far there has not been anything very serious, but there is always a tendency towards incidents which might at any time have serious consequences. Perhaps it is merely local and possibly, I might even say probably, it is not any question of method at all. Nevertheless, it is a dangerous feature.

The next point I wish to make is that there are very definitely insidious efforts being made to undermine the position of other foreign traders in North China. First the Japanese have a number of advisers who use their position to influence new contracts and to compel the change of old business, in certain cases which are within my knowledge, to the Japanese. There is insurance in particular, which has been done by foreign firms for many years for Chinese Government institutions, which has recently been transferred to Japanese insurance companies.

Another question which is important, but which has nothing to do with the present position in North China, is that of the imitation of trade marks. The Japanese imitate trade marks and they flood the market of China with a great many imitations, to the very grave detriment of British trade.

They are also, as it would seem, deliberately weakening the Chinese position in North China, partly, of course, by trying to force autonomy, and more particularly during the past year by obstructing the Customs Preventive Service in carrying out their duties to prevent smuggling. I expect that you have read in the papers a good deal about smuggling in North China because in that matter, and in fact in Chinese matters generally, it does seem to me that this country is very well served by the able band of correspondents who are in Peking, Shanghai and other places. This smuggling business, with its reaction on the Customs, apart from its seriousness, is really rather curious. It originated in circumstances quite outside Japanese policy, but latterly has become one of its instruments. When America began buying silver at a high price there was a great drain of silver from China. The Chinese Government responded to that by putting a tax on the export of silver. The tax was so graded as to leave no profit on the export of silver. That was the opportunity for smugglers, and that was the beginning

of smuggling in North China. It had nothing to do with the Japanese. It started with the Chinese, who used Koreans who have Japanese nationality and who therefore have extra-territorial jurisdiction. They used these Koreans to do the work. In the course of time they naturally had to pay for the silver which was smuggled out, and so began the smuggling of goods into North China, consisting chiefly of oil, sugar, silk and rayon. After a time, when the Customs began to bring their Preventive Service to bear, the Japanese objected to its armed operation in the area which was the neutral zone under the Tang-ku Truce. They also interpreted the Tang-ku Truce as establishing a three-mile limit, thus severely limiting the operation of Customs Revenue cruisers. The result is that there has been a very great deal of violence and lawlessness resulting in the serious weakening of the Customs position in North China, involving great loss of revenue.

So much for the unorthodox procedures in the direction of economic domination of North China. I will now pass to Japan's more legitimate activities. Financially, in the ordinary course of business Japanese have been putting quite a lot of money into Tientsin. They have purchased a certain number of Chinese mills which had gone out of business, and they have purchased the foreign interest in a big glass factory at Chinwangtao which was half Belgian and half Chinese. They are proposing to provide a certain number of important utilities such as electrical supplies. They are also proposing to develop the coalfields of the province of Shansi and iron in the province of Chahar, and to build new railways. All those things are perfectly good things to do. They are all in the interests of North China in the general sense, and they are the sort of things that we have all been wanting to do for the last thirty or forty years. There has been any amount of British capital crying aloud for investment in China under proper conditions, but the Chinese ordinarily would not allow these big things to be undertaken by foreigners. This is subject, of course, to one or two exceptions. But with the strong backing of the Kuantung Army all the indications are that in the very near future a great many of these important developments will take place with Japanese capital. The general situation, you can take it, is that the Japanese are in North China. They are penetrating North China. It may be peaceful penetration. It is peaceful penetration in theory, but behind it is the Army. Clearly the Japanese are there to stay, and what we have to do is to strive to the utmost to meet the competition. This should not be beyond our powers. At all costs we have to hold

on to our position in China, and in North China in particular, and if we are firm and do not yield I think that in the end we may not lose the position, at least not entirely. But at present it cannot be denied that the British position is threatened in many directions, and I do not believe that the danger can be much overstated.

I would like to suggest a few points for the immediate future. You all know that Japan was negotiating with China during the autumn with the idea that she would be able to remove Chinese hostility, that she would be able to secure economic co-operation, and that she would be able to persuade the Chinese to allow her to co-operate in the drive against Communism. Those negotiations have been abortive. I do not know why they have been abortive, but they certainly have not made the progress which was expected of them. There may be a number of explanations, and I would like just to indicate some of them to you. In the first place China insists on dealing with her own Communists. She is not willing to allow the Japanese to come in and to bring troops to co-operate in that cause if she can help it. My next point is that China will not yield her sovereignty. She will yield to Japan in a great many directions, but if she has to yield her sovereignty she will prefer to fight. It may be that the Japanese realize at last that, although China in the long run could not be successful in a war against Japan, yet the Japanese would have a long and very difficult campaign on their hands if they were to try to conquer China. In this connection reference has to be made to the recent agreement between Germany and Japan, directed ostensibly against the Comintern, which introduces a new element. We do not know what that agreement amounts to in the sense of what may be behind it, but it may be that it enables Japan to feel that she can with safety be less aggressive in China because she has the moral and the diplomatic support of Germany behind her in the event of the Communist menace in China reaching any very serious proportions. Another thing is that it is just possible—this may seem to some people to be rather far fetched, but we have to consider all the possibilities of these questions—that Japan does not want to be involved in a campaign in China of which she could not see the end until the international situation in other quarters is more clear. Therefore I think that we may consider on the whole that Japan will perhaps be a little less aggressive than she has been in the past, though we have to realize that she is quite firm in her intention to establish herself economically in North China. That is the position we have to face, and we have to consider how best we can meet it.

Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to ask you to spare me anothe two or three minutes while I draw attention to a few conclusions. am quite aware that when one reaches the point of stating one's con clusions a stage is often arrived at which is the most perilous from th point of view of the audience. But let me hasten to reassure you. *have taken the precaution in preparation for to-night of writing dowr a series of disconnected propositions. Some of these propositions arise from what I have said or tried to say.* Others of these propositions arise from matters which are current knowledge and about which we all know something because we read the newspapers. I would like to read this series of propositions to you because they crystallize and in some respects supplement what I have said.

These then are the conclusions which I submit either flow from what I have been trying to tell you this evening or are a legitimate inference from matters which I am sure are within your knowledge.

(1) China is herself to blame for much that has occurred. (2) Foreign policies have tended to force Japan to play a lone hand. (3) Japan has a case of which a great deal might have been made, but she spoilt it by her deplorable methods. (4) Nevertheless, she will hold on to her course. It was, I think, in 1932 that the Japanese Foreign Minister said: "We will never go back in Manchuria. We will see our country in ashes first." That is the real Japanese spirit, a heritage from feudal times. Japan will strive all she knows for economic and strategic advantages in China. We cannot blame Japan for supplanting us if we are too supine to protect our own interests. (5) We do not know how far Japan and Germany have ambitions for the joint exploitation of the Far East, or for a division of the world's hegemony. But such an ambition is not beyond the bounds of possibility and is not to be lightly dismissed. (6) The Pacific problem looms large, and with Great Britain partially immobilized and her naval resources not yet sufficing for a great fleet to be based on Singapore, a grave responsibility in the Pacific area rests on the United States of America. In her own ultimate interests she cannot be an uninterested spectator of events. (7) Russia has been provoked by Japanese aggression to expand into a great force in Eastern Asia. Her policy aims to make this force independent of supplies from European Russia. Japan would be better off to-day if she had not stirred Russia to activity and had followed the lines of the recommendations of the Lytton Report. (8) The treaty rights of Great Britain, America and France, who are the European Powers chiefly interested in China—namely, extra-terri-

toriality and the so-called "concessions," as the areas of foreign residence are called—must be maintained. By a strange paradox they have become China's chief political bulwark.

I might just point out in passing that in 1932, when the Japanese invaded Shanghai, something like half the portable wealth of the Yang-tse Valley was in the vaults of the great Chinese banks situated in the International Settlement in Shanghai. That, of course, protected it. Had there been no International Settlement and had there been no extra-territorial jurisdiction it would have been a very unfortunate situation from the point of view of the Chinese. Of course, it is very paradoxical that this particular right of ours should be their political bulwark, and that, of course, is not a reason for retaining it. There are two reasons why it has to be retained: one is that the judicial machinery is not at present up to the standard which is necessary to enable them to accept jurisdiction over foreigners. The other is that China cannot protect either her own interests or foreign interests built up over nearly a hundred years.

(9) Our policy of friendliness towards Japan, and effort to meet her legitimate claims by trade agreements, is a sound one and should be steadily pursued, but subject to protection of the claims of British industry. Let us not be discouraged if it seems rather in the nature of trying to square the circle; with goodwill on both sides a way will be found. (10) Japan has declared that she intends no interference with British rights and only desires to establish friendly co-operation in the Far East with Great Britain. Let us hope that this will prove a true pronouncement. Peace in the Far East will then be assured. But do not let us relapse into a false security. Only by making ourselves strong enough to protect our rights and ensure peace, and by securing increasing vigilance and co-operation by and between our diplomatic and consular representatives and our traders, by trade and financial boldness, by close co-operation between the men in the Far East and the big interests at home, shall we ensure to ourselves and posterity the heritage that those who went before have bequeathed to us. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, the discussion is now open.

COLONEL SMALLWOOD: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I have listened (as I am sure that you all have) with the greatest interest to Mr. Kent's remarks. There are few men alive to-day who can speak with greater authority than can Mr. Kent. He has lived for many years in North China, and I know has always taken the most intense

and keen interest in all events which affect us as Britishers in that par of the world. I find myself so much in agreement with everything that he has said that he will pardon a devilish plea on my part if I can find one or two little inaccuracies in his speech. I may be wrong, but in my day Japan imported a good deal of rice from Siam. He tells us (and I am sure that he is right) that now Japan gets 85 per cent. of her rice from within her borders and 15 per cent. from Formosa. That is probably true, and it certainly must have altered a good deal since my day, if that is correct.

Again, Mr. Kent describes the Chinese Eastern Railway as a Russian institution. I am sure that he will agree with me to correct that, and say that it was a Sino-Russian institution.

In his remarks about Japan's policy, I think that there is little with which those of us who know the conditions of that part of the world can quarrel.

The smuggling that has been going on has been very deplorable, but I must say that I should very much like to have a word from Mr. Kent as to whether this smuggling is still as bad as it was a short time ago. When the Customs Returns were announced the other day, Sir Frederick Maze said that the smuggling in North China was very much better. There was far less of it. At the same moment His Excellency the Chinese Ambassador in London announced that smuggling was unabated. I should very much like Mr. Kent to be referee in this matter and to tell us which is the correct statement.

I am very glad to hear Mr. Kent say that the original political policy of Japan was largely the fault of China. I must say that I was in China for ten years from 1919 to 1929, and in the last year or two of that time life for a British subject was an extremely uncomfortable one. There was a certain bullying air amongst the Chinese with which it was extremely hard to put up. I could not help noticing in Mr. Kent's remarks that he first of all told us of China's provocative attitude at that time, and now at the present day that the attitude of Japan in North China is rather provocative. I think that that is perfectly true. When the Chinese felt that they were very powerful they could afford to bully the foreigner, and now when the Japanese in North China feel themselves equally powerful they find it easy to be, perhaps, only impolite to the other foreigners who are sharing their lives in North China.

There is one particular thing that I would like to ask Mr. Kent, and that is whether he thinks that the forward policy of Japan is likely

to result in the reinstatement of the Young Emperor on the throne in Pekin, or whether he thinks that they will be content with leaving him in Manchuria?

MR P. H. B. KENT: Mr. Chairman, in replying to Colonel Smallwood, certainly I believe that there is an import of rice from Siam, but there is also an export of rice from Japan. The authority for my statement that there is no food problem so far as rice is concerned is Sir George Sansom in the 1936 trade report of the economic position. He is Commercial Councillor in the British Embassy in Tokio.

As regards the Chinese Eastern Railway it was, of course, a railway which was originally granted as a Sino-Russian concession, fifty-fifty. I no doubt spoke too vaguely of the Russian interest owing to the rapidity with which I was trying to cover the ground. Colonel Smallwood is quite right in drawing attention to it. It was the Russian half that was sold to Manchoukuo. The Empire of Manchoukuo probably considers itself heir to the Chinese share.

As regards the smuggling (I left China about three months ago) I think that the fact of the matter is that a large amount of smuggled goods accumulated in the Eastern Hopei area in North China. When that area had absorbed all the goods it could, the position arose when smugglers had to distribute them to the rest of the country. That was where the Customs officials were able (by looking after the railways and watching the railways in other places) to check the business. It was not worth while for the "Free Traders" to smuggle more goods when they could not get rid of their accumulated stocks. It was supposed when I left China that a great many of the smugglers stood to lose a lot of money. What is happening exactly at the moment I am not able to say, but I fear there is a danger of more violent measures being adopted by the smuggling fraternity to force an outlet into a wider field.

As regards the future of the Young Emperor, the former ex-Emperor, P'u Yi, who is now Emperor of Manchoukuo, and his possible return to the Dragon Throne, I think that I should advise a reference to Old Moore. (Laughter.)

SIR KENNETH WIGRAM, G.C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O.: Mr. Kent has given us an extraordinarily good picture of what has been happening in North China, and it is quite obvious that Japan is greatly at fault over pretty well everything that she is doing. I cannot believe myself that a nation like Japan would gratuitously put herself in the wrong and court the world's disfavour, and even isolation, without some very

good reason. I made it my business the other day to get in touch with the Japanese Legation and to have some very intimate talks with them. What I rather gathered from them was that their feeling is that first of all they said: "You surely will admit that we rose to the status of a first-class Power in an incredibly short space of time and only by the tremendous sacrifices of our people. We have had two wars—namely, with China and with Russia—and we won them both, and yet we were deprived by the Powers of the fruits of our victory. Early this century Great Britain, then the greatest Power in the world, of her own volition, came and asked us for an alliance, and they made an alliance with us. That alliance stood for twenty years, which included four years of the war, when we really did help you quite a lot. Suddenly, without any warning and even without any reason being given, that alliance was broken. Your action was altogether incomprehensible to us and we were very deeply hurt. Again, at the Peace Conference we raised the question of racial discrimination and racial equality. It was not even considered or discussed. Very shortly afterwards there came in the exclusion legislation which debarred us from America and from your Dominions. After that there was the boycott in China, and for three years we suffered under that boycott. That brought us up to about the period when we occupied Manchuria. As far as the occupation of Manchuria was concerned, that was really forced upon us by internal conditions. Internally we were in a very serious state indeed. Something had to be done, and the Military Party suggested that perhaps the best thing to do was to go and occupy Manchuria. They had always wanted to do that strategically, and it was most necessary that they should do it, but we held them back. The internal situation was so bad that something had to be done. It was much better to do that than to have a real battle inside Japan, and that came off." At about the same time there was the rather unfair competition, as I think, by China in constructing railways, contrary to her agreement, parallel to and competing with the South Manchurian Railway. That brings us up to the present day. Japan was wondering how she was ever going to stabilize herself financially, and she had been making tremendous efforts to get herself under a sound financial basis by large scale industrialization and large scale rationalization. She had got ready to produce her goods and she stole a march on us all, naturally, because she started before the smash of 1931. When she was ready, to her disgust she suddenly found that the world would not take her goods at all. The world markets were closed. That was about the

last straw. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was gone and racial equality was completely refused. Japan thought that they must look after the security of their homeland for access to raw materials and to markets for their goods. There you come into what Mr. Kent said seemed to be her policy, which was an exclusive policy. I do not want for a moment to defend Japan or her methods, and I do not want to excuse her. It is indefensible and it is inexcusable, but I would like you to ponder on this for a moment, and remember that Japan is dealing with an unenlightened Oriental public, with rather a nineteenth-century world political point of view, in which imperialism still holds a very strong place, and is still rather a god to them. Supposing that we had been put in the same position as Japan, and compare what was our general policy in the nineteenth century, would we have done anything else? I do not know. (Applause.)

MR. P. H. B. KENT: There are just two points to which I would like to refer, in reference to Sir Kenneth Wigram's reliable contribution. With regard to the question of parallel railways. Actually I believe that the position is that the Japanese wished to have an undertaking from the Chinese in the year 1905, after the Russo-Japanese War. Japan had won the war, and, of course, the Portsmouth Treaty had ceded the southern portion of the Manchuria Railway to Japan. As it was a railway in Chinese dominions Japan had to get the consent of the Chinese, and subsequently a treaty to that end was negotiated, but the Chinese refused to give the undertaking that they would not build parallel lines. The Japanese asked that it should be recorded in the minutes, and it was recorded in the minutes as a point which had been raised. But the Chinese Government, so far as my study of that point goes, never bound themselves in that way. Of course, the Japanese had a very good point if they had only known it at the time. China had been in alliance with Russia in 1896 and was still at the time of the Russo-Japanese War in alliance with Russia under a secret agreement, the Li-Lobanov Treaty, and had the Japanese known that they could have insisted on certain concessions which they otherwise were not in a position to insist upon.

As regards this question of tariffs and quotas against Japan, I would like to point out that Japan developed industrially to an enormous extent during the war. I believe that she quadrupled her textile plant in order to take advantage of the situation which then arose. One does not criticize her for that, but she did thereby create a position for herself which was all right as long as the rest of the world was engaged

in war, but which she could not hope to maintain when the rest of the world turned back again to the arts of peace. (Applause.)

Sir James Jamieson, K.C.M.G.: I have listened with the greatest interest to the discourse which we have just heard, but I would like *Mr. Kent to tell us, if he can, to what conclusion it all leads.* He says that the Japanese have marked out for themselves a certain policy in North China, and that if we—and I presume that by " we " he means Great Britain—want to hold our own, we have to work together, but he leaves out of his discourse any indication of how that working together is going to be carried out. I should like him, if possible, to inform us.

Mr. P. H. B. Kent: The scope of my address to-night is " Japan on the Mainland of Asia " rather than the remedies for the situation which has arisen. I had to jettison a good many of the remarks that I should like to have made in the course of trying to bring my lecture within reasonable bounds. I think that we are really up against it in North China, but I do not know that the situation is entirely hopeless. In my judgment it is quite useless for us to sit down and throw up our hands and cry " Kamerad " or the Japanese equivalent. We simply have to do what we can in every conceivable direction to meet the competition. The Japanese have said that they are not out to compete with us. We want to work with Japan if Japan will allow us to do so. Unfortunately Japan has made an arrangement with Germany which is bound to have an economic reaction. Therefore, to that extent, what I had hoped might have happened, something in the nature of some sort of economic co-operation between Japan and Great Britain, seems to be more distant, and perhaps is ruled out altogether. But Japan has certainly made her statement that she does not intend, and she is not aiming, to compete with us. If she does compete with us by unfair means—of course, she is entitled fairly to compete—then it is up to our people by vigilance to bring that to the notice of our authorities. We have to play a fighting rôle out there and we have to maintain our position as it is at the present time. It would be quite useless if we were to weaken our position in China by yielding to any Chinese demands which might be made for the abolition of extra-territoriality or the surrender of the Concessions. Tientsin is sometimes spoken of as an outpost. Actually it is the last line of defence that British trade in North China has. We have strong interests there. It is the same in Shanghai, and it is the same everywhere in China. If we are backed, I still believe that we can maintain our position. I do not believe that

British brains and British industry are going down before this onslaught, but we have to consider new methods. In particular we have to consider the method of longer credits in China, and that, I understand, is one of the ideas that is engaging attention at the present time. I am sorry to be rather vague about this matter, but I hope some of the possibilities are implicit in what I have already said.

SIR JAMES JAMIESON: I should like to draw the analogy of what has happened in Manchuria. In Manchuria we have lost most of our rights. If the same thing is going to happen in North China, I would like to know how to proceed differently from what we have done in Manchuria. That is the point of my raising the question.

MR. P. H. B. KENT: With regard to what Sir James Jamieson has said, I do not think that in Manchuria we really fought the matter. I do not think that we were strong enough in Manchuria. We were not dug in there. We are dug in in North China. If we allow ourselves to be eliminated without a struggle, we shall only have ourselves to blame. My own impression is that we shall be able to maintain our position if we fight hard enough--I mean commercially, of course.

THE CHAIRMAN: Apparently no other member wishes to speak. It is very close to a quarter past ten, and therefore I will bring the proceedings to a close by asking you to give very hearty thanks to Mr. Kent for a singularly interesting and able lecture. I think that he has thrown much light on the position. He has discussed the matter in a most impartial way, and I am sure that we are all very grateful to him for his kindness in coming here to-night.

(*The Vote of Thanks was carried unanimously with acclamation.*)

YOUNG RUSSIA

By J. BILIBIN

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 24, 1937, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bt., in the Chair.

THE title of my paper may suggest two things to your minds: you may think that I am going to attempt an interpretation and a summary of the political outlook of the younger generation of Soviet Russia, and from that interpretation draw some conclusions as to the probable course which Russian history will take in the near future; or else you may think that I have come to speak on behalf of a political movement which calls itself Young Russia.

Both these surmises would, in fact, be true. I shall attempt in this paper to give a concise summary of the history, political outlook, programme, tactics, and organization of a movement which is known as the Young Russian Movement. This movement is a Russian political movement. It is opposed to Communism, and intends to play an active part in Russian politics during the coming decades. Its members maintain that it is a self-evident truth, not only for themselves but for any movement which seriously intends to play a part in Russian politics, that "Soviet conditions," the conditions of life in Russia which have developed in the course of the past nineteen years, are the only possible starting-point for any future development or future change, revolutionary or evolutionary, peaceful or violent. They further consider that the force which is already playing a great part and will undoubtedly play the leading part in Russian politics is the generation which has grown up and shaped its outlook and mentality during the years of Bolshevist domination. This conviction has led them to devote a very considerable part of their activity to the study of this younger generation. Needless to say, widely different conclusions may be drawn from such a study. In this paper I shall put before you those conclusions which the Young Russians have drawn from their study and their experience, and I shall try to give some indication as to what that experience has been.

I propose, therefore, in the first place, to explain the origin and the political outlook of the Young Russian Movement. In the second

place, to give a concise summary of the views of the Young Russians on the trend of recent Russian events, on the mentality of the younger generation, and the political situation in Russia at the present moment; in the third place, to explain the tactics which the Young Russians are adopting in relation to that political situation; and in the fourth place, to give some justification for my presence here this afternoon; to explain, that is to say, why we consider it desirable that foreign public opinion should take an interest in our movement, a movement which, as you will see from my paper, is resolutely opposed to foreign intervention in internal Russian affairs.

Though the origins of the movement date back to the Russian Civil War, it developed and matured in exile, after the defeat of the White Movement in Russia. I should like, by way of a small digression, to say a few words about the White Movement, as the influence which it exercised over the subsequent development of political ideas among the exiles has been very great. I shall leave aside all sentimental issues, though I would be the last to belittle the moral value of the White Movement. It was, indeed, the reaction of all that was best in Russia against all that was worst in the Revolution. Nor would I belittle the value of the splendid work which has been carried on by the White organizations in exile in keeping up the morale, self-respect, and national dignity of the Russian ex-officers who formed a considerable proportion of the émigrés. That is a subject in itself, and it does not enter into the scope of my paper. I shall only speak of the political aspect.

The White Movement in Russia was based on a compromise between all Russian forces opposed to Communism, united in a common struggle against Communism. The Emperor had abdicated, the Constituent Assembly which was to settle the future form of Russia's Government was dispersed by a tough sailor. The Government which had come to power in Russia signed a separate peace treaty with Germany. These three historical facts determined the political content of the White Movement. The Emperor's abdication and the subsequent provisional abdication of the Grand Duke Michael, who made his acceptance of the crown conditional on the decision of the Constituent Assembly, ruled out the possibility of a monarchist programme. The violent dissolution of the Constituent Assembly united into one *bloc* all the opponents of the authors of that dissolution, the Bolsheviks. And the signing of the ignominious Treaty of Brest-Litovsk by the Bolsheviks, with the loss of vast areas of Russian territory which that

treaty entailed, provided the "White" Russians with ample justification for accepting the aid of the Allies, who were Russia's allies, in their struggle against the Bolsheviks, who were helped to power by Russia's enemies. The combination of these circumstances gave rise to that political compromise of anti-Communist elements which became the driving force of the White Movement. While its leaders acted on Russian soil and had real military support behind them, this compromise was perhaps as sound a policy as any other which they could have adopted.

In conditions of exile, however, the situation became entirely changed. That real military support which the White Movement had on Russian soil had gone. The Allied Powers ceased to regard the Soviet Government as hostile, and one by one they accorded it *de facto*, and subsequently *de jure*, recognition. The White Army was reduced to a disarmed, skeleton organization of ex-officers' clubs with very inconsiderable funds at its disposal. As an independent military force it could be completely discounted. It might serve as a useful adjunct to a foreign invading force. Foreign intervention, however, after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles and the defeat of the White Army in Russia, would assume an entirely different form from that of the assistance which was given by the Allies to the Whites. It would no longer be assistance given to loyalist forces of an allied country, legitimately given and legitimately accepted. A post-War foreign intervention in Russia would have been, and indeed still would be, a foreign invasion pure and simple, an invasion with acquisitive aims of territorial expansion, either by direct conquest of certain Russian territories or, which amounts to very much the same thing, by establishing veiled protectorates over newly created States separated from the Russian Empire. The less scrupulous, though perhaps more realistic, of the White politicians were prepared to support such an intervention and thus became, in fact, defeatists. Others allowed themselves to be carried away by their day-dreams and idealism, and imagined that, with the nucleus of the White Army organization, they could stir up a popular rising in Russia and continue the Civil War which, with their own unaided efforts, they would carry on to a victorious end.

It was a liberal French aristocrat who found himself obliged to tell the King of France that what had happened in Paris on July 14, 1789, was "not a revolt, but a revolution." A far longer period had to elapse after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution for the remnants

of Russia's ruling class to realize the same truth. The parts, too, were reversed, for it was the head of the fallen Russian dynasty who had to tell that truth to political exiles who had as yet learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. The Grand Duke Cyril was the first to realize the full meaning of the defeat of the White Movement. He was also the first to discern, rising out of the darkness of the Revolution, a national and spiritual renascence of the Russian people.

I am referring to the two pronouncements which the Grand Duke Cyril made in 1922 and 1924 by which he, as the next in succession to the throne after the Emperor Nicholas II., the Cæsarevitch Alexis, and the Grand Duke Michael—all of them killed by the Bolsheviks—assumed all the responsibilities which destiny had imposed upon him. These pronouncements were in themselves an indication that, from the point of view of the head of the dynasty, the policy of the White Movement was no longer applicable to Russian needs. That political compromise on which the White Movement was based was necessitated by an effort to stem the tide of the Revolution. That effort had failed. The Revolution had won. To kill the Revolution would now only be possible by enlisting foreign aid and bartering Russia's heritage, a course of action utterly alien to the ideas which originally inspired the White Movement itself. Nor was it a course of action which could possibly be countenanced by the successor of the Russian emperors. There was another course of action, however, which was open to him, the course which he did in fact adopt. The fact that the Revolution had won did not necessarily mean that the Revolution must remain the monopoly of the Government in power. Other political forces could enter the revolutionary lists, provided they realized that they were revolutionary and not counter-revolutionary forces; that is to say, that their object was to influence the trend of post-revolutionary Russian politics in accordance with their own ideals, and not merely to destroy all that has been achieved since 1917, and revert to the old order. This was realized from the very beginning by the Grand Duke Cyril, and under his guidance the Russian monarchist movement became a revolutionary movement.

I shall now return to the Young Russians. The Young Russians were originally the younger branch of the supporters of the Grand Duke Cyril. This simple circumstance provides a very simple reply to the question which sometimes puzzles outside observers to-day when they first become acquainted with the Young Russian Movement. They think it paradoxical that the most radically-minded

section of the émigrés should profess monarchist views. The reason is that the political outlook and programme of the Young Russians is the logical development of those principles which were laid down in the original pronouncements of the Grand Duke Cyril. For the Young Russians this is no mere fortuitous coincidence, still less a paradox. In the circumstance that it was the head of the Russian dynasty who appraised the Revolution in its true perspective, they see an indication that the monarchy forms an integral part of the living Russian historical tradition, and is not inextricably bound to any transient régime. There are many revolutionary precedents in the history of the Russian monarchy. Ivan the Terrible carried out a revolution from the throne, so did Peter the Great. The emancipation of the serfs by Alexander II. was a revolutionary measure. A revolution from the throne might have saved Russia in the second decade of this century, and the fact that it was not accomplished is no reason for considering the fate of the monarchy as sealed.

There were three basic problems in Russia at the beginning of this century which demanded solution. The fact that they were left unsolved was, in the opinion of the Young Russians, the main cause of the Revolution. These problems were:

(*a*) The *national* problem: the cultural development of the national minorities called for a readjustment of the internal structure of the empire.

(*b*) The *social* problem: the cleft between the higher and lower classes, the growth of new classes, and the aspirations of the lower orders to a more active participation in national life.

(*c*) The *economic* problem, which was mainly an agrarian problem rendered acute by the impoverishment of the peasantry and "land hunger" in the countryside.

When these problems are fully solved, the Revolution will be consummated. The Young Russians have their own views as how these problems should be solved. In order to present these views to you in their proper perspective, I must make a brief summary of our observations on the trend of Russian events subsequent to the Revolution of 1917.

When the Young Russians entered the political arena in 1926, they made a series of arbitrary forecasts which, I may say with a degree of satisfaction, have been proved to be correct by the subsequent course of events. I say forecasts because, though there was a certain amount of factual data for making the deductions that were then made, it was

very scanty and had to be corroborated with an unbounded faith in the Russian nation. These forecasts amounted, in the main, to an assertion that the spirit of the Russian nation would triumph over the materialist and internationalist creed of the Communist Government, and that a process of evolution had set on foot which would eventually undermine Marxism in Russia.

In 1926 M. Kasem-Beg, the Leader of the Young Russian Movement, spoke the following words:

" We are already present, as yet in the capacity of onlookers, at the violent strife between the ruling clan, headed by Stalin, and the Opposition."

That is to say, the Trotskyist Opposition.

" What is happening?" asked M. Kasem-Beg in the same speech. " What is happening is the transformation of the Revolution. The first chapter of the Revolution is coming to an end, a chapter negative in its manifestations, but pregnant with positive achievements, seeing that it is followed by a second chapter, the chapter of the correction of the original course. That chapter will be the transition of anti-national revolution to national revolution."

We of 1937, who have witnessed the official sanction given to " Soviet patriotism," which has become almost the leading theme of the Soviet press, we who have witnessed the executions of Zinovieff and Kameneff and the conviction of Radek, must agree that these remarks of M. Kasem-Beg, spoken over ten years ago, showed exceptional foresight.

When we speak of the changed tone of the Soviet press and the executions of Zinovieff and Kameneff, we are speaking of changes which have taken place in the policy of the Government. These changes, however, are but the reflections of an evolution which has been going on in the masses, notably in the younger generation, and also of the pressure of the international situation. I shall, accordingly, concentrate on three outstanding features in the trend of Russian events during the past few years: firstly, the rise of a new generation; secondly, the formation of new classes; and thirdly, the position of the Red Army.

Let us turn our attention to the younger generation. The presence of this younger generation has been a source of great apprehension to those " old school " enemies of Communism who hoped that the remnants of the older generation would be strong enough to challenge the Soviet Government. These " old school " enemies of Communism, how-

ever, to use the words of M. Kasem-Beg, " over-estimate Communism, ascribing to it some supernatural characteristics, and under-estimate the Russian national spirit, the power of the nation and its common sense." Strange as it may seem, the younger generation has been a source of alarm for die-hard Communists almost as much, if not as much, as for die-hard anti-Communists.

Die-hard anti-Communists usually assume that there is no hope of salvation for a generation which has not known the old régime. In a similar manner, die-hard Communists view with alarm the rise of a new generation for which the capitalist factory and the Civil War are not a personal remembrance, but a mere historical tradition which they have been taught at school. The first note of alarm was sounded by a certain Comrade Tchaplin, one of the leading lights of the Young Communist League, in an article which appeared in the *Pravda* in November, 1927. He pointed out that the younger generation had no " author's love " for the Revolution. It was not their doing. And as it was not their doing, these adolescent Soviet citizens became an easy prey to " class enemies." One local Young Communist secretary actually suggested that the League should change its name from " Young Communist " to " Young Soviet." This, he suggested, would be a progressive step, " in full accordance with the spirit of the times." Anyone who is accustomed to class the terms " Communist " and " Soviet " in one category would naturally miss the whole meaning of this incident, which was nothing less than a revolution *in parvo*. It showed how, in the exceptional conditions of Soviet life, when a nod or a wink often takes the place of speech, the term " Soviet " was already beginning to take on a definite meaning, a meaning which was entirely unforeseen by the authors of the October Revolution. It was beginning to be opposed to the term " Communist." It was, in fact, beginning to assume the meaning of the term " Russian," a term which was at that time strictly tabooed. The evolution of this term " Soviet " has now reached its extreme conclusion, when it is possible to speak of " Soviet " patriotism and the " Soviet " people. Actually, this terminology is absurd. " Soviet " means a council, an organ of government. " Soviet Republic " means a republic which is administered by a system of local soviets which elect delegates to higher soviets, the highest of which is the Congress of Soviets of the Republic. But what is the " Soviet " people? And what is " Soviet " patriotism? Why can lectures on the rise of Moscow in the thirteenth century, broadcast from Moscow Radio, be described as " Soviet " history? Surely for

one reason only, and that is that the term "Soviet" has come to mean nothing more and nothing less than "Russian." This is a most interesting illustration of the vitality of national sentiment. Whatever is done to bar its natural progress, to stop the normal channels of its development, it will find other channels and outwit its enemies.

Thus it was that a Young Communist secretary thought that it would be "in accordance with the spirit of the times" to change the name of the League to "Young Soviet." His suggestion was not accepted. Nevertheless, he has been proved right by the subsequent trend of events. His "Soviet" patriotism is now the official creed of the Soviet press, while the "Communism" which his League still espouses has become little more than the faded device "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité" on the churches of Paris to-day. And whenever the old Communist takes up his pen to write about the Young Communist, the old complaint is ever present. The Young Communist is very keen to learn to fly in his spare time, to qualify for a Voroshilov Marksman's Badge—that is to say, to become a first-class shot; he will lend his hand to a Stakhanovist drive in industry or help to make the sugar beet harvest a success. But if there is one thing that bores him to tears, it is *politgramota*, political instruction in the doctrines of Communism. Again and again, year after year, month after month, articles appear in the Soviet Press complaining that in such and such a district the local branch of the Young Communist League has not organized any political instruction classes at all and that the members of the said branch are completely indifferent to the study of theoretical Marxism. More often than not such indifference is to be met with in those sections of the Young Communist League where the standard of practical activity is very high. The members of those sections are obviously very fine specimens of humanity. Their keenness for achievement and self-sacrificing labour hardly suggests that self-centred petty egoism which Communist sympathizers outside Russia are so fond of ascribing to those Russians who are lukewarm in their sympathy for the present régime. And yet these young men hold no brief for theoretical Communism. To the Young Russians the reason appears to be obvious—namely, that Communism, theoretical Marxism, is a doctrine which is utterly alien to the real facts of life, and for that reason cannot inspire a generation which has been taught by circumstances to be practical.

It would be a great mistake, however, to imagine that this younger generation is incapable of displaying any interest at all in things out-

side the rut of its practical everyday life. The genuine, nationwide interest in the Pushkin Centenary offers a striking and convincing argument of the contrary. In the course of the past few years, with the emancipation of many sentiments which were strictly taboo in the earlier years of Bolshevism, there has been a great revival of interest in general culture and Russian history—that Russian history which as late as in 1930 was declared to be "counter-revolutionary propaganda in itself" by the Soviet educationist Popovsky. Something in the nature of a romantic revival is taking place in the mentality of the younger generation in Russia, as can be judged by the kind of literature, the kind of music, and the kind of art which has now won popularity. Shakespeare, Molière, Pushkin, and Dickens in literature; Beethoven, Glinka, and Tschaikowsky in music are far more popular in Russia to-day than the literary freaks and "turbine symphonies" of the early days of the Revolution. As for art, Russia is now back in the eighteenth century. An intellectual Bloomsbury Communist would be shocked to the marrow of his bones if he saw the artistic productions of Stalin's Russia, reproductions of which may often be seen in the Soviet Press. The Russian artist of 1937 models his work on Gainsborough and Constable.

And yet when a young man in Russia to-day tries to draw from this variety of experience, spiritual, cultural, and practical, some general deductions on the world which surrounds him and the society in which he works, those general deductions which the Germans would term a *Weltanschauung*, he is faced with the fact that this *Weltanschauung* is already prescribed to him from above. It is the *Weltanschauung* formed in the mind of a soured intellectual round about the year 1848, every particle of which is in direct contradiction with the real facts of modern Russian life. No wonder the Young Communist is bored. Apart from being bored, however, he is dissatisfied. A certain vacuum is being created in his mind, that vacuum which should contain a sound political and social creed based on facts. Every obstacle, however, is put in his way when he tries to form an independent creed of his own, for if he succeeded in doing so it would be the end of official Marxism, which, even though it is completely divorced from Soviet reality, still provides Stalin with the only real title to the power which he holds.

So much for the younger generation. From the circumstances which I have put before you the Young Russians draw one of their main programme deductions. The Russian exile enjoys one great

boon of which his compatriot in Russia is deprived: freedom of thought. The enjoyment of this boon places him under a solemn obligation. The Young Russians consider it their duty to create outside Russia what may be called a laboratory of Russian political thought, in which every phase of sentiment in Russia could be picked up, systematized, reduced to a simple slogan, and in that form sent back to Russia. Experience has shown that there is far more in common between the younger generation in Russia and the younger generation in exile than one would at first imagine.

Let us now turn to the second outstanding feature in the trend of recent Russian events: the development of new classes. I shall not dwell on the theoretical question as to what is a class, and I shall not attempt any analysis of the claims which we have recently heard made by Stalin in his famous speech at the opening of the last Congress of Soviets. Whatever our views on the problem of class may be, I think we will all agree that in every nation there is always a section of the community more active, and for that reason more prominent than the masses, and this section forms or should form the mainstay of the régime in power. In the case of the Soviet Union this section is the Communist Party.

If we look back on the development of the Communist Party from the October Revolution to the present day, two things are bound to strike us: the first is that whenever the Communist Party tried to maintain an absolute hold on Russian politics, unaided by any other force, its attempt always proved a failure; and the second is that very considerable changes have taken place within the Communist Party itself.

The Revolution began with a period of what is known as "Militant Communism." This proved an utter failure, and, in order to save the situation, Lenin was forced to introduce the New Economic Policy, which was a partial return to capitalism and a compromise with the remnants of old classes. Stalin reverted to left-wing economics, and the first years of the first Five-Year Plan were marked by another attempt to apply Marxian principles to practical life. The attempt again proved a failure, and in 1931 Stalin declared his famous "Six Conditions," which were, in fact, a new capitulation to the "human factor." By encouraging individual enterprise within the framework of the socialized factory and the collective farm, and by introducing the system of piece-work, Stalin's right-wing economic policy resulted in the development of an elite both in the countryside and in

the towns, an elite whose title to priority lay not in the impeccability of its Communist faith, but in the position which it had won for itself by sheer, practical hard work. And thus it is that now, whenever an appeal is made for higher production, or for an increase in military training, it is always addressed to "Bolsheviks, both Party and non-Party Bolsheviks." Some title of honour had to be given to a very important element in the community, an element on which to a very large extent national prosperity depended, and for that purpose this curious term "non-Party Bolshevik" was invented. Furthermore, we often come across complaints in the Soviet Press to the effect that these "non-Party Bolsheviks" are in every way more efficient than the "Party" Bolsheviks. Recently the *Pravda* complained that in one important factory there were eighty "Stakhanovtzy"—that is to say, first-class, high-grade workers—and only three of them were Communists, while the other Communists in the factory considered that their political activities absolved them from hard work. This offers an excellent illustration of the clash which exists in Russia between the dead letter of Marxian doctrine and the practical demands of life. It also offers an illustration of the fact that the Communist Party again finds itself obliged to seek support outside its own ranks.

It is sometimes said that Stalin will one day liquidate these "non-Party Bolsheviks," just as he liquidated the New Economic Policy before. So far, however, Stalin has seemed far more occupied with liquidating the "Party" Bolsheviks, as the recent executions have shown. In any case, we consider that the comparison with the New Economic Policy is faulty. When Stalin was liquidating the New Economic Policy, he was liquidating the remnants of the old order, and there was still a large store of unused revolutionary energy in the masses. Now he would have to deal with the results of his own efforts—his efforts to revolutionize the masses, which have been attended with such unexpected results for Marxism. There is only one thing which could open the way for a return to left-wing politics, and that is the success of Communism on an international scale. To this I shall return in my concluding remarks.

The third outstanding feature, I said, was the growth of the power of the Red Army. This was directly caused by the German National Revolution, with what appeared to be its latent menace of a military invasion of Russia. Whether that menace was real or imaginary, it was obvious that the Soviet Government had to turn its serious attention to the problem of defence. One of the results of this was the

change of the whole façade of the Soviet Union which astonished the world in the summer of 1934. Hundred per cent. patriotism, one of the major sins according to orthodox Marxism, was not only tolerated, but actually encouraged. The study of history was restored in schools. The family was held up as the basis of Soviet society. The old ranks, with a few alterations, were restored in the armed forces. The Society of Old Bolsheviks and the Society of former Convicts of the Old Régime were closed down. Non-proletarian descent was no longer a bar to entering schools and universities. It would take too long to enumerate all the other concessions which the Soviet Government has been forced to make during the momentous three years that have passed.

So far I have been speaking of the changes which have been taking place in the masses and in the ruling class, and the concessions which these changes have drawn from the Government. I say concessions,' for I wish to oppose myself most emphatically to the view that Stalin's Government has, in fact, become a national Russian Government. When Stalin first began to turn his attention to the problem of defence, it looked as if it were possible, though highly improbable, that he might himself develop into a national leader. The recent foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., however, entirely rules out any such supposition, for that foreign policy is entirely alien to Russian national interests and daily brings Russia nearer to a catastrophe.

The whole career of Stalin has been that of an opportunist, and a very clever opportunist at that. At one time he was the Russian Robespierre. As soon as he sensed, however, that the spirit of Thermidor was in the air, he quickly cast away the guise of Robespierre and, after the assassination of Kiroff, quickly assumed that of Robespierre's executioners. Since then he has been flirting with the idea of becoming the Russian Bonaparte. He kept, however, all the exterior trappings of Leninism, since it was only his position of Lenin's apostle that gave him a title to his position. He had no other qualifications for being a Bonaparte. Luckily for him, Lenin was dead, and any slogans could be put into the mouth of the wax-like corpse which reposes in the Mausoleum in the Red Square, while Lenin's original colleagues were systematically exiled or shot.

There was a time, I say, when Stalin's opportunism happened to coincide with Russian national interest, and that was when, with his own ends in view, Stalin facilitated the national awakening of the Russian people. That time has gone now and Stalin's opportunism

now leads him to further a policy which is in direct opposition to Russian interests. Fearing lest a complete abdication of Leninism might make his own abdication inevitable, Stalin has now decided to justify his profession of Leninism by an insane policy of involving Russia in Communist and Popular Front adventures abroad. The Soviet Government has again become an international menace, and, by making it such, Stalin is drawing upon the Russian people the hostility of foreign Powers who might otherwise have preferred to maintain friendly relations with Russia. It began with Litvinoff's intervention in the Abyssinian affair, from which Russia would have been well advised to keep as far away as possible. It is continuing now with Soviet intervention in Spanish affairs, and the net result is the introduction of party political issues into international politics and, incidentally, the drawing together of those powers which are credited with seeking territorial expansion.

The insanity of this policy is not only appreciated outside Russia. Within Russia, too, there are elements which look upon it with apprehension. Its failure abroad might lead to important changes in the Kremlin. The Young Russians hope that these changes will be carried out by men who still have it in their power to preserve Russia's integrity, and will not be forced on Russia from outside at a time when it is already too late to mend.

These remarks of mine, I hope, have given you some idea of our view of the position in Russia. I shall now briefly give you a summary of our programme and the tactics which we adopt. We consider that the complete triumph of the national awakening will come when the three basic problems of Russian life, those three problems of national co-operation, social organization, and economic structure, have been solved. We look to the monarchy to form the basis of this solution, seeing that, when the coercive element of the Communist Party is removed, only a hereditary monarch could, apart from forming a link between the present and the living past, be a true super-national and super-social arbiter, inasmuch as he does not owe his position to any one nationality or any one class. Thus we sum up our political creed under three slogans: Social Monarchy, Federal Empire, and Planned Economy, the last of which would embody all the corrections which the human factor has brought and will bring into the economic life of Russia, as well as considerably widening the field for individual enterprise.

This we call our *Maximum Programme.* That is to say, it is the

programme which our movement would pursue at a time when it gained power in Russia. The present political situation, however, necessitates a *Minimum Programme* as well; that is to say, a programme of collaboration with any government which might come to power in Russia as a result of the fall of the Communist Government. We sum up our minimum programme by putting forward three conditions on which we would recognize any government as a national government. They are: introduction of a real religious freedom and the liquidation of anti-religious propaganda; the full restoration of the national rights of the Russian majority; and the substitution of class solidarity for class warfare. Partially these conditions are already being satisfied, but the effect of this is nullified by a circumstance which calls for a fourth and last condition, and that is, the liquidation of the Comintern.

I have not said anything about the organization of the Young Russian Movement and the nature of its activities. As time is short, I shall leave that part out of my paper, and would be very glad to satisfy your interest by answering any questions which you may wish to put to me.

In conclusion, I would merely like to give some reasons why we consider that it is desirable that foreign public opinion should become acquainted with our movement. We consider that our movement is the only Russian political movement which is at the same time opposed both to Communism and to any policy which is directed against the integrity of the Russian State. And we believe that international peace and prosperity is concerned both with the overthrow of Communism and with the preservation of the Russian State.

This is a subject in itself, and I would here only remind you of two facts which shed an important light on it. The first is that the birthrate of the white, yellow, and black races to-day is one white birth to two yellow births and four black births. The second fact is that the Russian nation has been increasing in population since the Revolution at the rate of two million per annum. I am not here to preach any colour antagonism, which would be all the more absurd after my profession of the idea of a Federal Russian Empire based on the collaborations of the nationalities that constitute it. I would only point out, however, that the coloured races, notably the yellow races, are availing themselves of all the technical conquests of White civilization without adopting the spiritual content which created that civilization, which is Christian culture. Russia is far from lost to Christian

culture. No wonder the Soviet Government is reluctant to publish the data on religion provided by the recent census. And when Russia is finally won back to Christian culture, she will be a strong bulwark *against all forces directed at the principles which have made both her and all the great countries of Europe mighty.*

DISCUSSION

Sir Percy Sykes: I think we in this audience would very much like to hear Mr. Bilibin's reactions to the recent trials in Russia.

The Lecturer: I do not know that I can express views on that which would be in any way original. There are, however, two aspects of the affair. In the first place, its political result. This is not connected with any question of whether the accused are or are not guilty of the charges made against them. This last series of public trials continues the liquidation of all members of the old Communist Party. There is, we hear, to be another trial soon, at which Bukharin and others will appear, and will probably meet the same fate. With regard to the truth of the allegations made against the accused, we have always to remember the trials of 1928, when Professor Ramzin, with others, was accused of conspiring against the Russian Government in collusion with two Russian emigrés who had been dead some five years then. The memory of that trial has cast a certain amount of doubt on the truth of all accusations made in political trials in Russia since.

The second point is that the political careers of all the accused have been marked by intrigue. To plot has probably become second nature to most of them, but in the maze of accusations made against them, the true nature of the plot to which they confessed becomes all the more obscure.

Sir William Oudendijk: The speaker has said that besides the three slogans of Young Russia there was a fourth subject requiring attention: the Comintern. To my mind this is the most important of all, for if Russia is ever to co-operate with other nations in the task of safeguarding the cause of peace in the world, it is necessary that this body be liquidated. Can the lecturer suggest to us a way by which this might be brought about?

The Lecturer: I think the liquidation of the Comintern would be brought about most effectively by the failure of the present Soviet foreign policy. Were the present policy a failure, then Russia would

be faced with a very great danger, because the Powers who are troubled by her intervention in, for example, Spain, might possibly turn to destroy that trouble at its source. Then the saner elements in the U.S.S.R. might see that their only chance of safety lay in what one might call a Palace Revolution. With regard to what we can do from outside to aid this liquidation of the Comintern, I should like to emphasize that, though the Young Russians are resolutely opposed to armed foreign intervention in Russian affairs, they do believe in a moral intervention. That is to say, we should do everything in our power to aid the imagination, not of the Soviet Government, which I believe to be beyond all hope of mental recovery, but of certain persons who hold prominent positions in the Soviet administrative apparatus who might effect a change of policy.

In answer to further questions, the lecturer said that the residence of the Grand Duke Cyril was at St. Briac in Brittany. He was sixty years of age, and the cousin of the late Czar. He has one son, who will be twenty years old this year.

With regard to the question of a renaissance of Christian culture, he had already mentioned that the Soviet authorities had stirred up a very active campaign to induce all Russians to declare themselves atheists. But after celebrating a few minor triumphs, such as the fact that in Smolensk only one per cent. of the population declared themselves to be believers, the Soviet Press became completely silent on the matter, and a few weeks later Yaroslavsky, the Head of the Anti-God Society, declared that there are still too many believers in Russia, and it is time we should have another drive against religion.

A very large and unexpected proportion of the population replied "Yes" to the question "Are you a Believer?" and many of those who answered "No" are very doubtful atheists. For instance, in Stalingrad, in answer to the question "Are you a Believer?" a very large proportion replied, "I believe in the Soviet Government." The Census officials put that answer among the "Noes," but you can see that it is a very ambiguous one. It is reported that the Census officials went sometimes as often as three times to one house; and with no doubt certain disadvantages belonging to the status of a confessed believer, all the less adamantine might well yield to this high pressure.

Mrs. Heath: May I ask whether it is not true what I have been told by some who have been in Russia, that a generation has grown up in Russia who have had no religious instruction at all, and to whom the very name of God Himself is unknown?

The Lecturer: It is true certainly that a generation has grown up under anti-religious teaching; but it is difficult to be certain how far they have had no religious instruction given them clandestinely. A friend of mine who visited Russia recently told me that he visited several churches in Moscow and elsewhere, and saw quite a large number of young men attending. To say that the very word "God" is unknown is to say rather much. The younger generation study Pushkin. Every effort is made to interpret him to them as an atheist. But among his poems there are some that unquestionably have a religious character.

The Chairman, expressing the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer, said: I think that Mr. Bilibin has shown us that the Young Russia Movement has realized that you cannot impose changes of régime by force, or by intervention from outside. Every change must come from within, through an increase of adherents to the new views propounded.

NORTHERN 'IRAQ AND ITS PEOPLES

By MAJOR W. C. F. WILSON, O.B.E.

A lecture given before the Society on March 10, 1937, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in introducing Major Wilson, who is going to speak to us on the subject of Northern 'Iraq and its peoples. He first served in 'Iraq under that very great officer, Sir Percy Cox, who recently passed away. Major Wilson rebuilt Kut after our victory over the Turks, and of recent years he has been administrative officer at Mosul; and can give us very up-to-date accounts of the Assyrian problem in Northern 'Iraq, and can also speak from first-hand knowledge of the Kurds and the other minorities of the country.

TO many who have never been to 'Iraq, the name, or its old alternative, *Mesopotamia*, possibly conjures up visions of flat, featureless plains, strips of cultivation along the banks of the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, sandstorms and a torrid climate. Such visions are in a fair measure true of central and southern 'Iraq, but are very far from applying to the two northern provinces of Arbil and Mosul.

Geography

From the Lesser Zab river northwards the country is undulating and intersected with watercourses or wādis, which after rain flow down to the Tigris and its half-dozen tributaries. This type of country extends right up to the foothills which fringe the mighty mountain mass of Kurdistan. Over this area, irrigation, except on the rivers for summer crops, is unnecessary, and the rainfall which comes between November and May is in most years sufficient for the cultivation of large crops of wheat and barley. In the spring, grazing for animals is plentiful and a wonderful assortment of wild flowers appear.

In the mountains, during the same period, heavy rain and snow fill the underground sources and provide water for the summer growing of rice, tobacco and other crops, and for good summer grazing for animals. These mountains contain several ranges 6,000 to 8,000 feet high and one peak near the Iranian frontier over 10,000 feet.

Population

The inhabitants of the two provinces consist of an extraordinarily heterogeneous collection of creeds and races with all the problems produced by such a collection.

The population of Mosul and Arbil provinces exceeds 630,000, of which 530,000 are Muslims. Of these Muslims, all but 10,000 are Sunnis. There are 60,000 Christians, 32,000 Yezidis and 10,000 Jews. The minorities therefore total only one-fifth of the whole. The Muslims consist of Arabs and Kurds in approximately equal parts, together with some 16,000 Turkomans.

Mosul itself is mainly an Arab town with a population of 100,000. It is a great entrepôt for trade in sheep, cattle, wool, grain, hides, intestines, galls and eggs with the thickly populated districts round and also with Syria and Turkey. Its importance in this respect will certainly increase when at long last it is linked by rail with the Syrian frontier at Tel Kuchik and with Baghdad via Baa'iji. Work on this linking is now proceeding, and it is interesting to remember that when it is completed in a couple of years it will form the last stage in the famous Baghdad-Berlin Railway which was the Kaiser's fondest dream. The circumstances under which it will be completed are likely, however, to be very different to those which he visualized.

Arabs

Apart from forming the majority of the inhabitants of Mosul itself, Arabs are found as cultivators on the Tigris both north and south of the town and to the south of the Jebal Sinjar (Sinjar mountain) and as bedouin who range the uncultivated areas to the south-west, west and north-west.

The bedouin consist of more than one tribe, but by far the most important is the Shammar. This great tribe is of Arabian origin and has in the past been pushed steadily northwards by economic forces and the search for new grazing grounds. With the great improvement in public security during recent years, cultivation has extended further and further from the towns and villages and encroached on the haunts of the Shammar. Formerly the means of livelihood of these bedouin were varied if not all respectable. They included the raiding of the flocks and herds of their weaker neighbours and the extortion of "khuwa" or safe-conduct money from merchants, travellers and others. At the same time they made a perfectly legitimate living from acting as shepherds for the flocks of townsmen and by breeding and selling camels. Nowadays raiding and safe-conduct money have been abolished and motor transport has to a great extent ousted the camel as a carrier in 'Iraq and the neighbouring countries and caused

Deh
URMIA
CÖL
Julamerk
Diza Gawar
Rezaieh
(Urmia)
Maragha
Jazirat ibn 'Omar
Sirmez
Baijo
Geramus
Alamun
Ashuta
Rusi
Arush
Lizan
Oramar
Neri
Pirah
Demka
Ora
Baishuka
Nervek
Darshesh
Mukanish
Herki
Zakho
Khabur
Amadia
Ushnu
Faish Khabur
Great Zab
Kani Resh
Irakhtana
Mianduab
Gara Dagh
Piris
Simel
Dohuk
Sheikh Adi
Bira Kapra
Sauj Bulak
Tel Abu Dhahir
Aqra D
Aqra
AlQosh
Kandalah
Makirdan
Ruwandiz
Eski Mosul
Tel Kaif
Bardarash
Little Zab
Kitkia
Charikend
Sinjar
Taraf
Tall'Afar
Balad Sinjar
Nineveh
Dera
Safin Dagh
Parastan
MOSUL
Keramlais
Gazna
Rania
Saqqiz
Hami
Wardiya
Qaraqush
Kelek
Erbil
Sardasht
Mirada
Arij
Hamam Ali
Namrud
Koi Sanjaq
Quwair
Baneh
Shura
Debega
Taktak
Surdash
Makhmur
Qara Chauq
Altun Köpri
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Hadhar
Sulaimaniya
Chemchemal
Marivan
Qal'a Sharqat
Little Zab
Kirkuk

a severe slump in the camel market. Slowly and very reluctantly the bedouin are turning to cultivation and feel themselves immeasurably lowered in the process. Strangely enough, they are also to be found in greasy overalls, working on the rigs of the Mosul Oil Companies. In this work they do not lose caste as they do if they become cultivators.

Shaikh Ajil al Yawar is the paramount Shaikh of the 'Iraqi Shammar. He is an outstanding personality possessing a fine presence and a wonderful charm of manner. With singular astuteness he has managed to control his tribesmen, keep on the right side of successive governments and at the same time amass a considerable fortune for himself. During recent years his figure has perhaps suffered somewhat from the use of motor-cars instead of riding a fiery Arab steed or liver-shaking " dhillool " (trotting camel).

Turkomans

Leaving the Arabs, we come to the Turkomans. They are the remnants of ancient immigration and are to be found in Tel Affar town between Mosul and Sinjar and in a string of villages across to Altun Keupri and Kirkuk. Arbil is also largely a Turkoman town. The village of Nainawa, the ancient Nineveh, just across the Tigris from Mosul, is Turkoman. In a mosque built on unexcavated Assyrian remains it contains the reputed tomb of the prophet Jonah. The mosque is also said to contain a portion of the vertebræ of the whale!

Kurds

Next we come to the Kurds, who form by far the majority of the population of the mountain areas and who are also to be found in a large number of villages well south of the mountains. The Kurds are Aryan in origin and Sunni Muslims by religion. The mountain Kurds and in fact all the mountaineers of Kurdistan bear a close resemblance to the Scottish clans of two hundred years ago. They are still organized on a tribal or clan basis, though the increase in government control and influence is naturally tending to destroy this organization and undermine the power of the chiefs, or Aghas as they are called. Aghas may, however, still be seen proceeding to town or market with a " tail " of armed henchmen and even a pipebearer. The Kurdish pipebearer is, however, concerned with the Agha's tobacco pipe and not with music. Kurdish music is nevertheless played on a pipe

resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a pleasant lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means as strenuous as Scottish. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of tenor drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often star dancers who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christian sects the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Shaikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the shaikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Shaikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Muslims in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Juj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Shaikh Ahmed's brothers " bumped off " the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Shaikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Shaikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the 'Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal

Air Force. The terrain was exceedingly mountainous and thickly wooded and there were many caves in which to shelter from bombs or machine-gunning from the air. The Shaikh's followers, too, were very hardy and mobile. Without very efficient air action, which aimed at destroying the morale of the Kurds by perpetually harassing them rather than by slaying them, to gain a definite result would have been a very costly affair. As it was the Shaikh and his followers were eventually driven into Turkey and after surrendering to the Turkish authorities were handed over to the ' Iraq Government. It was found that the Shaikh, his brothers and the remnants of the standing army could not fit in with any regular administration, and so they have been settled in small bodies in southern Kurdistan near Sulimani, where they will not be in a position to cause further trouble. The Barzanis have now reverted to the Islamic faith.

Roads

What has really tamed the Kurds is the Government policy of making roads through the mountains, just as General Wade did in Scotland with similar results. Good roads now exist from Arbil, where Alexander the Great defeated King Darius III. in 331 B.C., to the Persian frontier at Rayat and from Dohuq to Amadia. Both these roads represent considerable engineering feats and carry a good volume of traffic. The Rowanduz road was that which a nomadic Kurdish tribe, the Herki, with their 60,000 animals, used on their annual migrations from 'Iraq to their summer grazing grounds in Iran. During recent years difficulties arose between the nomads and the 'Irani Government, and the former now remain in 'Iraq for the summer. It has not been easy to find grazing for them there, as other nomadic tribes had already been forbidden by the Turkish Government to graze in Turkey and had occupied practically all the spare grazing. The 'Iraq Government, too, has been attempting to popularize summer resorts in Kurdistan and so prevent the flow of money to Syria and the Lebanon, where good summer amenities exist. I am afraid, however, that so far this policy has not been very successful. Good summer resorts require the expenditure of much money, and the attempts at providing suitable summer accommodation have, I regret, tended to spoil what was originally beautiful scenery.

The little town of Zakho in western Kurdistan has greatly benefited by the improvement in public security and communications and is

now a flourishing market for the surrounding country and for trade with Turkey. It has one feature of great interest: an ancient bridge of Roman design, known locally as "Alexander's bridge," though unlikely to be in any way connected with the great conqueror. Tradition at Zakho has, however, another tale of the construction of the bridge. It is said to have been built by a celebrated local governor, who found that the keystone would not remain in place. He summoned a soothsayer, who proclaimed that it would never stand until a life had been built into the arch. The governor accepted the verdict and with his councillors, who were sworn to secrecy, decided that the first living thing to follow them on to the bridge the next morning would provide the necessary victim. They waited for some hours, but no one came. Then the governor's little daughter wondered why her father was so long away and taking her pet dog she set off to look for him. Her father was at first terrified when he saw her coming, but was relieved when he noticed that her dog was running in front of her. Alas, she thought it unfitting for the dog to approach her father before she did and so she called it and stepped on to the bridge. Public opinion compelled the governor to carry out the sacrifice and the girl was built into the centre of the arch and the keystone held and has gone on holding for hundreds of years.

The development of Kurdistan has naturally not been popular with all the Kurds, and I remember an interesting incident. During the construction of the Amadia road, an elderly Agha stood for a while sadly watching the blasting of a pulpit of overhanging rock. When echoes of the explosion had died and the last fragments of stone had fallen into the rocky gorge below, he turned sorrowfully away. "The old days, the old days," he lamented. "Many is the time I lay behind that rock with my rifle and held up caravans for safe-conduct money."

The town of Amadia, which, like Edinburgh Castle, is situated on a rocky plateau at a height of 4,100 feet, sixteen feet higher than Cairn Gorm, is now easily accessible by road. The town was formerly ruled by semi-independent Pashas who admitted a nominal suzerainty to the Turkish authorities. It has a stormy history, and the minaret of the mosque is pitted with bullet holes. These are souvenirs of 1925, when the Barzan Kurds, in alliance with some of the descendants of the old rulers of Amadia, attacked the town and succeeded in surrounding the Mosuli qaimaqam and a handful of police in the Government serai. The stout-hearted garrison held out until they were rescued by a body

of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Sergis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

Kurdistan is a beautiful country. It is in the main well wooded, with scrub or stunted oak on the hillsides and poplars, walnuts and mulberries near the villages. Pines grow in two areas only and chinārs (planes) along the streams. Unfortunately, deforestation is proceeding apace, and unless immediate and drastic steps are taken by the 'Iraq Government, heavy soil erosion and a tremendous decrease in grazing facilities will take place. Few new walnut trees are to be found owing to a prevalent superstition that the planter of a walnut tree will die with the appearance of the first nuts. It might be supposed that the oldest inhabitants could be employed in planting, but apparently the grandfathers look askance at this suggestion!

The Kurds are a virile and cheerful people. They have been called treacherous, and undoubtedly stories can be quoted in support of this accusation. Yet it must be remembered that the annals of our own Scottish highlands are by no means clean in this respect.

In the summer the valleys of Kurdistan are, unfortunately, very malarial, and this is fostered by the cultivation of rice with its invariable accompaniment of mosquitoes. During this season most of the flock-owners move to their " zōzāns " or summer sheilings on the mountain tops, where, in shelters of oak branches, they pass the time pleasantly enough.

Christians

The Christians of the northern provinces are divided into numerous sects, several of which are relics of the old schismatic divisions of the Eastern Communion. They include Chaldeans and Syrian Catholics, who are under the control of Rome, Jacobites, Armenians, Nestorians and Seventh Day Adventists.

Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics and Jacobites are found in Mosul and many villages on the left bank of the Tigris. Chaldeans are also found in the Supna valley near Amadia and in one large village near Arbil. Seventh Day Adventists only flourish in Mosul. Many people in England know something of the Assyrians and their recent history. The Assyrians themselves claim to be descendants of the famous kingdom of Nineveh and are certainly semitic. The term " Assyrian " now includes ex-Ottoman members of the Nestorian Church who were domiciled either within what is now the 'Iraq state or who were ejected from Hakkari by the Turks during the Great War and refused

readmission afterwards, and also members of other Christian sects belonging to the recognized tribes of Hakkari who accompanied their Nestorian brethren in the War exodus to 'Iraq via Persia. Since the Turks refused to readmit these people and Great Britain, when peace terms were concluded with Turkey, was not in a position to insist, it was necessary to try and find lands for them within the borders of the 'Iraq state. The Assyrians wished to be settled as a homogeneous unit, but this was impossible as it would have meant displacing a large number of Kurds. Many of the Assyrians were settled on such lands as were available, but in 1933 serious trouble broke out between some of these settlers and the 'Iraq Government, and incidents occurred which made it impossible for at any rate all the Assyrians to remain in 'Iraq. Various schemes were examined; including settlement in Brazil, British Guiana and on the Orontes in Syria. None of these, however, proved practicable, and the matter is still in the hands of the Council of the League of Nations. In the meantime 6,000 Assyrians have been settled temporarily on the River Khabur in eastern Syria, and the remainder, numbering some 20,000, are still in 'Iraq. Those in Syria include several complete tribes. The condition of those in 'Iraq may be said to be satisfactory at present and they possess very large numbers of animals of all kinds. Many are also employed as mechanics, clerks, etc., by the big oil companies and in the 'Iraq railways and police. All these possess 'Iraqi nationality. A certain number are also employed as aerodrome guards by the British Royal Air Force, duties which are shared by them with Arabs and Kurds. The Assyrians are a brave, hardy race, though obstinate as isolated, uneducated mountaineers are liable to be. It is indeed a tragedy that they should have been caught up in the wheel of events and severely mangled in the process.

The Yezidis

The Yezidis are usually known as "devil-worshippers." This is, however, a misnomer. "Devil-propitiators" would be more correct. They believe that Satan, whom they call Mālik Tāūs or the Peacock Angel, was exiled from Heaven for a definite period and is, after the lapse of a few thousand years, to be restored to high favour. It is incumbent on them therefore to keep on the right side of him, so that he may then use his influence on their behalf. It is extremely difficult to investigate the Yezidi religion. The priests teach that education, save for their caste, is forbidden by the "Black Books," the Yezidi

scriptures, which are reputed to be concealed in a place known only to the highest religious authorities of the sect. Most Yezidis are therefore illiterate and appear to know very little about their religion. It is uncertain, however, whether this is due to ignorance of their religion or to secretiveness resulting from past persecution. The religion is certainly a queer jumble of tenets taken from Christianity, Islam and from pagan survivals.

Shaikh Ādi, the central shrine of the sect, forty miles north-east of Mosul, is situated at the head of a wooded valley in the mountains fringing the plains. A pleasant stream runs from the shrine. Yezidis maintain that this stream is connected underground with the sacred stream Zem-Zem at Mecca!

The shrine itself is adorned with graceful white fluted cones, and close by stand several similar smaller shrines, including one to Shaikh Shems, the Sun.

The origin of the Shaikh Ādi is unknown. The building has been claimed as Muslim, but is more probably Christian. The interior certainly resembles an ancient Nestorian church rather than a mosque. By the side of the door is a large black stone snake, which is kissed by the devout. Visitors take off their shoes and are careful not to step on the threshold, as this apparently angers Mālik Tāūs. The tomb itself is covered with a rather disreputable cloth. In an adjacent room are huge jars reminiscent of "The Forty Thieves," holding oil presented by faithful Yezidis, and used for the small earthenware lamps which twinkle in myriads during festivals. In the courtyard is a stone trough which receives water from the sacred stream and which contains numbers of curious black and white spotted newts.

The hereditary attendants at the shrine are known as Faqirs. They always wear black and are perhaps a relic of monks who lived at Shaikh Ādi before the advent of the Yezidi religion. The religious head is the *Mir*, a debauched degenerate, largely under the influence of his strong-minded mother. Formerly *Mirs* enjoyed considerable power, though it must be admitted that the appointment lacked security of tenure as the seven Mirs previous to the present incumbent were all murdered.

The revenues for the upkeep of the shrine and the emoluments of the *Mir* are collected from the people by the "Qowwāls," who tour twice yearly with the sacred brass peacocks, emblems of Mālik Tāūs. All Yezidis visit these emblems and make suitable contributions and so ensure their health and prosperity until the next tour.

The Yezidis in 'Iraq practically all dwell either in the Sinjār or Shaikhān districts. Each of these districts has a brass peacock and that belonging to Shaikhān must never cross the Tigris. If it did so the world would come to an end! Non-Yezidis cannot view the peacocks or the other sacred emblems, which include the "shema'dan" or candlestick and the "bairaqs" or banners. When not touring, all emblems are kept at the residence of the *Mir* at Baa'dhra in Shaikhān, though a few years ago the Sinjār Yezidis, who were at variance with the *Mir*, seized their peacock and collected subscriptions on their account until compelled by Government to return it to its lawful keeper. Yezidis object strongly to the use of the word "Shaitān" (Satan) or any word resembling it. Terms meaning "curse" are also never used less Satan construes them as a tactless reminder of his fall.

Owing to these difficulties and restrictions, Yezidis are not "good mixers" and rarely enter Government service. A few were formerly employed by the British Government in the transport company of the 'Iraq Levies, but did not prove very satisfactory. Occasionally they have enlisted in the 'Iraq army, but an attempt to apply a light measure of conscription to the Sinjār Yezidis resulted in an armed revolt by five villages. This necessitated punitive action with, unfortunately, heavy casualties on both sides. The Yezidis speak a form of Kurdish, but many also know Arabic. Ain Sifni or Ain-i-Safina (Spring of the Boat) is the chief market town of the Shaikhān Yezidis. It derives its name from a tradition that the Ark touched ground there.

Yezidis are to be found outside 'Iraq in the Caucasus and also a few thousand north of Aleppo.

It is difficult to believe that this curious religion can long survive in 'Iraq under present-day conditions. The *Mir* is unpopular and there is no better successor amongst his in-bred and degenerate relatives. The Yezidis have recently refused to yield him many of his former rights and have severely criticised his squandering of the religious revenues. Most of the members of the hierarchy have concentrated their energies on trying to divert funds to their own pockets and have quarrelled furiously. A certain number of stalwarts have defied the priests and attended schools. In the Sinjār prior to the Great War religious pressure induced a considerable number of Yezidis to adopt Islam, and it is within the bounds of possibility that ere long there may be a regular landslide to either the Christian or Islamic faith or both.

Jews

The Jews in 'Iraq are said to be the descendants of those taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar and brought to Babylon, where they were employed on the rebuilding of that city and on the upkeep of the canals on which its wealth depended.

In Mosul till recently the Jewish standard of education was lamentably low and their religious observances entirely out of keeping with those of modern Jewry. Even there, however, an astute Jewish brain invented an instrument controlled by clockwork to turn on and off electric switches at fixed hours and so avoid the sin of making fire on the Sabbath.

The very generous Jewish philanthropist Sir Elly Khaduri, has in recent years provided funds to build excellent schools for the community, and it is hoped that a great improvement in the education of the Jewish children will result.

In Kurdistan, Jews of whom many are weavers are found in all the small towns and also in many otherwise purely Kurdish villages, where they live in perfect amity with their Muslim neighbours. In dress they are practically indistinguishable from the Kurds but easily recognizable by their facial features. In the most remote mountain areas Jewish villages exist the inhabitants of which are cultivators and possess vineyards and orchards. The reason for the survival of these villages in the lawless past is that they and their inhabitants were the property of powerful Kurdish Aghas who were strong to protect their serfs as they would have protected their sheep, cattle or mules. Throughout Kurdistan the ubiquitous itinerant Jewish pedlar may be met who, quite unarmed, is surprisingly immune from molestation. The Jews of northern 'Iraq are not at all interested in Zionism and form a very useful, law-abiding, hard-working section of the population.

It is difficult, if not impossible, within the compass of a short ecture, to give an adequate description of the curious elements who nake up the attractive mosaic of northern 'Iraq. In the not very listant past the 'Iraq Government has incurred, and rightly incurred, trong criticism of its treatment of some of the peoples who go to nake up this mosaic. It should be realized, however, that the administration of the Mosul and Arbil provinces and the solution of the liverse and difficult problems they present is a matter which might vell test the skill and patience of any government, even if far more xperienced than that of the new state of 'Iraq.

DISCUSSION

Mrs. Soane-Ellis: Might I ask if the lecturer has any information as to the whereabouts of Sheikh Mahmud? The last time I saw him he was a prisoner at Ramadi.

Major Wilson: I cannot say whether he is exactly a prisoner now, but he certainly would not be allowed to go back to Sulaimaniyyeh.

Brigadier J. G. Browne: May I ask what is the position of the Pizhder Kurds under the present Government?

Major Wilson: There has been a slight extension of police control, but, as far as I know, real administration has not yet been established over the Pizhder.

The Chairman: It remains, I think, only for me to sum up what we have learnt. We see here again the extraordinary importance of the question of roads in establishing the authority of the Government among mountain peoples. We are building roads on the North-West Frontier of India. And here we have seen the roads that are being built through Kurdistan, like Mr. Hamilton's very fine achievement, the making of the road through the Rowanduz Gorge. I believe the account of the building of that road is going to be published shortly, and it should make a book well worth reading.

We have seen some extraordinarily interesting slides. And we have learnt some valuable information about the present position of the Assyrians. From what the lecturer says, the best plan now would appear to be rather to leave them alone where they are. The other plan was to have been to move them to an extremely suitable site on the Orontes River. But unfortunately the lands chosen had been sequestrated from their original owner, who had been in trouble. When M. Blum came into office, he decided he could deal with this case, reinstated the man in question, and restored his lands. So that scheme necessarily came to nothing, and it is quite impossible on other grounds now for the Assyrians to go there. But one gathers that it is wisest not to agitate on their behalf, nor to stir them up, for that only makes them very unpopular in the country. They are finding employment to some extent in the oil-fields, and as guards and station masters on the railways and in similar employment, and one can hope things may settle down and that they will stay in their own country.

We must thank our lecturer, not only for the good work he has obviously done in 'Iraq, but also for the excellent and informative lecture he has given us this evening.

THE HEART OF ASIA AND THE ROOF OF THE WORLD

YOUNG PEOPLE'S LECTURE

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.

(Gold Medallist of the Royal Geographical and Royal Empire Societies.)

DURING the course of my travels in Central Asia I had visited Bokhara the Noble, and I had stood by the tomb of Tamerlane at Samarkand. But I was not content, and wished to go farther east and visit the mysterious cities of Yarkand and Khotan, in the very heart of Asia, while I was equally anxious to climb those remote uplands, the Pamirs.

In the spring of 1915 I was suddenly ordered to take up the appointment of Consul-General for Chinese Turkestan, and immediately began my preparations for yet another journey Eastward Ho! My sister, Miss Ella Sykes, who had travelled widely in Persia with me, offered to accompany me on what she knew would be an arduous expedition, and, as my narrative shows, materially contributed to its success.

Chinese Turkestan is a vast plain, measuring about one thousand miles from east to west and perhaps half that distance from north to south. It is surrounded by some of the loftiest mountains in the world, the Tian Shan to the north, the elevated land mass of the Pamirs to the west, and the Kara-Koram and Kuen-Lun to the south. The eastern boundary is the vast Gobi, or "Desert," which is nearly one thousand miles wide. The waste of the Takla Makan, as distinct from the Gobi, occupies the heart of the country. Indeed, Chinese Turkestan may be best described as a desert fringed by oases, forming a horseshoe with the toe pointing west. The oases constitute about 1½ per cent. of the area, so that if the deserts, which are entirely unproductive, were excluded, the country to be dealt with would be very small.

The oases, separated from one another and the outside world, produce practically all essentials, with the result that there is a general state of well-being, which tends to contentment and removes any desire for progress. The crops depend entirely on the water that flows down from the surrounding ranges, as the rainfall does not count. Just as

in Egypt, a full river means prosperity whereas a low river means scarcity. Unfortunately, the snowfall in the ranges is decreasing. The population of Chinese Turkestan is about one million and a half, confined almost entirely to the oases, the sole exception being the nomads who graze their sheep on the slopes of the ranges.

We were welcomed on the frontier by a representative of the *Taoyin*, or Governor-General, a striking personality, wearing a scarlet and yellow plastron with words denoting his official position of *Yayeih*, or "Yamen Runner," a name which recalled to me the old English Bow Street Runners. We marched in the mountains for several days, but the country gradually became more open, and at last we camped on the edge of a great plain and saw the oasis of Kashgar in the distance.

After taking over charge of the Consulate-General, one of my first duties was to pay an official call on the *Taoyin*. In the East, official calls demand formalities that are happily absent in the West. The Chinese secretary busied himself in preparing my visiting-card, and after much cogitation he evolved *Si-ki-su*. He was much pleased with the result of his arduous labours, for, although four or five syllables are considered pretentious, two are held to be insignificant, whereas through his skill he had evolved the golden mean with three. These three syllables were printed on red paper and the first stage of the preparations for the call was thereby completed. I felt that undue importance had been assigned to the matter, but happening to inquire how long the Chinese had used visiting-cards, I was informed that it was an established usage for many centuries before Christ. This reminded me that I was dealing with a people whose civilization was not only very ancient, but who had had no break with the past—for example, the descendants of Confucius, a contemporary of Cyrus the Great, are well-known in China to-day. On the appointed day I drove to the Yamen, guarded by grotesque plaster lions, which are believed to keep off evil spirits, and by a few shabby Chinese soldiers. Weird music was played from a high latticed gallery, and crackers were let off to signify an artillery salute.. The horses finally pulled up at the great wooden doors, which opened as I alighted. The etiquette was to leave the carriage and proceed across a stage with an altar on one side; Jafar Bai, the head servant, who had gone round, preceded me, holding up the red visiting-card and calling out my rank with, I imagine, a good deal of exaggeration. As I stepped into the inner court, the *Taoyin* also entered it from his audience chamber, and we met exactly in the

middle and exchanged many compliments before sitting down and partaking of tea.

My sister and I are both inveterate sightseers, and the bazaars delighted us, especially on market days, when crowds of people poured in from every hamlet and farm in the oasis, making a feast of colour. The *Begs*, or landowners, were usually fine men with handsome features, full beards, and dignified bearing. They invariably rode, regarding pedestrians with contempt. In complete contrast were the hairless, flat-faced, ruddy Kirghiz, with their almond-shaped eyes and high cheekbones, while the peasantry were Aryans with a strong touch of the Mongol. Both sexes were gaily dressed. The men wore long striped robes of many colours that recalled Joseph's coat. Snowy turbans denoted *mullas* or merchants, but the others in velvet hats embroidered with fur made an equally pleasing picture. The women "resembled a flower garden," as a Persian poet would have said. They used the brightest colours with complete success, so strong was the sun—so good was their taste. In Persia women are closely veiled, and nominally so they are in the Kashgar oasis, but, as a matter of fact, outside the town they usually kept their veils up, partly owing to Chinese influence. Both men and women wear abnormally long sleeves to serve as gloves in the cold weather, and when travelling long leather boots are donned by both sexes, so much so that we dubbed the country the "Land of the Long Boot."

The bazaars displayed various sorts of wares, and there was much chaffering in proportion to the business effected. The dyers hung their cloth to dry in any convenient corner, the shoeing-smiths lashed the very quiet ponies to a frame before attempting to shoe them, and the bakers, whose ovens were flush with their shops, threw fat lumps of dough against their sides and pulled them off when converted into "flapjacks" with the aid of iron tongs.

One day we visited the chief school, and I was much struck by the similarity of the education with that given in Persia. Indeed, wherever Islam is the religion, the chief if not the only real subject of study is the Koran. Unfortunately, the methods of instruction were most defective, the pupils merely learning by heart chapter after chapter in Arabic, with the equivalent in Turki, the language of the country. To-day this is no longer the case in Turkey or in Persia; nor will it soon be so, even in Turkestan itself.

We rode almost every day, and in time visited everything of interest in the oasis. We frequently forded the Tuman Su, where the grooms

watered the horses morning and evening, close to where the water carriers scooped up the drinking-water into barrels by means of gourds specially grown for the purpose.

The chief centre of veneration is the shrine of *Hazrat Apak*, the Priest-King of the country in the seventeenth century, whose influence extended to India, where he had thousands of followers. The road leading to the shrine was the *Via Appia* of Kashgar, and as we rode along we passed hundreds of women weeping at the graves of their parents. In reality they were performing a sort of ancestor worship, which they have adopted from the Chinese.

We were courteously received by the custodian at the tiled gateway and walked up an avenue bordered by poplar trees. The shrine was covered with blue and white tiles bearing verses from the Koran, and was surmounted by a shapely dome. We were invited to enter the tomb-chamber, which was crowded with tombs, that of "His Holiness" being conspicuous owing to its red and white coverlet. There were a number of banners and flags, which gave a Chinese touch, while outside were heaped up some fine heads of the great rams of the Pamirs that had been offered by Kirghiz pilgrims.

On a bluff opposite the Consulate was a humbler shrine, which was frequented by women only, and especially by girls, who put up prayers for rich husbands, without fathers or mothers. To ensure the aid of the *Bibi* they inserted their hands into a hole in the shrine, drew out a morsel of earth and swallowed it. When the Saint listens to the prayer and a suitor appears, there is no formal betrothal, although, in the case of the wealthy, the bride is richly dowered. The marriage ceremony is generally celebrated at the end of a feast. An agent of the bride's family, going to the women's quarter and standing behind a curtain, asks the bride whether she accepts the bridegroom on the terms of the marriage contract. This constitutes the legal ceremony, but in the eyes of the people the eating of bread soaked in salt water before witnesses is what really counts. Finally the bride is carried with great rejoicings to her new home, where flour and cotton are set before her to symbolize a happy journey through life, the ceremony being termed "White Road."

In the autumn we set off on a tour which included Yarkand and Khotan, cities we were most anxious to visit.

During this journey I enjoyed the very interesting experience of hunting with golden eagles. In Persia, where I had enjoyed a good deal of hawking, I had heard that these great birds were flown at

hares, pheasants and even at gazelles in Central Asia, but I could hardly believe that the accounts I had heard were correct. However, one day I rode out with six or seven "eaglers," if I may coin a word, all mounted on small ponies with superb eagles on their wrists. We formed a line, riding through low scrub. Suddenly a hare sprang up, and immediately an eagle was loosed, and in spite of the hare twisting in and out among the bushes it was struck before it had gone sixty yards, so swift is the king of birds. Pheasants had even less chance, and we only regretted that we did not sight any gazelles, as they would have given us a run.

The Yarkand oasis is the richest and largest in Chinese Turkestan. Everywhere loads of melons were being stored for winter use, while a fourth crop of the prolific alfalfa was being cut. Kashgar owes its commercial importance to its trade with Russia, whereas Yarkand trades with the Indian Empire across the Kara-Koram Pass. In no part of the world is trade carried on under greater difficulties, for the track is only open for six months in the year and crosses range after range of the highest mountains in Asia, culminating in the Kara-Koram Pass at an altitude of 18,550 feet. This range is aptly termed the "Ridge-pole of the World." Add to these physical difficulties storms, avalanches and flooded rivers, and an absence of villages for six stages, and we can admire the sturdy traders who export the hemp and silk of Yarkand and Khotan and bring back muslins, spices and brocades. All honour to them. Yarkand is a dirty tumbledown town, and its inhabitants are afflicted with goitre to a distressing extent. The malady is long-standing, for Marco Polo commented on it, and it is fortunate that modern science can prevent it.

Before we reached Khotan we had to cross more than one bay of the Takla Makan desert. The whole party was excited by these night marches, and a Hindu trader told them of how he and his servants had seen troops with banners marching silently, and then flocks and herds which suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared. Even our horses were influenced by the unreal aspect of the things they passed and shied at bushes as if they were beasts of prey. For myself there is always a certain sense of boundless space and freedom in the desert. There is also the feeling expressed with such charm by Flecker:

> "Sweet to ride forth at evening from the wells,
> When shadows pass gigantic on the sand,
> And softly through the silence beat the bells
> Along the Golden Road to Samarkand."

On one occasion, when marching by day, we were caught in a storm. Immediately the dust enveloped us and a dense yellow haze obliterated the bright sunlight. We decided to gallop on to the stage, as our waggons had fortunately been sent ahead. Mile after mile passed, the horses taking care not to lose the track, when suddenly we galloped out of the haze into the bright sunlight and cultivated fields of an oasis, and enjoyed the pleasure of looking back on the storm raging in the distance.

In this section of our journey we were treading in the footsteps of Marco Polo, and, when reading his description, I had been surprised that he made no mention of the mighty Kuen-Lun range to the south. The explanation is that the Venetian traveller never saw the snow-covered mountains owing to the dust haze, as was also our disappointing experience.

The last stage before Khotan lay across a desert, and while riding among sand-dunes we reached two wooden posts and were informed that they marked the boundary of the celebrated Pigeon Shrine, where all good Moslems must dismount. We followed the example of our men, and soon reached a graveyard, scarcely distinguished by poles, on which hung fluttering banners. Close by we saw a tiny mosque and low sheds, on which thousands of pigeons were sitting. We had brought a sack of grain which was soon opened and devoured by the birds.

Legend has it that *Imam* Shakir, when attacking the Buddhists of Khotan, was killed in battle, or, as the Moslem chronicler put it, achieved martyrdom. Two doves are said to have flown from the heart of the martyr and were the ancestors of the pigeons to-day!

Khotan is a corruption of Yu-tien or the Kingdom of Jade, a stone that is valued above all others in China, being described as "the quintessence of Heaven and Earth." Until the recent revolution it was worn by the Emperor and grandees, and was also buried in their tombs. At present there is less demand by the Chinese, but Europeans and Americans are now eager purchasers of this beautiful stone. The jade mines in the mountains are worked, but the output has little value owing to its softness. The jade that is appreciated is dug up in the river beds of the two rivers that had flowed through the oasis. We visited the diggings, which merely consisted of holes excavated to a depth of twelve feet in a disused river bed. Small boulders are found, those we saw being dull green. Had they been white flecked with green, they would have been worth £200 each instead of £5.

Silkworms were brought to Khotan in very early days, and silk was exported across Persia to the Roman Empire, where it was sold for its weight in gold. The death penalty was inflicted on anyone who attempted to smuggle the eggs out of the country, the Chinese naturally desiring to keep the silk industry as a profitable monopoly. The Emperor Justinian made great efforts to secure some of the precious eggs, and one of the romances of commerce is the tiny consignment that was brought in the hollow of a bamboo from Khotan to Constantinople by two Persian monks, who thereby founded one of the staple industries of the West.

PART II

Of all the mysterious countries of Central Asia, the most remote and the most difficult of access is that known as the Pamirs, signifying the high-lying mountain valleys situated around the sources of the Oxus, the great river of Central Asia. The word was first mentioned by Hsuan-Tsang in the seventh century A.D., but it was really introduced into the English language by Matthew Arnold, who wrote:

> "Oxus, forgetting the bright speed he had
> In his high mountain cradle of Pamir."

The whole country lies at an extraordinary height, the traveller seldom descending below 12,000 feet, from which fact the Persian name for the region, *Bam-i-Dunia*, or "Roof of the World," is remarkably apt.

We left Kashgar early in June. The Pamirs remain under snow until the end of May, whereas the rivers come down in flood in June. Two marches brought us to Tashmalik, where we camped under the last trees we were likely to see for many a long day, and the following morning we entered the low hills and began a trying march up the Gez River. The heat was intense, and was increased by the glare from the boulders of the river bed, but we consoled ourselves, if not our ponies, with the reflection that within a week we should perhaps be shivering with cold, while at any rate we were treading in the footsteps of Marco Polo. Fording the river was always exciting, especially as, day by day, its volume increased. The last time we forded it my sister was conducted by a Kirghiz chief, who took special precautions for her safety by making his followers ride above her, to break the force of the current. The water is so cold and the current so swift that, as in Tibet, a man who falls and is swept away has little

chance of escape. The Kirghiz, who ford these rivers on foot, do so by jumping on both feet down stream.

After marching three or four stages up the Gez Valley, we reached a point where the river rushed through narrow, gloomy gorges and were obliged to take to the mountains. The tracks ran along the edges of precipices, where a single slip would have meant falling hundreds of feet into the swift river. Even more dangerous was a section that was carried on a wooden gallery built out from the cliff. It was in a rotten condition and we were all intensely thankful when the party passed safely over.

It seems probable that the system of the cantilever bridge was invented in the heart of Asia, for the bridges, weak though they might be, were all constructed on this principle. We generally found them in such a bad state of repair that we had to stuff nosebags into the holes before leading our horses across them.

Within a week we reached the country of the Kirghiz, and at Bulunkul we were welcomed by a leading chief, Osman *Beg*, who had furnished us with the information on which we had depended for the journey. Some *akoi* were placed at our disposal. They are aptly described by Matthew Arnold as "a dome of laths and o'er it felts were spread." Although we certainly retain keen recollections of the blinding smoke of these *akoi*, they were frequently veritable havens of refuge to us, and we shall always look back to them with feelings of gratitude.

My sister was welcomed to the camp by the four wives of Osman *Beg*, who brought a gift of a kind of puff pastry made with cream. They looked most picturesque in their flowered chintz coats padded with cotton, and their long leather boots. Their headgear, composed of rolls of muslin wound on a wooden frame, was striking. They wore necklaces of red coral and silver, with long pendants, and some of them had silver buttons and clasps on their coats of fine Bokhara work.

They were extremely friendly and much enjoyed tea with sugar (instead of salt), biscuits and sweetmeats, large quantities of which had been laid in for that purpose. As they made no objection to men being present, my sister was able to talk freely with them through the servants. Indeed, some of them knew a little Persian. The general impression was that their lives were very hard, owing to the nine months of cold weather. They also work from morning to night, what with milking the herds, rearing the children, weaving homespun cloth,

shifting camp and cooking. They were a plain weather-beaten lot, but some of the children were charming.

Women are highly prized as there are not enough to go round. The rich men marry four wives, and so the poorer members of the community are placed in a difficult position. Wives are purchased, but the hundred sheep that constitute the minimum price are counter-balanced by the dowry of the bride, in the form of jewellery, household stuff and livestock. The wedding customs are primitive. When the suitor has been accepted and has handed over his sheep, the father-in-law gives a feast at which neither the bridegroom nor the bride appears. Late at night the *jinai*, or matchmakers, who play an important part in these ceremonies, conduct the bride, who makes a show of resistance, to a separate *akoi* that has been specially decorated for the occasion. The bridegroom then stealthily approaches the nuptial *akoi*, where he is greeted by the *jinai* with "barking" and, at first, hindered from entering to greet his bride. The bridegroom leaves before dawn, as he is taboo for that day to his father and mother-in-law. The final ceremony is accomplished when he carries off his bride to his own camp. The mother and her relations mourn over her departure, and she offers some resistance and is carried off with a considerable show of force.

Under the guidance of Osman *Beg* we marched west to the foot of the Katta Dawan or "Great Pass," beyond which lay the "Roof of the World." Owing to the deep snow that we were likely to experience on the pass, we arranged to use yaks. These "grunting oxen," as they are termed from their habit of grunting like pigs, are remarkably sure-footed and can go up and down places that are too steep for mules or ponies. They can also support the most severe cold, and are accustomed to dig down to their grazing through the snow. They are docile with the Kirghiz, but are savage with Europeans, as I found out when I was chased by one many years ago in Ladakh.

We loaded up very early, and the sky was clear when we started, although a good deal of snow had fallen in the night. The ascent was very steep and our mounts were soon plunging through deep snow. We could not see the narrow track, but a Kirghiz on foot guided us, being aided by the fact that if he left the beaten path he sank immediately up to his waist in snow. At times the track lay along the edge of precipices. As we ascended many members of the party began to suffer from mountain sickness. One Kirghiz threw himself down and sobbed as if his heart would break. He then set up a dismal howl and

staggered off downhill, in spite of the jeers of his relatives and friends. Clouds gathered ominously and we reached the summit of the pass at an altitude of 16,000 feet in a storm that completely blotted out the landscape. The guide became very anxious, as we had to cross the plateau and no landmarks were visible. We moved forward very cautiously, when suddenly a gust of wind swept away the snow for a minute and revealed to us a most wonderful sight. We were passing among a group of mighty snow giants, with a glacier of green ice glistening in the sun. Looking forward, our view ranged far over low hills flecked with snow, while apparently at our feet the dark blue waters of the Great Karakul lake completed a picture that time will never efface from our minds. The snow changed into sleet as we began the descent of the pass, but there was now no fear of losing the way, and I was able to congratulate my sister on being the first European lady to cross this formidable pass which had brought us to the "Roof of the World," the land of our dreams.

The descent was difficult, but in our joyous mood we made light of the floundering and tumbling in the deep snow. The weather, too, improved as we descended, and when we reached a running stream, which watered a charming Alpine garden, we decided to halt, and much enjoyed the hot tea from our thermos flasks, for we had been many hours crossing the Katta Dawan and were thirsty and tired.

We descended the valley in radiantly bright weather, and enjoyed the sun and the wonderful views across the lake to the Trans-Alai range, which stood up grandly with its dazzling white mantle of freshly fallen snow. When, at sunset, we reached the gravelly waste surrounding the lake, we were shown a group of *akois* in the distance, but suddenly a violent sandstorm blotted out the landscape, and it was a very dirty and tired party, with badly swollen faces, that finally stumbled into an *akoi*. Some hours elapsed before the caravan arrived, but at last the slow-moving yaks appeared, and before midnight everyone had settled down after a very long but intensely interesting march.

From the borders of the lake we travelled ninety miles to the Russian centre of Pamirski Post. Although it was midsummer we started off in a foot of snow. After a while the sun shone fiercely, wraps were discarded, and when we halted at midday the snow had disappeared and the heat was intense, so that we longed in vain for the shelter of a tree or even of a rock. Suddenly there was a peal of thunder in the mountains and a short, sharp shower fell from the cloudless sky. Then an icy blast blew until we agreed that the sun-

shine in the Pamirs was sometimes "iced." At night it was invariably very cold, and we enjoyed wearing long boots and woollen caps, while plenty of bedding was essential. The altitude, which was higher than that of the average peaks of the Alps, made us feel disinclined to take unnecessary exertion. Running, for example, would have been almost impossible.

It is curious that in one of the coldest countries in the world there are no houses. The fact is that the people live on the products of their flocks and are, therefore, obliged to change their poor grazing grounds constantly. Moreover, there is no agriculture whatever, and a piece of bread is a rare luxury. In spite of the absence of "the staff of life," and of vegetables, everyone appeared to be well fed and healthy. It is probable that the strong alone survive.

We took a photograph of the only building we saw. It was a roughly constructed shrine, in which was buried a mighty hunter. My tracker, Nadir, prayed at it that we should make a good bag and concluded by solemnly opening a cartridge and spilling the cordite over the tomb.

One object of the journey was to hunt the *ovis poli*, which had been my cherished ambition for many years. The first mention of this splendid ram was Marco Polo's account of wild sheep of great size, whose horns are good six palms in length. A palm is reckoned to be ten inches, so Marco describes horns five feet in length, nor did he exaggerate, for the record head is longer than that. These superb beasts stand twelve hands and weigh about 22 stone.

It was midsummer and about the worst time for hunting, as, owing to the heat and the insect pests, the game hid during the day in the highest and most inaccessible parts of the range. At night, however, they descended into the valleys, and there was little chance of intercepting them when returning to the mountains. We camped in a shallow valley, and starting off two or three hours before dawn, in bitter cold on yaks, reached the snowline before daylight. We carefully hid the yaks, and then watched the valley, sweeping it incessantly with our glasses. On one happy day we spied a small herd with a fine ram slowly grazing its way uphill. The stalk was difficult among the boulders, which gave little cover, but a lucky shot secured me the blue riband of the chase. On another occasion I wounded a ram and was able to run it down with dogs.

We left the Pamirs by an easy pass, the ascent being short, whereas the descent was interminable. However, as we descended so the feel-

ing of lassitude passed off, until at Tagharma we experienced the mere joy of living to the full. It was delightful to stroll about among sheets of mauve primulas, white and pale blue anemones and pretty little blue daisies, and to see the green meadows stretching for miles in every direction.

The Kirghiz chiefs arranged an exhibition of the game of *baigu*, or "hunt the goat," for our amusement. The "ball" is prepared by killing a goat, and after its head had been cut off, its bones broken and its entrails removed, it was carefully sewn up. The Kirghiz, mounted on their wiry ponies, formed a mêlée and tried to pick up the goat which was thrown among them. After much shoving one man succeeded and, tucking it under his thigh, rode off as fast as he could urge his mount, pursued by the others. If he rounded a flag and reached the starting-point with the goat, he was awarded a silk handkerchief. Sometimes there were fierce struggles, the players becoming wildly excited. The ponies, which were grass-fed, gradually became exhausted, and so we thanked the competitors for the exhibition of the national sport and brought it to a close.

The Sarikol valley possesses the extraordinary interest that its inhabitants are pure Aryans, practically the last link in the long chain that now stretches across the world from British Columbia through Europe and Persia to Afghanistan, and through Badakshan to the Sarikol valley. The people, with their aquiline noses and clear-cut features, have little resemblance to the mixed population of Chinese Turkestan and none whatever to the flat-faced Kirghiz. Rather they might be taken for inhabitants of south Europe.

Although not British subjects, they are followers of H.H. the Aga Khan, and travel across the most stupendous mountain barrier in the world to Bombay to pay their respects to their religious head and to offer him tithes. They speak Persian, and as they were aware that I was a friend of His Highness their welcome was extremely cordial.

After the desolate Pamirs it was delightful to see crops of wheat, barley, peas, alfalfa and mustard once again, and even the rough homesteads gave one the impression of civilization. At the same time these crops mature with great difficulty and are distinctly scanty.

The Sarikolis cherish the legends of Iran and have given their mountains the old familiar names. They were never tired of talking about the history of Persia, and said that their chiefs had emigrated to the valley from Badakshan five or six generations ago.

The Sarikol valley is situated about halfway between Gilgit and

Kashgar, between which centres the Government of India maintains a postal service, carried by runners. Among the interesting visitors I received was the postmaster, a brother of *Thum*, or Chief, of Hunza, who rules over the Kunjuti tribe and claims descent from Alexander the Great. Nor is the claim fantastic, for his family has intermarried with the chiefs of Badakshan, the classical Bactria, and the seat of a Greek dynasty which ruled the country for some two centuries after its conquest by Alexander the Great.

The Sarikolis are devoted to singing and dancing, and we much enjoyed the performances of a troupe of youths led by a band consisting of a drum and pipes. They sang many songs interspersed with dances, and we only regretted that lack of time prevented us from studying and collecting their songs. The " star " performer was a boy, who executed most graceful steps, waving his long sleeves in the most effective manner; indeed, they all did. We were informed that nowadays the old people alone remembered the songs relating to raids and fighting, and that the present generation only cared to listen to themes of love and feasting—so soon do altered conditions react on the rising generation.

Their favourite chorus ran:

> "Alas! my unfaithful love.
> Alas! my inconstant heaven.
> I grow thin as a blade of grass
> In my craving for thee."

I shall never visit the Pamirs again, but I sometimes dream that I am on the " Roof of the World," and see Marco Polo marching across its lonely wastes and wondering at the size of the mighty rams that were destined to be called after him. Or again, I am in the Sarikol valley and, sitting in an *akoi*, I hear one group singing, " Thy cheeks are like tulips," to be answered by the second group with, " Thy eyes are dark as spring-water." These are the memories that remain.

THE GERMAN COUNTER TO REVOLT IN THE DESERT

By SIR TELFORD WAUGH, K.C.M.G.

ON page 93 of *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* Lawrence, speaking of the strength of the Turkish garrison in Medina, remarks that the troops to escort von Stotzingen to Yemen were still in the town.

The following account of the Stotzingen Mission is taken from the *Orient Rundschau*, a Berlin periodical published by an association of Near East "fighters and friends":

After the defeat of Serbia and the opening up of direct communication with Constantinople at the end of 1915, the German High Command saw that the time had come for energetic measures in the Near East. Detachments were sent to support a second Turkish attack on the Suez Canal and to strengthen the Turks on the Russian front, and it was decided to make a strong effort to arouse the Arab provinces of Turkey, where the summons to a Holy War had fallen flat. A special German Mission was to proceed to south Arabia to set up a wireless station, a centre for German propaganda. It was planned to start an Arabic newspaper in Medina. The Mission was further to attempt to extend its activity across the Red Sea in Africa and to support revolt among tribes in the Sudan, Eritrea and Somaliland, and finally to establish wireless communication with German East Africa. The choice was made of Major von Stotzingen as head of the Mission, an ex-officer of Dragoon Guards and a great traveller, speaking Arabic. He was serving on the Eastern front when he received the summons to report in Berlin. At headquarters Captain Nadolny, the post-war Ambassador in Turkey and Moscow, gave him his instructions. In addition to his regular staff an Arab named Menun was attached to him for the newspaper in Medina, and the aged Karl Neufeld, who had been twelve years prisoner of the Mahdi at the end of last century and could pass for an Arab, volunteered to try to get through to Abyssinia and the German Legation in Addis Ababa.

The Mission left Berlin for Constantinople by the newly started

"Balkan Train" on March 15, 1916. It took with it a considerable sum of gold packed in boxes and several boxes of Maria Theresa dollars meant for use in Abyssinia. The sum was, however, ridiculously small in comparison with that placed at Lawrence's disposal. Stotzingen, on arrival in Constantinople, reported to Enver Pasha, who proposed that the wireless station should be set up in Sana, the capital of Yemen. An expedition was just starting under a Turkish major, Kari Bey, to reinforce the Turkish garrison in Yemen for an attack on Aden, and the Mission could travel with it.

The usual Turkish delay intervened before Enver allowed the Mission to start, and the scheme of an Arabic newspaper in Medina was vetoed and Menun had to be left behind in Constantinople. In Damascus further difficulties were raised by Jemal Pasha, to whom the Mission reported on its arrival on March 26. He at once forbade the journey through Medina and Mecca and would not allow the route to be taken through the desert to the east of the Holy Cities. It was only after appeal to higher authorities in Constantinople that Stotzingen at last obtained permission to take the road along the coast of the Red Sea. Jemal was right to forbid the Mission to travel through Medina and Mecca, where it would certainly have met with disaster, but his objection to its taking the eastern desert route was inspired by jealousy. That route led through the country of the Shammar tribe, whose chief Ibn Rashid was pro-Turk. The Mission would have been well received by this tribe, which remained friendly to Germans up to the end of the war. The coast road also might have been possible if the journey had not been too long delayed by Jemal's opposition. At last it was arranged that they should accompany Kari Bey's force on the Hejaz railway as far as El Ula, beyond where Christians were not allowed, and there should leave the railway and make their way by camel to the coast; from El Wedj small coasting vessels would convey them to Confuda, situated south-east of Mecca, where they would again be joined by Kari Bey's force for the land march to Yemen. It was a long and dangerous road, nearly 1,000 kilometres along a coast under observation by English naval patrol vessels.

In Damascus Major von Stotzingen met the Emir Feisal, who put on a friendly attitude and gave him letters of introduction, among others one to his father, Sherif Hussein.

In the midst of all this negotiation and anxiety there was a humorous incident. Neufeld, who as a Moslem had already two legal wives in Egypt, took a Kurdish woman in Damascus as his third, and

declared that he would take her with him on his expedition to Africa. Stotzingen after some hesitation consented, and the veiled lady went the whole of the way and later accompanied her husband to Germany.

The Mission left Damascus on May 2 with Kari Bey and two days later reached El Ula, 250 kilometres from Medina. Kari Bey went on by train and took the wireless installation with him. The Germans made their way with a caravan of thirty-seven camels and an escort of Turkish-Arab gendarmes to El Wedj on the Red Sea, and from there in two small coasting vessels to Umledj. English patrol vessels had been seen near the coast and it was not safe to go further by sea, so they continued the journey by land and after two and a half weeks reached the port of Yanbo. They got no further.

The next stage was to be Jeddah, but on arrival in Yanbo it was learned that a German naval officer with six companions was on his way with a gendarmery escort from Jeddah to Yanbo. This was Captain von Möller on his way from the Far East to the Hejaz railway. Stotzingen determined to await his arrival in Yanbo and to take advantage of the returning escort to Jeddah. A week passed, but they waited in vain. Then things changed for the worse. Bad news came in from all sides, unrest in the neighbourhood and the report that Möller and his companions had been murdered. An English warship appeared threatening the town, but put to sea again after a short stay. The Turkish authorities said that certain Beduin tribes in the district had declared for England and meant to storm the Turkish posts. Preparations were made to defend the town. The Turkish escort, which kept close watch over the Germans, and which had been regarded at first as a sign of suspicion, was strengthened. Anxiety grew from day to day. In ignorance of the real situation messengers were now sent to Mecca with Feisal's letter of introduction to Sherif Hussein, but no reply came. Meantime the whole population of Jeddah was celebrating unconcerned a wedding in the house of an Arab notable; the festivities lasted several days and the Germans had to take part in them as honoured guests. On June 6 the local authority received instructions from Medina to detain the Mission and not to allow it to travel forwards or backwards. A long stay seemed inevitable, and it was suggested that the wireless installation might be sent on from Medina and set up in Yanbo to establish communication, from there with German East Africa. The possibility of putting Neufeld across to Africa was considered, but in view of the English watch along the coast it seemed hopeless. On June 8 all doubt was

removed by a telegram from Damascus in which Jemal Pasha ordered the immediate return of the German Mission. Some thought of breaking away to the south in spite of Jemal's order, but the idea was given up and had no chance of success. On the evening of June 12 the caravan started northward with heavy hearts and a weak escort. Part of the heavy baggage was left in charge of the Turkish authority in Yanbo; the cyphers were burned.

Stotzingen doubted at times whether he would get through; the attitude of the population was suspicious and the escort unreliable, but luck favoured him and on June 27 he reached El Ula on the Hejaz railway. On the last part of the journey they were escorted by the Beduin Sheikh Suleiman Pasha, who a year before had befriended the survivors of the *Emden's* crew on their way through. Later his tribe under English pressure joined the Revolt.

Those days had given birth to grave decisions in Mecca, Medina and Jeddah, whose full import no member of the Mission could suspect. The distant tremor felt in Yanbo was the beginning of the great Arab rising, the Revolt in the Desert, which broke out in front of Medina and advanced northwards until finally in 1918 it ended in the English conquest of Palestine. The Mission itself was one of the immediate causes of the outbreak. The Emir Feisal, who was secretly preparing the ground in Damascus, had been seriously disturbed by the despatch of Kari Bey's force to the Hejaz. He feared that Turkish reinforcements might hinder the planned Arab rising in the south. His fears were strengthened by the sudden appearance of the German Mission, which he met in Damascus. He seemed to think that Kari Bey's force was under German command and that the Germans had in view further activity in the Hejaz. He broke off, therefore, his stay in Damascus and hurried back to the Hejaz. He judged the moment come for the rising and raised the banner of revolt. With 30,000 Beduins he attacked Medina on June 6. His brother Ali hurried north to cut the railway at El Ula. The Turks succeeded in repulsing the rebels, but the movement had started and the size of the country and the weakness of the Turkish garrisons made it impossible to stop it. One of the rebels' first deeds was the murder of von Möller and his six companions. No details were ever learned. On June 9, 4,000 Beduins attacked Jeddah. English warships supported the attack and the town surrendered a few days later. Mecca fell on June 12. On June 28, about the time of the Mission's return to El Ula, the first English troops arrived in Jeddah. Kari Bey's force, taken by surprise, never

reached southern Arabia; it remained in Medina and helped the garrison to defend the town till the end of the war.

Stotzingen's Mission returned by the Hejaz railway from El Ula to Damascus. It remained there till the autumn of 1916, ready for another attempt to reach south Arabia, but as the situation in the Hejaz grew steadily worse the plan had to be abandoned. Major von Stotzingen was meanwhile attached to the Sinai expeditionary force under von Kress and took part in the second attack on the Suez Canal. On October 18 he returned to Germany and Neufeld was also recalled to Berlin. The wireless installation was brought back from Medina to Damascus.

Major von Stotzingen laid a scheme before the home authorities for sending wireless apparatus by submarine to the coast of Libya and erecting it in the Kufra oasis to get into touch with German East Africa. The expedition would be under the protection of the Senussi Arabs, who were allies of the Turks and partly led by Turkish officers. This plan also failed as the English had defeated the Senussi and driven them back into the desert.

Lawrence never met von Stotzingen; he only appeared on the scene in October, 1916.

It was a tragedy that this expedition, carried out with so much spirit and sacrifice, was wrecked by a series of misfortunes. From what we now know it is clear that the plan was a bold and well-devised move of the High Command. We know to-day that Abyssinia and Somaliland were seething and that unrest in the Sudan was causing anxiety to the English Government. We know, too, that in central and southern Arabia great Arab tribes were on our side and might have been used to counteract English influence. In Yemen this pro-Turk feeling lasted till the end of the war. There were many points of contact where the Mission could have worked and achieved results of immeasurable importance. This is recognized by the enemy. "It is hard to overestimate the importance of the Expedition," says the English official report.

THE GOAT STANDARD

EDITED BY MAJOR C. S. JARVIS, C.M.G., O.B.E.

IN a lecture I gave to the Royal Central Asian Society in 1935 on the Egyptian Deserts, I made a most unprovoked and violent attack on the goat and accused him of being an evil beast directly responsible for much of the barrenness of the desert. Sir Ronald Storrs, who was acting as Chairman on that occasion, felt that the attack was too virulent and took up cudgels on the goat's behalf, and, with that happy phraseology of his, gave it as his opinion that "the time has not arrived for the Arab to go off the goat standard." As he explained, the goat provides the Arab with much of his means of livelihood; it supplies him with milk and its by-products of cheese and that highly scented fat, *sahmn*; on state occasions the kids can be eaten; the hair is used for tent-making and for *abayas* or cloaks; and the skin of the defunct beast makes a *girba* or water-skin.

This is all too true, and those who are acquainted with the Beduin cannot envisage how he could exist without his flock of goats. The goat is the one animal that can exist on the very sparse feeding that the deserts provide, as, even when it is necessary to shift the camels to some area where a rainfall has provided a certain amount of grazing, the goat can remain and thrive on what one might call the skeletons of the feast—the woody stalks of the close-cropped and dry scrub bushes—and, moreover, can digest semi-poisonous plants that other animals will not touch. He is the one factor that prevents the half-starved Beduin from starving altogether, and it is impossible to think of any other animal that could fill his place. Tethering the goat, as is the case in more prosperous and fertile countries, is, of course, useless, as the goat has to cover a very wide area to pick up the few miserable shreds of scrub on which he keeps body and soul together, and there can, of course, be no question of artificial feeding.

My charge against the goat is that he is to a very considerable extent responsible for the desert, and that in many places he has turned a more or less passable wilderness into a sandy and sterile waste. He bites the heart out of all living things and gnaws down to the roots every tree or scrub seedling immediately it appears above the surface. Nature has no opportunity to reproduce herself, and when the natural acacia-trees and various well-established scrubs of the desert die off from old age, or are

removed for firewood, there is no new growth coming on to replace them. I may say that when on a camel patrol in Sinai I happened to see that very rare sight, a young acacia or *sayal*-tree sprouting in a *wadi*, I used to halt the patrol and have a rough wall of loose stones built round it. This may sound a very remarkable and public-spirited performance, but I may explain the necessity very seldom arose, unfortunately.

This thorough and systematic denudation of the desert of all growth causes, firstly, lack of the small succulent plants that sprout after the rainy season in the shade of trees and scrub bushes and on which the sheep and camels fatten; secondly, the killing off of the scrub bushes causes desiccation of the soil and the spread of sand dunes; and, thirdly, the absence of vegetation undoubtedly has the effect of lessening the rainfall.

During my fourteen years in Sinai—a very short span for an age-old desert—I was able to see what the goat could accomplish in less than a decade and a half. Increased public security caused the village folk of El Arish to multiply in numbers; a larger population meant more goats, and safety from attack from Beduin meant that the goat flocks could graze several miles away from the small town, and not merely in its close vicinity, as was the case previously. In fourteen years a very large area south of El Arish was absolutely denuded of all vegetation, and even the tamarisk disappeared. This was bad enough in itself, but the resulting spread of the sand dunes was alarming, and when I left nine months ago the dune area had advanced very nearly five miles farther south than it had been in 1922.

In several places in the desert I had fenced small areas for the propagation of various Australian salt scrubs I had imported, and inside the fences the growth of natural vegetation was amazing. The *negeel*, or native couch, obtained a firm hold of the soil; spreading bushes of scrub grew to an enormous size, and the sand quickly became hard and stabilized and covered with a deposit of rotted vegetable matter.

The situation is, therefore, that the deserts will continue to become more and more rainless, the natural growths will die off, and the sand area will gradually creep southwards until the whole of the peninsula is a waste of dunes. At the rate the sand has advanced in fourteen years this unhappy state of affairs is not so far away as one might imagine, though it will not occur in the lifetime of any living person of our age. These remarks do not apply to Sinai only, but to the semi-desert areas in the south of Palestine, Trans-Jordan, the Hedjaz, and the Sahara.

Criticism if merely destructive is of no value, and it is difficult, when one is faced by a nomad who depends upon his goat, to arrive at a solution of the problem. Governments are not vastly interested in deserts and are not particularly concerned about the inhabitants provided they behave themselves, and therefore there are seldom funds available for any desert or Arab schemes. The only solution, apparently, would be to fence certain areas where the sand is advancing very rapidly, trusting to Nature to restore her own balance, and then open up these areas and fence others.

The question having been raised, opinions on the goat were asked of various other countries, and Mr. Unwin, the Conservator of Forests in Cyprus, proved to be an even more inveterate antagonist of the animal than I myself am. Where I scourge goats with whips, he scourges them with scorpions, for apparently the damage that flocks cause in the desert are as nothing to their depredations in mountainous and hilly countries. In Cyprus and Palestine—Palestine particularly—generations of goats have denuded the hillsides of all growth, with the result that there is no natural soakage of rain into the soil. The water runs off in rills and tiny torrents and goes straight to the sea, carrying with it all the humus and light soil that should go to fertilize the olive gardens and vineyards.

During the heavy cloudbursts that occurred in the spring of 1935 in Palestine the results of this denudation of all natural herbage and bushes on the hill-tops was very apparent, for after the terrific downpours the fertile terraces and hillsides below looked as if they had been scored by a giant currycomb, and millions of tons of rich soil, the conservation of generations, were carried away into the Mediterranean. The tearing out of the hillsides was not the limit of the damage, for in the low-lying and richer land whole fields and gardens were swept away by the flood, leaving a skeleton of boulders and raw stratas of virgin rock, whilst several villages, notably Tiberias, were wrecked. This violent flooding is due solely to the removal of growth from the hills and mountains, and, though the wood and charcoal burners must bear some of the blame, the goat is primarily responsible.

Much has been accomplished of recent years in Palestine by the fencing of mountain-tops and the planting of trees, and the resulting growth in the shortest possible time is almost unbelievable and wholly beneficial. One of the most regrettable features of the recent troubles has been the constant and wanton damage to these forest areas by Arab malcontents, who cannot have had the good of their country at heart if

they destroyed a work that could only benefit the community at large and the general prosperity and well-being of the land. To say the least, it was a very queer method of showing their national spirit.

Mr. Unwin has written a short article on his experience of the goat, based on long service abroad as a forest officer. He has met the goat in many different countries, and his views are valuable.

"THE DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF GRAZING IN VARIOUS LANDS.

"In the Southern Provinces of Nigeria, where the rainfall varies from 50 inches to 100 inches, a more or less circular strip of up to 50 yards wide round each village is gradually cleared of all trees by the browsing of goats. In the villages, too, the goats receive a considerable amount of food from waste vegetables and peelings of various kinds of fruit, so that there is less need to attack shrubs and tree seedlings.

"2. In British Columbia and New Zealand goats are used for clearing land from cranberry and other growth, thus showing how they can browse down and destroy arborescent growth.

"3. In Cyprus, first of all, the goat is very fond of the perennial plant *Origanum dubium* and other species. These plants form the original source of the most valuable origanum and marjoram oils.

"4. In most parts of the country the wild olive (*Olea europæa*) appears from olive stones dropped in the ground by birds. Those seedlings, which have survived the trampling and browsing by goats, spread out into large bushes at least 4 feet in diameter, and eventually in thirty to forty years attain a height of about 4 feet. The leading shoot is far enough away to escape the browsing goat, and from thence onwards the olive grows into a small tree. Otherwise an olive seedling grown without being exposed to goat grazing attains the size of a tree capable of being budded within six or ten years.

"5. The carob-tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*) is also very much liked by the goat and browsed down to the ground. Everywhere the ends of the lowest branches are eaten off up to the highest reach of the goat.

"6. Where *Acacia cyanophylla* seedlings have grown in plantations the goatherds often twist the fencing wires together so as to allow entrance for the goats; in addition they break down branches to provide additional material on which the goats can browse.

"7. The holly oak (*Quercus coccifera*) is another favourite of the goat, and any surviving seedling gradually spreads out like a thick cushion. Eventually after thirty years it may be of 6 to 10 feet in

diameter, completely covering the ground, when the leading shoot, already 4 or 5 feet from the ground, may escape mauling of the goat's teeth and eventually form a tree stem.

"8. In a favourable year thousands of cedar seedlings come up, most of which are trampled, pulled out, or browsed down by the goats. The few which survive form various shapes, chiefly as a round half-sphere or dwarf-like trees. After thirty years the leading shoot in the centre will survive and grow over a foot in length in one year. Then the tree has escaped and will grow at least ten times the height in the next thirty years as it did in the first thirty with the continual browsing.

"9. Golden oak (*Quercus alnifolia*), which is worked under a coppice system, is browsed very severely and continuously by the goat. The surviving shoots are crooked and crippled for many years. Even the hardy Aleppo pine (*Pinus halepensis*) is troubled very much and nibbled. In many cases it is possible to see pincushion-like pines, simply a tuft of pine needles with tiny branches, the whole being about a foot in height.

"10. In some cases in May the thin leading shoots of the pine are eaten off, the crystal-clear resin exudes, and the height of the tree is stopped for that year. In other words, the annual growth is reduced by more than half at that age (probably twenty years of the tree).

"11. The goat also likes lentisk and terebinth, both species of pistacia (*Pistacia lentiscus* and *Pistacia terebinthus*). Even an exotic such as the tree of heaven (*Ailanthus glandulosa*) is browsed upon if there is no other better tasting tree at hand.

"12. Eucalyptus of all species is browsed also, but, if protected, grows out of reach quickly. However, one and all have to pay toll towards the upkeep of the goat when grazing in the forests or plantations.

"13. Then, considering that most of the forests in Cyprus are situated on very steep slopes, with grazing much of the annual fall of needles and leaves are washed away, and thus very little humus is formed. In the forest, where more level, the trampling of the goat makes holes in any layer of humus or decaying needles or leaves. The soil underneath is then exposed, dries out, and forms cracks, so that the trees cannot grow so fast with the impoverishment of the ground, lack of humus, and the rain washing away part of the soil and laying bare the subsoil.

"14. With the deterioration of the soil, useful bacteria, worms, and

other plant-helping factors move on or die. The remaining soil is not in a physically fit condition to meet the full requirements of growing trees.

"15. If goats are observed carefully for a time, it will be seen how seldom they are standing still, but are usually ambling from tree to tree or climbing over the rocks, forming numerous tracks on the mountain-sides. Once the subsoil is uncovered it is also washed away, and finally the rock is exposed. Small pieces are knocked away with the jumping of the goats, small stones roll down the steep slopes, and later larger pieces of rock. Eventually there is a regular slide of stones and weathering rock, which form screes.

"16. With the weathering of the under-surface layer, rain falling on such slope carries the smaller stones and bigger rocks down, with the result that many are carried outside the forests on to some arable field. This is simply the beginning of the process of erosion.

"17. In the Cyprus forests it is estimated that many cubic feet of wooded growth is not accruing every year, owing to the browsing of the goats and other ancillary or ensuing damage to seedlings, trees, and soil.

"18. Here, a few years ago, an exhibition of trees damaged by goat browsing was staged. An ordinary goat was let loose and went from tree to tree, eating the various kinds indiscriminatingly, though apparently preferring the olive. An editor of a newspaper, who arrived late, not actually seeing this browsing, did not believe that damage was done. Therefore some tempting, freshly cut green barley (nearly 2 feet long) was brought, but the goat, instead of eating it, went on browsing at the trees.

"19. It is significant that, where no grazing has been allowed, natural reproduction of pine, golden oak, arbutus, has appeared, and even callitris with a rainfall of about 7 inches.

"20. After the war fellings, in several of the forests, where grazing was eliminated, natural reproduction has completely taken the place of the trees originally cut down nearly twenty years ago.

"A. H. UNWIN,

"Conservator of Forests.

"*February* 8, 1935."

Mr. Unwin has also written a book on the question, *Goat Grazing and Forestry in Cyprus*, and in one chapter he deals with the damage done by these animals to the orchards of others:

". . . A goatherd has a grazing permit in a forest, and occasionally each summer sells some of his kids and goats. These are driven down to the edge of the forest by a rough track or path, as the case may be, and then through or over other persons' fields or even at the side of them.

"As no one has yet thought of muzzling a goat in passing through someone else's property, the goat eats whatever is at hand—grain, herbs, shrubs, fruit-trees, and so on. In one field little or no damage is done, in another more. Nevertheless, unless the goatherd stops some time at one place, very few of the landowners notice or know about the damage until it is too late either to see or find out the name of the goatherd, the number of animals, and other necessary particulars. In many cases the damage on that particular day is not so extensive or severe that action can be taken with any certitude of success with sufficient compensation to pay for all the trouble and worry to the owner, the *mukhtar* of the village, and others who have to assess the damage. In very many cases of small or passing damage no notice is taken, or at any rate no compensation is demanded or paid. However, the community pays by a loss of crop or damage to a fruit-tree which subsequently dies.

"Capital which was saved has been thrown away in the loss of time which was taken to raise or buy the fruit-tree, and the wretched owner has to begin again. Now, considering that there are at least 46,000 owners of property in Cyprus and over 2,000,000 individual holdings, it will be seen how large in the aggregate is the unrecorded damage done to crops, fruit, and other trees of individuals. What is the gain? One illiterate goatherd is kept in comparative idleness at the expense of the community, and a few gaunt goats produce some dirty milk, inferior cheese of various kinds, and poor leather, none of which can be exported. As a very experienced official in Cyprus once said: 'From the goat the Cypriot gets ten shillings' worth of produce in a year and over one pound's worth of damage.' It is very evident on which side of the ledger the account stands at the end of each year."

Goatherding, one may mention, is the ideal pursuit of a thoroughly lazy and ineffectual man. All he has to do is to move his flock out at dawn to a suitable spot, and the rest of the day is his in which to sleep or while away the time in complete and utter idleness. The result on the character is deplorable, and the herd is seldom a useful member of the community. This has been the case throughout the ages, and in Greek mythology it was always the goatherd who "got" the innocent

dryads and naiads into "trouble," and the satyrs, if they followed any profession at all, were undoubtedly custodians of goat flocks, which animals they resembled closely in appearance.

In the densely populated and highly cultivated Nile Valley goats are plentiful, but apparently they do very little damage, as one hears no complaints against them. This is due to the fact that the cultivators are in the fields from dawn till sunset and are most vociferous, not to say violent, if any lazy goatherd allows his animals to stray into the crops. This rather goes to prove that the goatherd and his flock can be made amenable to discipline, and a crack over the head with a staff inspires the herd with respect for private property, which respect he passes on to his charges.

One of the richest grazing areas in the Nile Valley is Cairo's vast rubbish dump in the desert east of Heliopolis, and in the East rubbish has to *be* rubbish before it is thrown away. On this large stretch of empty tins, glass, and concentrated horror an enormous number of goats pick up a living; but this solution of the grazing difficulty is not recommended, as one might imagine that every goats'-milk cheese one ate came from this insalubrious area.

In the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* of July, 1935, there is an interesting article by I. D. Malhotra on the semi-nomadic Gaddis tribe of the Western Himalayas, in which this paragraph occurs:

"In concluding this account a word may be said of the gradual increase in the number of sheep and goats and the consequent pressure upon grazing land. This has in course of time resulted in the devastation of forests, especially the scrub forests that cover the low hills of Kangra Valley, and in the erosion of the loosely knit soil which prevails over the region. Once this is exposed it is easily eroded by the heavy monsoonal rains, and as the result the torrential streams devastate the plains by spreading sand over fertile fields. The conflict of interest between the farmers of the plains and the semi-pastoral people above has raised serious problems for the Government. If the erosion of soil is to be prevented, the numbers of sheep and goats must be kept in check, more especially of goats, on account of their appetite for very young trees. . . ."

Our efforts to work up a convincing case against the goat, however, received a definite set-back that emanated from the Far East in the form of a pamphlet issued by the Foreign Trade Association of China, en-

titled "Goatskin." Not one word is said against the goat or his habits, and instead the praises of his skin and the rest of his appurtenances are sung in no uncertain tones. He is, we learn, a most valuable beast, and, according to the Trade Association, the supply is quite inadequate to the demand, so much so that in China they are inaugurating a "Raise-More-Goat" movement.

The case against the goat, however, is sufficiently strong to prove that he is a menace to both the desert and the town; but, on the other hand, his usefulness and ability to pick up a living where any other animal would die of starvation constitute him a very necessary adjunct to the existence of the nomad and non-landowning class. His nick-name, "the poor man's cow," would seem to be well deserved, and Sir Ronald Storrs' remark about the "goat standard" would appear to be the last word on the subject.

REVIEWS

The Indian Federation. An Exposition and Critical Review. By Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Litt.D. Pp. xii+450. $6\frac{1}{8}'' \times 9''$. Macmillan and Co. 1937. 15s.

Many books have already been written to explain that exceedingly complex enactment, the Government of India Act of 1935, which is undoubtedly the most colossal piece of legislation the world has yet seen, affecting as it does the future of 360 millions of people. The legal aspect of the measure was ably analyzed in *India's New Constitution* (by Eddy and Lawton. Macmillan, 1935).

Sir Shafa'at Ahmad deals primarily with the political developments which led up to the Act and with the gradual evolution of its provisions as worked out in the three Round-Table Conferences of 1931-33 and the Parliamentary Joint Committee of 1934. As he was one of the most prominent Indian delegates to these bodies, and also had specially worked up the case of the great Muslim minority at whose All-India Conference he presided in 1933-34, he starts with very special qualifications for his formidable task. His Indian background and his inner knowledge of the discussions and deliberations in London have combined to make his work one of peculiar value not only to the historian, but to the politicians and administrators who will have to carry out the new scheme of autonomy in the Provinces.

Sir Shafa'at's exposition of the leading features of the Federation—which is still in the air awaiting the adhesion of the Princes who rule 80 million subjects—and of Provincial Autonomy, which comes into operation on April 1, is clear and masterly. But naturally enough, as an Indian politician who throughout has endeavoured to gain from the Imperial Parliament as much authority as possible for the New Dispensation in India, and particularly for the Muslims, he has discussed with much freedom the political issues involved. In his final chapter he criticizes the Act and its authors for "giving too little" (in the way of transferring responsibility to the new Indian Legislatures) "and asking too much" (in the shape of the safeguards designed to prevent abuse of their new powers by inexperienced and sometimes anti-British politicians).

A great body of opinion in this country, including most of those who had borne the responsibility of Indian administration in the past, regarded, and still regard, the sweeping transfer of British responsibility to Ministers without experience representing an electorate mainly illiterate, as a rash experiment—a leap in the dark.

The outstanding provisions of the New Constitution may be summarized as follows:

(1) The Governor-General, as Viceroy, retains control under Parliament of defence, foreign relations and the small Anglican ecclesiastical establishment.

(2) *The control of the Crown and Parliament over the entire Civil administration of British India, hitherto exercised through the* Secretary of State for India and by the agency of the Governor-General, Governors of Provinces and the Services, British and Indian, disappears.

(3) For the Crown and Parliament is substituted an All-India Federation, still in the air, to be composed of *elected* representatives of the eleven British Provinces and *nominees* of the several hundred Indian States, or of such of them as may be found willing to join the Federation.

(4) The Governor-General, as head of the Federation, must follow the advice of his Ministers (all Indians), who under the authority of the bicameral Federal Legislature (almost exclusively Indian) will control the whole of the All-India civil administration—Finance, Tariffs, Customs, Railways, Commerce and Industry, Posts and Telegraphs, etc., and the connected Services.

(5) Similarly, the whole field of provincial administration—Justice, Police, Jails, Land-Revenue, Irrigation, Public Works, Public Health, Forests, Agriculture, Industry, Education, etc.—is transferred to the control of Indian Ministers responsible to elected Provincial Legislatures (in some cases bicameral) almost exclusively Indian. The Governor must ordinarily act on the advice of these Ministers.

(6) But the Governor-General and Governors are given discretion to overrule the Ministers, when they consider such a course necessary in the discharge of their "special responsibilities" for the maintenance of public tranquillity, protection of minorities, of the Services and of the interests of the Indian States, the prevention of fiscal discrimination, and (in the case of the Governor-General) the maintenance of Indian (as apart from provincial finance for which the Governor has no special responsibility) financial stability and credit. These are the "Safeguards."

(7) The present substantial British element in the Central and Provincial Governments disappears, as well as the nominated members, official and non-official, British and Indian, in the Legislatures. Their experience and impartial outlook have been most valuable in the past, but the Act wipes them out as inconsistent with the new democracy!

(8) Similarly British recruitment ceases at once, where it has not already been stopped, for all the British-Indian Services, except the I.C.S. and Police, whose case will come under review after some years. The British element in the great Services that have made India what it is—Public Works, Irrigation, Forests, Agriculture and Veterinary Education, etc.—will have faded away in a few years. This is one of the provisions most open to criticism, for it subordinates administrative efficiency to political expediency and is the last thing the Indian masses desire.

The only relics of British authority left, in what is described as a British-Indian "Partnership," are the Governor-General and the Governors of Provinces; *their discretionary and emergency powers are wide—on paper*—and have therefore been the special object of attack by Indian politicians of all parties—including Sir Shafa'at himself. But in practice, as experience in Ireland and in India itself shows, even if the Governor-General and Governors have the will to exercise them, they will not usually have the means; for all the machinery (apart from the Army) that could give effect to their decisions will have been transferred to the control of the very Ministers whose dangerous policy is compelling the Governor to intervene. The futility of Safeguards was never better stated than by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the course of the Irish Home Rule Debate of November, 1912, when he said: "*I am one of those who do not believe that Safeguards of any certain efficiency can ever be embodied in an Act of Parliament.*" However, the British Parliament of today thought otherwise.

Yet the Act which transfers such enormous responsibilities to Indian politicians has evoked no gracious response in India. Sir Shafa'at writes (p. 354):

> "They (the Liberals) are *naturally* dissatisfied with it, as every section in India is dissatisfied. There is not a single party in India which praises the new Act."

Perhaps one must not expect gratitude in politics, but in this case one might reasonably expect helpful co-operation. Even that is denied, if not by all sections, at least by the powerful Congress party which will have no truck with "British Imperialism" and stands out for "complete independence" with control of the whole administration, including defence and foreign affairs. The decision to boycott the Coronation is significant of their attitude towards the Crown.

Sir Shafa'at has nothing but praise for Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru, who as President of the Congress has committed it to his avowed policy of total separation, and who—having studied Soviet methods in Moscow—has, in Sir Shafa'at's words, "presented a programme which differs but slightly from the ideals and policy of the Russian Soviet."

What a prospect for India's 350 millions! Unfortunately we cannot ignore it as the dream of an impracticable visionary. The Pandit is a man of immense ability and great force of character. Thanks mainly to his organization and leadership, and to his specious, if impracticable, agrarian programme—reduction of rent, land-revenue, irrigation dues, and the wiping out of agricultural debt to landlords and moneylenders—the Congress party has swept the board in the recent provincial elections. They have secured an absolute majority in six Provinces, predominantly Hindu (Madras, Bombay, United and Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa); with a population of 170 millions; they are the strongest party in Bengal, Assam, and the North-West Frontier Provinces, with a total population of over 60 millions. Only in two Provinces with a population of 30 millions—the Punjab and Sind—where the Muslim majority has kept its head, are they in a hopeless minority.

Their astonishing success has come as a shock to the supporters of the Act in India and here, who, ignoring the advice and opinions of those who knew that the "Moderates"—whom our Government *foolishly* accepted here as "*the Voice of India*"—*had no real backing in India, and when the time came could not "deliver the goods.*" In the elections they have been "*sunk without trace*"; "*their graves are scattered far and wide by mountain, stream and sea,*" from the Himalayas to Cape Comarin. Sir Shafa'at is, unfortunately, one of the "also ran"!

Even so shrewd an observer as Sir Shafa'at grievously underestimated the strength of the Congress. On the eve of the elections he writes:

> "The Congress has decided to contest the elections, and it is probable that in *some* Provinces, such as the Central Provinces, Madras and Bihar, *it may be able* to secure a majority."

His own United Provinces gave the extremists their most signal success, and he is one of the victims.

It has still to be seen whether the Congress will accept office or stand aside in the two-thirds of British India which the Act of 1935 has placed under their sway. In either case their policy, unless they are false to their solemn and repeated declarations, will be to wreck the new Constitution—from within or without. If they take office, as now seems probable, they must attempt to carry out their wild agrarian and social programme. That would speedily lead to bankruptcy of the Provinces, most of which even now are unable to pay their way, and if the Governor used his emergency powers to prevent such a débâcle, a constitutional crisis would at once arise, leading probably to a suspension of the Constitution. On the other hand, where the Congress stands out, its majority will enable it to wreck any Coalition Ministry in any or all of the six Provinces concerned. It looks, as a leading Indian Liberal wrote last week, as if the Congress would have the best of both worlds, and that the 1935 Act has given India a sword to replace the *Pax Britannica*.

But, it may be argued, the Federal Centre when it comes into being will be able to keep the Congress in order. The Federation depends on the accession of the Princes; or at least of a number carrying half the votes in the Federal Upper House. At the back of the minds of the authors of the Act was the belief that the Princes would supply a powerful stabilizing, conservative element which would compensate for the almost complete withdrawal of British *personnel* and authority. To facilitate their adhesion, the Princes were given not only many financial and other concessions—*e.g.*, remissions of tribute—but also considerable "weightage"—one-third of the seats in the Lower and two-fifths of those in the Upper House—which is much in excess of what they would be entitled to on a population basis.

The proposal to include the Princes has from the start been violently opposed by the Congress, who regard them as "mediæval anachronisms" and make no secret of their determination to "liquidate" them as soon as possible. The Congress control of the six major Provinces, by which the Indian States are encompassed, will certainly encourage such attempts.

Is it any wonder that many of the Princes, who lack the power and resources for successful resistance, are alarmed at the prospect of entering into a Federal partnership with an avowed revolutionary body, and in spite of steady pressure are anxious to keep aloof from the Federation and to rely for protection on their Treaties and Engagements with the Crown? Their position is well-expressed in a letter of H.H. the Maharaja Rana of Jhalawar which appeared in the London Press on November 27, 1934. He wrote:

> "With the vast majority of the Princes there has been a growing apprehension that the Federal scheme would ultimately rob us of our present strength, prestige and status. . . . *Consequently those who wish to use the Princes as a convenience in their attempts to placate the demands of aggressive democracy in British India will be taking a great risk.*"

Owing to the unexpected Congress triumph, the risk to the Princes and to the British Government is much greater now than in November, 1934. What effect the present situation and also the fear that they will be called upon to contribute heavily towards the solvency of the proposed Federation (for it is no secret that the Central budget at present is in substantial deficit) will have on the decision of the majority of the Princes to enter the Federation or stand out remains to be seen. Hitherto they have been wisely playing for time, but it is probable that in the long run the Government will secure the accession of a number sufficient to start the Federation.

Sir Shafa'at concludes his survey with the following forecast:

> "The atmosphere in the country has now cleared and omens are more favourable than they have been for years. I feel convinced that the new Constitution will be used by many responsible and representative organizations in India for what it is worth, and *the possibility of breakdown in most of the Provinces is remote.*"

One wishes that this optimism were justified. But looking facts in the face, unless the Congress renounces its revolutionary programme, or splits up into factions, like Sinn Fein in the Free State, there is likely to be a breakdown in the six Provinces dominated by it and serious friction in the three where it forms the largest single party. Sind and the Punjab, where the Congress has little following, are in a happier position, and the Punjab, under the able leadership of Sir Secunder Hayat Bhan, has already formed a well-balanced ministry composed of three Muslims, two Hindoos, and one Sikh, all men of standing and administrative experience. In these two Provinces alone the omens *are* favourable.

As regards Federation, it has yet to become a *fait accompli*. But the Lower House will be elected by the Provincial Legislatures, and, as far as British India is concerned, will probably be dominated by the revolutionary Congress party. Only a combination between the Princes' nominees (one-third of the House), if the States come in and act together, and the Muslim or other minorities could prevent successful efforts to give effect to the subversive Congress programme.

The final result is that, as many of its critics have foretold, the Act of 1935 has put the Congress in power over two-thirds of British India, and also in a position to exert very strong pressure on the future Federal Government. If the Congress adheres to its professions and its promises to the electorate, it must use that power to create financial disorder, wreck the Constitution, and make "British Imperialism" impossible. In a word, the Congress is at present "top-dog"; the framers of the Act must now content themselves with the hope that the Congress bark is worse than its bite.

P.S.—Since the above was written the Congress, following the advice of Mr. Gandhi rather than that of the President, Mr. Nehru, has decided to *accept office, where in a majority, on condition that the Governor shall not* use his special powers for "*setting aside the advice of his Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities.*" The Governor, of course, cannot *give any undertaking to divest themselves of their statutory powers.* But it is probable that in some Provinces a solution may be arrived at. At the same time the Congress President has asserted his authority by making all the Congress representatives take an oath to him that they will work in the Legislatures for the *independence* of India and for Congress ideals and objectives. How they can reconcile this oath with the oath "that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor of India, his heirs and successors," which all members of the Legislature must take, remains to be seen. The next few months should show strange developments. But it is well that the issue should be joined at the start and while the British "Partner" has some authority and prestige left.

M. F. O'Dwyer.

The Spirit of Zen. By Alan W. Watts. *Wisdom of the East Series.* Edited by L. Cranmer-Byng and Dr. S. A. Katadia. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 136. John Murray, 1936. 3s. 6d.

(Note.—That this article, intended at first as a brief review, has reached considerable length is due, primarily, to the author's very fascinating and successful treatment of an elusive subject.)

Western peoples are practical, materialistic, dynamic, and creative; Eastern peoples, contemplative, mystical, static, and fatalistic. On the basis of this somewhat sweeping generalization, the average man of the West has made up his mind about the man of the East; and in this generalization he finds sufficient reason why the East has made no real contribution to the development of Western civilization in the past, and is unlikely to make any in the future.

One exception, however, he does concede. A contribution of vital importance was made to Western civilization through the medium of Semitic spiritual genius. But he believes that this contribution of the Christian religion would not have reached fruition if it had not seized upon, and adapted to its own purposes, the mental equipment of the Greek mind.

This attitude of mind towards Eastern thought is all but universal in the West. Only a few specialists, and others who have come into contact with the higher aspects of Eastern culture, know how greatly it has been underestimated.

But a great change has been taking place during recent years. By an ever-accelerating process the East and West have been making contacts, political, economic, cultural, and religious. Amongst other factors, missionary efforts have done much to break down the barriers of language and to lay the foundations for a wider knowledge of the age-long struggle of Eastern races in their search for truth and reality.

Undertakings like the *Wisdom of the East Series* are also proving invaluable helps in bringing the thought and culture of the East within the reach of men of average mental equipment. The Editors of this *Series* are to be congratulated on their choice of Mr. Alan W. Watts to introduce to their readers the philosophy of Zen, a form of Buddhism which until recent years was all but unknown to the West. The appearance of *The Spirit of Zen* is timely, for it is in Japan, and not in India, the place of its reputed origin, nor in China, where it was developed, that this cult reached its highest expression and preserved its tradition, after its decay on the continent of Asia. In Japan it became the religion of the samurai, and it still continues to be a powerful impulse in the arts, both æsthetic and military. To many in the West, Japan is still an enigma; and the student who would interpret her cannot afford to be without some knowledge of Zen. In it he will find some of the constituent elements of *Yamato-damashii*, the Soul of Japan.

No one can usefully read this book unless he can bring to the task the broadmindedness necessary to enter into, and sympathize with, the struggles of other races in their search for the meaning of life, and is able at the same time to welcome the treasures of wisdom which they have discovered.

It would be well for all readers who desire to get at the heart of Zen, to go through the book carefully at least twice, making a determined effort to avoid, for the time being, a critical attitude. Taking these precautions, the reader will be able to hold in check his preconceptions, and allow Zen to speak for itself. I would urge this attitude, especially, upon readers who are convinced theists or Christians. After all, it is the Christian spirit to welcome and rejoice in whatever measure of truth and wisdom may be found in other religions, to "fulfil and not to destroy." It is beyond the scope of the author's purpose to indicate the limitations or defects of Zen. His object is to introduce Zen in its ideal form, and in this the value of the work lies.

In his *Foreword* the writer calls attention to the fact that only very recently has interest been awakened in Zen Buddhism. He mentions the very few books available in English for a study of Zen, and acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Suzuki, of the Buddhist University, Kyoto, who is the authority, par excellence, on the subject. He continues by claiming that Zen makes a strong appeal to minds "weary of conven-

tional philosophy and religion," and then plunges into a description of what Zen is, and of the contrast between it and other systems of thought. One may well spend some time in digesting the five pages of this *Foreword,* for the rest of the book is mainly an elucidation of the characteristics herein enunciated.

In the first place Zen makes a clean sweep of all philosophical systems, religious doctrines and forms, of all intellectual processes of the mind and emotional expressions of spiritual experiences. All such are at best merely symbols of wisdom, ideas, and feeling about reality. These must be ruthlessly set aside to enable a higher faculty of the mind to come into play, and to make immediate contact with truth. That higher faculty is, of course, intuition; though the author all but avoids this term throughout the book, preferring *Buddhi* or Buddha-nature, probably because it is more in accord with the principles of Buddhism, to stress identity of nature, rather than a mere faculty of the mind.

After this largely negative description of Zen we are invited to consider its method, which is the immediate communication of its secret by personal contact between master and pupil. Enlightenment cannot be transferred by doctrinal instruction, nor by the study of scriptures, nor by any "formal programme of spiritual development." Recourse must be to *Mondo,* question and answer, later explained as *Ko-an,* generally accepted theses for meditation, the object of which is to "baffle, excite, puzzle, and exhaust the intellect," and by the same process, also, the emotion—in a word, "to bring about an intellectual and emotional impasse." When this has been effected the mind is prepared for the Buddha-nature to reveal itself.

The author here warns the reader that, on account of this attitude of Zen towards the intellectual faculties, he will not be able to give an intellectual or logical explanation of it. At most he can only suggest, and he appeals to the reader not to conclude from this disregard of the rational processes of the mind that Zen is a form of madness, and its masters of doubtful sanity. To support this appeal attention is called to the influence of Zen on the culture of the Far East, and on Oriental art, which it is claimed has a unique place amongst the creations of the human spirit. With this as a starting-point we shall follow the author in his attempt to initiate us into the secrets of Zen.

The first chapter deals with origins. But we are again warned that the sages are unable to find words which will convey their wisdom to men of "lesser understanding"; and, even if we are able to understand the doctrines, we must not confound these doctrines with their wisdom. This chapter goes beyond the *Foreword* in its effort to convince the reader that Zen defies logic and all efforts of the intellect to penetrate its secrets. Moreover, to attempt to seek enlightenment from the words and doctrines of the sages is evidence of a confused mind. Even Gautama, himself, refused to describe his illumination. At best the teaching of the sages and the acknowledged scriptures are merely a "tomb in which the dead carcass of their wisdom is buried." It is then explained that Zen, which is *Dhyana*

in Sanscrit and *Ch'an* or *CH'anna* in Chinese, means more than meditation. It is union with the ultimate reality; it is both enlightenment and the way to it.

The true origin of Zen is to be found in Gautama's enlightenment at Gaya in the fifth century B.C. The mystery was transmitted through a succession of twenty-eight patriarchs, until, eventually, *Bodhidharma* introduced it into China eleven hundred years later. The process of transmission in every case was by direct personal contact, and not through sacred writings. After explaining that Buddhism was divided into two chief sects, *Hinayana* and *Mahayana,* he gives an interesting résumé of the differences between these two Buddhist systems, both of which start with the primary principles of Buddhism. *Hinayana* stresses the negation of the self-nature, the impermanence of all things and the final absorption of the self in the One, which is Nirvana. The *Mahayana* goes beyond this negation of the self-nature, and asserts the totality of all things in the self. *Hinayana* is negative and teaches that the self is unreal, and must be identified with the Absolute. *Mahayana* is positive and teaches that the totality of all things is realized in the true self. These principles, we are advised, are not to be regarded as contradictory. *Mahayana* merely goes beyond the teaching of *Hinayana*, and the difference becomes plain in practice. When illumination has been reached in accordance with the principles of *Hinayana* the devotee becomes an *Aryhan,* in contradistinction to a *Boddhisatta,* an enlightened one of *Mahayana*. The *Hinayanist* is content when he has become absorbed in the One, and attained Nirvana. The *Mahatanist* can only enter into Nirvana when all beings realize enlightenment, too.

Here the author explains the *Mahayana* solution of a great Buddhist problem. If the self includes all things, how is it that the illusion of separateness arose? The reply is a remarkable one. It arose from a state of ignorance in the universal mind, which through imagination falls into the error of thinking of individuals as separate entities. *Mahayana* believes that the universal mind may be pure or impure, enlightened or ignorant, though there is a real essence of mind which is intrinsically pure This is the Buddha-nature. Enlightenment cannot be attained by fastening the attention on anything external.

The mind must turn inwards, and when it realizes that it possesses all, he will find the Buddha-nature within. This is enlightenment.

It is strange to learn that the universal mind, the One, being in a state of ignorance, differentiates itself into the many, and the many suffer because they are ignorant of the fact that they are essentially one. The One, to conquer ignorance, becomes the many; the many, to attain the same end, become the One. This is the vicious circle reached by *Mahayana* philosophy when Zen comes to the rescue. Zen makes a complete sweep of all attempts to think out the problem of life. The struggle of the One to become many, and the many to become One, had led to hopeless confusion. Zen, therefore, rejects all metaphysics and logic, for Nirvana must be reached by concentrating on the ordinary things of life.

Bodhidharma, the successor of the twenty-eight patriarchs, brought Zen

to China in 527 A.D., but we are given to understand that it is impossible to find out exactly what principles he introduced. It is claimed that neither by his teaching nor writing, but by personal contact was he able to indicate the secret of Zen to the Chinese; and that they developed it into its later form. At any rate, in *Bodhidharma* were seen striking factors of directness, humour, and unconventionality which coincided with similar features in Taoism, in both of which we recognize a measure of reaction against the pessimism of life which characterized Buddhism from its inception. In Taoism, and later in Zen, we have the Chinese mind in revolt against the absoluteness of law. This showed itself in the principle of *wu-wei*, which signifies the yielding to force in order to overcome it, the principle which finds a prominent place in jujutsu, the unique type of wrestling developed in Japan. This contribution of Taoism was a happy return for Zen's part in the revival of Taoism which was already on the decline when *Bodhidharma* reached China. After *Bodhidharma*, five patriarchs followed, and the sixth and last was *Hui Neng*, from whose time Zen began to lose its distinctively Indian character. No further patriarch was appointed, but there was a succession of famous Zen teachers whose activities coincided with the Golden Age of Chinese culture. But in the thirteenth century there arose still another form of Buddhism, the *Amitabha* (*Amida*) cult, which in its essence was a revolt of the religious consciousness against the one-sided doctrine of *jiriki* (enlightenment by one's own effort) in favour of *tariki* (enlightenment by faith in power of another). The rise of this sect was largely responsible for the decline of Zen in China, and we must look to Japan for the preservation and highest application of the Zen tradition.

It had been brought to Japan by *Eisai* in the twelfth century, and there it became the religion of the samurai and of many of the educated in other walks of life. It has maintained its popularity amongst them down to the present time. The author prophesies that Zen will not be confined to Japan, and mentions as an illustration the establishment of a hostel for foreign students in a Zen monastery at Kyoto, and he claims that the spirit of Zen under whatever name must "enter wherever religion and philosophy are to be aroused from the grave of theories and words."

In the chapter headed "The Secret of Zen" the author asserts that its secret lies in its having none. Whatever difficulties are met with in the effort to understand Zen are due to the neglect of the obvious. Even Buddha cannot reveal what we cannot see in ourselves and by ourselves. What then is enlightenment? It is the recognition that the Buddha-nature is in all things. Striving to become a Buddha must result in its own defeat. Zen sweeps aside all external ideas of Buddha and Nirvana. If a man struggles to attain enlightenment, he will not succeed, just as the struggle to attain happiness will not succeed.

Man must cease to try to grasp what is for ever changing. Zen is moving forward with ever-changing life. As all things continually change we must adjust ourselves by continuous and unhesitating change. Here the author turns to Japanese fencing (*judo* or *kendo*) for an illustration, and

shows how immediacy of action is needed to meet successfully the changing attack of the opponent. No hesitation or doubt must be allowed to interfere with the rhythm of life's changes. Abstract reasoning is egoism and lunacy, for it implies a distinction between Buddha-nature and self, and isolation from other beings. This theme is developed further in treating of a man's desire to possess things, and by "things" is meant, not only material possessions, but also theories and systems of thought, which always result in the fixation of thought. Truth, however, is living and can never be grasped by the processes of analysis and synthesis.

This attitude is "spiritual poverty," or non-attachment, and is a primary principle of Buddhism, and also of Taoism, as emphasized and expressed in the principle of *wu-wei*, overcoming by yielding to force. The poverty of the Zen ideal is freedom from material and intellectual incumbrances, and is based on the principle of the emptiness of all things. Life, itself, is emptiness. The aim of Zen is to "walk on unencumbered and unconditioned by external circumstances or internal illusions." "Zen is the religion of life." We are, however, warned that this must not be understood as a *laissez-faire* attitude towards life. Zen requires a high standard of moral culture, and thorough discipline as a preliminary to its practice.

In turning to describe the technique of Zen the author admits that there is much common to Zen and other forms of mysticism, and that their results show no radical difference; but he claims that the Zen method is unique, and that it has persisted without degeneration for fourteen hundred years.

This is accounted for by the definiteness of the spiritual experience which is incommunicable, and by the fact that it is impervious to intellectual attack. This spiritual experience is *satori* (awakening) and the defence from intellectual attack is a result of the discipline of the *ko-an*. These consist of problems which admit of no intellectual solution—the answer has no logical connection with the question. The object of the *ko-an* is to lead to an intellectual impasse, which critics have called "self-hypnosis," "self-intoxication," and "mind-murder," but according to the author such conceptions will not stand the test of a few days' sojourn in a Zen monastery.

The exercise of the *ko-an* involves intense spiritual and mental struggle; but the end of the process (which usually lasts several years) comes when it is realized that no intellectual solution is possible at all. Intellectual thraldom comes to an end when "the fetters of illusion snap asunder at the intense pressure of the disciples' will."

Though the figure of speech may appear contradictory, the same experience is described as "letting go your hold"; but whichever is the true description of this experience, it is one of great release.

Each *ko-an* is to be regarded as typical of life itself, which is elusive and beyond mental grasp. We are informed that there are 1700 of these *ko-an*, and that it is important to solve many, though not all. It is pointed out that in the early stages there may be momentary periods of

illumination; but that as the process continues this becomes more permanent, until at last every shadow of doubt has been swept away. This spiritual experience is compared with the Christian experience of conversion, and the author draws illustrations from Professor James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* to show the similarities of the experience. The author asserts that the Zen masters are more "subtle and reserved" in their description of this experience of joy, and do not appear to be so serious about it as the Christian mystics.

On pages 82-83 we have an important paragraph in which the writer completes his comparison between *satori* and conversion with certain generalizations. The conclusions should be subjected to careful scrutiny before they are accepted by the reader as they stand. The rest of the chapter deals with *za-zen,* the technique of meditation evolved by the masters. This technique involves relaxation of the body, banishment of wandering thoughts, correct breathing, and the exercise of the *ko-an*, and its object is complete mastery of the mind. It is acknowledged that *za-zen* and the problems of the *ko-an* are spiritual gymnastics performed with the definite object of bringing about a certain experience.

In Chapter IV. the author gives a very interesting description of life in a Zen monastery, which is so well written that any attempt to summarize it adequately must fail. The last paragraph gives a warning to the reader not to conclude that training in a Zen monastery is necessarily followed by that isolation from the world which is associated with monasticism in general. He shows how the student, after finishing his training, may devote himself to the enlightenment of others, either as a master in charge of another monastery, a wandering teacher, or by a return to the ordinary pursuits of life. The ideal is not separation from the world, or from society, but to be an illumination in it.

In the last chapter we have the practical application of Zen to the arts, both æsthetic and military. To introduce this subject the author calls attention to the ultimate test of religions—the test of their practical effects. A striking contrast is made between the kind of test applied in the East and West; and the case for esoteric religion is presented.

In the West wisdom is offered indiscriminately to the masses, and the terrible abuses of knowledge is the price paid for this cheapening of wisdom. Whenever Eastern religions have become exoteric or popular they have suffered transformation. To guard against abuses the esoteric character of wisdom must be maintained.

It is for these reasons that we are charged not to look for the effects of Zen in the life of the masses; but in the production of a "few thoroughly enlightened men." It is not possible to alter the lives of vast numbers of people within the span of a thousand years or so. In a summary of the achievements of Zen the author calls our attention to "several hundreds of men of remarkable greatness," to the artistic work of poets and painters which are unsurpassed, to the alarming technique of the military arts, to the other-worldliness of the *Cha-no-yu* (Tea-ceremony), to the wonders of landscape gardening and to the quiet simplicity of Japanese architecture.

The remainder of the book deals with applications of the principles of -control, poise of mind, economy of force, immediacy, and *muga* (self-ness), as illustrated in the above features of life and art. In the very ;f conclusion the characteristics of Zen are again briefly described, and ı is defined as the "unity of man with the universe," a state of one-s in which all distinctions of I and not-I are set aside.

Once again the author stresses the elusive factors in Zen which he ens to life itself. As there is nothing in life that can be grasped in e sense that one can possess it, to "chase after Zen is like chasing one's vn shadow, and all the time one is running away from the sun." The adow can never be caught.

Turn to the sun and the dualism of life vanishes. This is enlighten-ent.

This résumé of *The Spirit of Zen* is an honest attempt to summarize ; principles and ideals as elaborated by the author. Long quotations ıve been avoided, but much of the phraseology had been adopted. Every ader of the book will acknowledge the success the writer has achieved this presentation of Zen. Throughout it is characterized by high :erary quality, moral earnestness and spiritual insight. None can read this effort of the human mind to grasp reality and find a way of life, ithout experiencing an increased interest in, and respect for Eastern ıought.

The object of the author is not religious propaganda, though he has a rong conviction of definite spiritual values in Zen. He does not suggest ıat Zen should be substituted for other religions. It is confessedly not a ·ligion for the masses, nor for the world at large, but for the compara-vely few who are able to appreciate it.

The writer does make very modest claims for Zen. It has a "peculiar scination for minds weary of conventional philosophy and religion," ıd "whether under the name of Zen or not, its spirit must enter wherever :ligions and philosophies are to be aroused from the grave of theories and 'ords." This claim will meet with a large measure of approval by all 'ho do not suffer from a "closed mind." It is all the more worthy of ›nsideration because of the moderation with which it is made. It would ғ strange, indeed, if Zen had no contribution to make.

But here it is inevitable that a grave doubt should arise in the mind ; the Western reader. What if he cannot understand it after all? /hat if its negations, its paradoxes and startling antitheses do not come 'ith the compelling power of truth? This has all been provided for. Just as it is impossible to explain the beauty of a sunset to a man blind 'om his birth, so it is impossible for the sages to find any words which 'ill express their wisdom to men of lesser understanding." But, again, 'hat if the reader demurs to taking his proper place among "men of sser understanding," and prepares to accept the challenge with all the ·sources of a mind mentally equipped for battle? Even then only defeat waits him. Has he not already been informed that "the early masters evised a means of passing on their teaching, which can never be ex-

plained away by the intellect"? Unaccustomed to the passivity of the Eastern mind, the reader will, one fears, make short work of this attempt to forestall criticism. He will be slow to admit that an intellectual impasse has been reached. The publication of a serious work on Zen, or any other Eastern philosophy, constitutes an invitation, not merely to accept or to reject, but to examine and criticize. Zen must reconcile itself to run the gauntlet of that criticism, to which all views of life and the world are subject.

The most arresting feature of Zen is its daring negations. To begin with, it rejects all philosophical systems and religious doctrines, as being hindrances rather than helps in the effort to reach enlightenment. But can any way of life be offered which is not based on some philosophical or religious foundation? In spite of Zen's claims to the contrary, philosophy enters into its foundations and dominates its view of life. In the first sentence of his *Foreword* the author designates it as *Zen-Buddhism,* and Buddhism is nothing if not a system, or rather several systems, of philosophy, with certain fundamental religious doctrines in common. Is not the Divine nature to be identified with the totality of things? Is not personality in the Divine nature and in man an illusion? Is not life, itself, emptiness? Is not the distinction between the I and the not-I a false antithesis?

Is not the desire to possess things, whether material, intellectual or spiritual, the cause of all suffering? Is not *Karma* the absolute law of all existence? If these are fundamental to Zen it is a philosophical and religious system, based on essentially *Buddhist* principles and doctrines. But Zen is not only a system of Buddhism, it is a series of reactions against abuses of Buddhist teaching which arose amongst its adherents. These reactions find expression mainly in negations, and in these the unique characteristics of Zen are seen. We learn that Zen, in its search for reality, rejects all forms of ratiocination, all logical processes of the mind, and all emotional expressions of spiritual experiences. On what grounds are the rational and emotional faculties of the mind rejected in favour of the volitional and intuitive faculties? Why this arbitrary choice, when the higher aspects of life are concerned? Has the history of the development of human thought any greater lesson to teach than that, in the search for truth, all the faculties of the mind must be employed? This negation is a reaction against the hair-splitting controversies of *Hinayana* and *Mahayana;* but surely clear recognition of the limitations of reason and the part it must play in conjunction with the other faculties, and not its total rejection, is the true solution of the problem.

The same iconoclasm that would deprive us of philosophical systems and religious doctrines, and also of the reasoning faculties, would also deprive us of all the writings and words by which the sages have tried to convey their wisdom to others.

The claim is that in its rejection of all scriptures Zen is unique amongst all the religions of the world. The writings of the masters and even of the Buddha himself are rejected as "the tomb in which the dead carcass

of his wisdom is buried," and we have already quoted the expression "the grave of theories and words." These are not merely examples of Oriental hyperbole and delight in paradox. They represent true Zen principles and are another striking example of its negations which are absolute.

None will deny that the abuse of scriptures is an evil to which all religions are liable. St. Paul's words, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," were directed against this abuse, but this must not be interpreted as the denial of the power of the "word" to mediate truth and life; for he can still speak of "the word of truth" and "the word of life." The "word" may become, and often is, not only the symbol of truth, but the vehicle of life itself "The words I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life."

The bases of these negations are in each case false antitheses. The antitheses between reason and intuition, between doctrine and truth, between the "word" and life are surely untenable.

Is there any real meaning in the assertion that these things are rejected because they are *about* life, and not life itself? Most certainly they are all *about* life, and not life itself.

That is true of all thought, whether scientific, philosophical or religious. We do not reject the law (dogma) of gravitation because it is not gravity itself, but *about* gravity. Nor do we reject the doctrine of Theism because it is not the Deity Himself, but *about* the Divine nature. Philosophical systems, religious doctrines, intellectual and logical processes, and the spoken word of the sages are all *about* life and truth. They could be nothing else. Surely it is the right use of all these good things and not their rejection which is required in our search for truth.

One of the most important parts of the book, from a Western point of view, is contained in the first two paragraphs of chapter V., in which the writer contrasts the standards by which religion is judged in the East and in the West. Here we have a generalization involving momentous issues. The author, as a preliminary to this comparison, boldly quotes the words, "By their fruits ye shall know them," assuming common ground with the Christian teaching that the final test of religion is to be found in its effects.

With startling emphasis we are informed that Zen is not a "mass-religion," that wisdom is for the few, that in the East the treasures of wisdom are not to be offered indiscriminately to "all and sundry," that it is not to be judged by its power to raise the social condition of the masses; but that the effects of Zen are to be found in "several hundred great personalities" which are its fruits.

It is claimed that one reason of Zen's vitality lies in the fact that it is an esoteric religion and has never possessed an exoteric or popular form. One is tempted to ask whether the loss of vitality and the decay of Zen in China, and its retirement before the onrush of the *Amida* cult, another form of Buddhism, was not due to a mass revolt of the religious consciousness, as much against the esoteric exclusiveness of Zen as against the one-sided prin-

ciple of *jiriki* (enlightenment by one's own efforts) in favour of another one-sided principle, *tariki* (enlightenment by the power of another).

In pressing this contrast between the ideals of religion in the East and West, the writer says that in the West religion is for "all sorts and conditions" of men. Europeans will test the value of religion, it is asserted, by *the success it achieves in bringing harmony into society* as a whole, and by the extent by which it improves the social conditions of the masses. In the East the sages "have chosen their disciples carefully, and veiled their deepest knowledge in myths and symbols, understandable only by those whom they see fit to trust," and the reason for this secrecy lies in the fact that there is "greater respect and reverence for wisdom than is usual in the West." Here we are given the *raison d'être* of esoteric religion. Are we *not justified in suspecting that the darkness which has rested on the* masses of the East for centuries is the price it has had to pay for the luxury of its esoteric religions? In those religions there is, and can be, no gospel for the many. They could not understand it, if there were. That knowledge can be and is easily abused needs neither argument nor illustration. We have our warning not to "cast pearls before swine"; but the context, "lest they turn and rend you," shows that the warning is not based on incapacity to understand the truth, but on aggressive opposition to it. He who gave the warning offered no esoteric doctrine to the favoured few. He trained the few and commissioned them to carry the good news for all men unto the uttermost parts of the world.

The writer points to a phenomenon of great significance in connection with Eastern esoteric religions. When they have become "mass-religions" they have become "altogether different from the forms in which they were first taught." This is, indeed, a pregnant admission, and will repay the closest inquiry into its implications. We are not disposed to underestimate the social evils of the West; but we cannot forget the darkness that has brooded for ages over the masses in most Eastern lands. What is to explain the rank growth of polytheism and its attendant evils side by side with the wisdom of the sages?

Are not the hopelessness and fatalism of the masses and the static condition of their civilization almost entirely due to this very cause—the esoteric character of Eastern religions, whose wisdom is too subtle and too precious for the masses of the people? And what religion is it, more than anything else, that has concerned itself with the conditions of the masses, the untouchables and the lepers of Eastern lands? It certainly is not the esoteric religions. By its own admissions that is not what they are for. Moreover, what is it that at long last is beginning to leaven the whole of the East, and awaken the masses to cast off the shackles of the ages, and aspire to a more abundant life? Is it not that they have gained a vision of a different world and a different view of life in lands in which the treasures of wisdom are not for the few, but for all?

In support of this contrast between the attitude of the East and West towards knowledge the author calls attention to the abuses of knowledge in Western lands, where physical science is used for "destructive, immoral,

and anti-social ends." No one will be inclined to deny this indictment; but, in spite of all its abuses, science has brought untold benefits to the masses of the West, and few would agree that the solution of the problem of the abuse of knowledge is to make science esoteric.

It is in this connection that the author seems to make one fatal generalization. In comparing the wisdom of the East with that of the West, we are told that the former is psychic and that of the West is physical, and we have the statement, "the wisdom of the West, which is science." The erroneous character of this view will be evident at once. In the main, science has been a comparatively recent development. A historical survey of the development of thought in the West will show that its wisdom is philosophical, ethical, and religious. In all these its achievements have been immeasureably greater than those of the East.

In reviewing this important and interesting work it was inevitable that the limitations of Zen should be pointed out. Those limitations arise mainly from false abstractions, false negations and false antitheses, due to the original principles of Buddhism, on the one hand, and the effort to counteract abuses that had appeared in their development, on the other. The limitations of Zen are seen also in its application to life. As faithfully illustrated in this work its sphere of influence is not that of the masses.

Its natural manifestation is in the arts, both æsthetic and military. In these it finds its scope and shows its spirit. No one will deny the marvellous technique and spirit which pervade the Tea-ceremony, the soul-force revealed in *kendo*, the skill and technique of *jujutsu*, and the nobility of many of the characteristics of *Bushido*, the chivalry of Japan. But their spheres are too limited to include the spiritual needs of the world.

But it would be a mistake to end this review on a critical note. There are valuable lessons for all who have eyes to see and ears to hear. Do we not need to heed the lessons which are presented to us under the form of the violent negations of Zen? Do we not need to realize afresh that life and reality cannot be entirely explained by any system of philosophy—that loyalty to creeds and dogmas cannot be a substitute for spiritual experience—that reason, alone, cannot be a complete guide to truth—that intuition is an essential organ of spiritual insight—that scriptural writings, by abuse, may lose their power and cease to mediate life—that possessions are often an obstacle to a true and abundant life?

Let it be frankly admitted that the convinced Christian, if he be broad-minded, will be helped in many ways by a careful study of Zen; and that he will be benefited most of all because he will see all the more clearly the treasures inherent in his own faith, as he views it through the eyes of the great seekers after truth in the contemplative East. He will discover in his own faith unexpected aspects of truth, and untried applications of them will appear as he meditates on the principles and ideals of Zen.

ARTHUR LEA.

When Japan Goes to War.* By O. Tanin and E. Yohan. 8¼″ × 5½″. Pp. 271. Lawrence and Wishart. 5s.

At a time when Japan is thrusting herself so prominently into the limelight, any new "slant" on her military strength is bound to awaken some interest, more specially perhaps when it comes from a Russian angle. Nowhere probably are conditions in Japan more closely followed than in Moscow, and the book under review proves how close a study is made of that country's affairs at Soviet headquarters.

The authors—already known to English readers by their earlier book, *Militarism and Fascism in Japan*, with its striking preface by Radek—now attempt an estimate of Japan's ability to survive in a modern war. The war which they have in mind is one between Russia and Japan. Their argument is that before Japan can challenge another great Power, she must first safeguard her flank in Asia, and that this implies a conflict with the Soviet Union. "War against the U.S.S.R. is the premise for the fulfilment of the pan-Asiatic programme of Japanese imperialism," in support of which dictum they quote Japanese military opinion to the effect that a successful war in the Pacific is impossible for Japan without an assured supply of necessary raw materials "only obtainable in Manchuria and in the Soviet Far East," and unless "measures are taken to cover the rear by transforming the sea of Japan into a Japanese lake—*i.e.*, by seizing the Soviet part of the Pacific coast."

Rather surprisingly we are next told that "the question whether a Japanese-Soviet war is to start or not lies largely in the hands of Great Britain," the reason being that Japan will dare to fight Russia only if she has Great Britain as her ally. This eventuality appears to Messrs. Tanin and Yohan as far from impossible, in view of the readiness which they ascribe to the British *bourgeoisie* to help Japan in an attack on the Soviet Union—a short-sighted policy on Great Britain's part, as they add, in the light of the revelation of Japan's real attitude towards her given by Japanese journalists. One of the latter is quoted as saying that "Great Britain is perhaps our last enemy. . . . But to-day Japan is in such a position that she must march forward to the creation of a great continental state, and she must preserve Great Britain as her friend."

This discussion of Japanese military policy as seen through Russian eyes, interesting as it is, is merely introductory to the main part of the book, which consists of a survey of Japan's war requirements, her military organization, her war output capacity, and her financial stability. The information given under these heads is very detailed and complete, and leads to the conclusion that Japan's resources might possibly last her through one year of war under modern conditions, but that collapse would then become inevitable unless substantial help were to be forthcoming from outside quarters. Japan's weakness for war is found to lie in the under-development of her many industries: her dependence on export trade, the inadequacy of her supplies of raw materials and fuel, the insufficiency of her food resources under war conditions—"a very acute food shortage must set in in the second year of war"—lack of compensating "exchange values," the defectiveness of the Japanese financial system, and, finally, "the intensification of class antagonism which will be hastened by the inevitable collapse of the national economy."

What the authors omit to take into account is the human element in Japan's military strength. What is the fighting value of the present-day Japanese, what the efficiency of the military and naval staff? Such things are certainly hard to

* An advance notice of this book appeared in our last issue.

assess, but if they are ignored the calculation of a country's material strength for war is surely of questionable value; indeed, given the number of utterly unreckonable factors which enter into the problem as a whole, are they of any real value at all? To the reviewer, at all events, it seems questionable.

Meanwhile a plethora of small inaccuracies; Suigun for Suiyuan on page 23, and Sato for Saito on page 45 as instances, although for the most part merely printer's errors, are calculated to raise doubts as to the degree of care taken by the writers in their compiling of facts which, to be of any use for the purpose for which they are used, need to be essentially accurate.

This book, significantly perhaps, is priced at the exceptionally low figure of 5s.

G. E. HUBBARD.

Japan at the Cross Roads. By *Walter Smith.* Published by *Lawrence and* Wishart, London. 1936. 3s. 6d.

A disappointing book. Instead of an objective survey of the Japanese position, which the title would lead one to expect, this is little more than a collection of extracts from the publications of the most bellicose of Japanese militarists, some of them quite junior serving officers, who have much greater liberty to publish their views than is allowed in the Services of most other countries. The author evidently has strong Communist sympathies, and the book is full of familiar Communist clichés. Indeed, it is almost pure anti-Japanese propaganda. Unfortunately, it cannot be dismissed as of no value on that account, because extreme Jingo militarism is dominant in Japan to-day and is driving the whole nation forward to vast dreams of world conquest. The Army looks to Siberia, Mongolia, and China, the Navy to the South Seas and India, but both seem quite ready to take on all comers regardless of consequences. The Pan-Asia motif is strongly stressed.

The recent political crisis has revealed the beginnings of revolt by business and tax-paying interests under the strain of the colossal armaments programme, but it would need a confirmed optimist to predict Japan's release from the clutches of her military party before catastrophe comes. If Japan is at the cross-roads, there is little doubt which turning she is taking.

J. S. S.

The Far East Comes Nearer. By H. Hessell Tiltman. Pp. 314. Illustrated. London: Jarrolds. 1936. 12s. 6d.

The author of this book is to be congratulated on having written an able—if somewhat sensational—study on the Far Eastern situation up to the autumn of last year. Events in the Far East are moving rapidly, and it is obvious that there have been certain important changes since the book was published.

The main theme running throughout the book is the fear of an impending cataclysm caused by the ever-increasing ambitions of the Japanese militarists to carve out a continental Empire at the expense of China. This policy, if carried to extremes, will, in the author's opinion, involve Japan in a war with Soviet Russia, and also perhaps with the Central Government in China. Owing to the system of alliances now prevailing, the leading Powers in Europe may also be dragged in.

The first nine chapters are devoted to a clear and reasonably written exposition of Japanese aims and ambitions in the Far East. Forced on by the pressure of an ever-growing population per unit of arable land, and by a lack of raw materials,

Japan decided to expand on the mainland of Asia. The uncompromising attitude of the Chinese nationalists caused the seizure of Manchuria and surrounding territories which changed the entire situation in the Far East. Japan now claims the right to civilize China according to its ideas and standards and to exploit China economically. It aims also at exercising a political and economic domination over the Far East generally. The author gives a fair summary of the strenuous efforts put forth by the Japanese in Manchukuo and considers that, on the balance, the population of the new state has benefited considerably by the change of government. This view is likely to be confirmed by impartial observers.

In commenting on the mass production of cheap goods in Japan, Mr. Tiltman renders good service by refuting the usual charges that this necessarily involves slavery to the Japanese workers and dumping to the outside world. Japanese workers can get a good deal for very little money; they may be poor, but, according to the standard of living to which they are accustomed, they are not miserable. Furthermore, conditions of labour in Japan generally are slowly improving. Much of the success gained by Japanese industry is due to "rationalization" and to the close "interlocking" of industry with shipping and other services.

The extraordinary increase in the prestige and power of the army in the modern Japanese state is clearly shown, together with its idealistic desire to increase the limits of the Japanese Empire. Owing to the peculiar system of government prevailing in Japan the army, in recent years, has been able not only to control the foreign policy of the country, but even to make and unmake governments at will. The direct result of this power has been that, not content with the acquisition of Manchuria, the Japanese Government by methods of "peaceful penetration" seeks to dominate Northern China and Inner and Outer Mongolia, and to form the whole into a huge Protectorate under Japanese control. These tortuous tactics have evoked an enormous programme of defensive armament on the part of Soviet Russia in Eastern Siberia, in the Maritime Provinces, and in Outer Mongolia, of which an excellent summary is given in Chapter VIII. Thus the peace and the stability of the Far East have been thrown into jeopardy.

Four chapters in this book are devoted to the Chinese side of the question. While giving due credit to the efforts made by the Nanking Government under the driving power of Chiang-Kai-Shek to reorganize the country, to reform abuses, and to modernize the administration, the author is definitely pessimistic about the possibility of any prolonged resistance to Japanese aggression. Disunity, lack of industry and technical resources, all combine to impede China's effort which, in his opinion, has been made too late to be effective.

In the final chapters the future position of the United States of America and Great Britain in the Far East is discussed. Mr. Tiltman considers that the United States will simply "stand down." Beyond registering protests about the violation of the "open door" and other infractions of treaties, the United States can take no definite action. America is busy fortifying Hawaii and is simply standing on the defensive. The same expressions can well be applied to Great Britain, whose answer to the Japanese threat is to hurry on the construction of the great naval base at Singapore, situated at a distance of 2,888 miles from Japan!

The book is written in a somewhat alarmist strain, and the author evidently considers that a major war in the Far East is imminent. He offers no hope of solution except to call for yet another Pacific conference. Judging from the results realized at previous international conferences, what positive benefits are to be expected from such action? Since the book was published, however, two important events have occurred. Firstly, the alliance between Germany and Japan against Communism, as predicted by the author, has been accomplished. Secondly,

the Japanese Diet revolted against military domination and declined to vote the sums needed to carry out the huge armament proposals made by the military and naval authorities. Although it is too early to estimate the ultimate effects of this action on Japanese foreign policy, it is possible that the will of the moderate elements in Japan may yet prevail. Herein lies a great hope for the future.

D. B.-B.

The China Year Book, 1936.

The indefatigable Mr. Woodhead has again produced his Year Book, a work of reference which is quite invaluable to all who have dealings with China. In it can be found information and statistics on almost every subject, with a few chapters dealing briefly with the principal events of the year. There is also an excellent "Who's Who" of leading Chinese.

The chief value of the book lies in the accuracy of the facts contained in it, which in this case can be vouched for by the encyclopædic knowledge of the editor himself, and the undisputed authority of the various contributors he has enlisted. But a work of this kind is not meant to be read right through, and the reviewer must frankly admit that he has not done so closely enough to make any detailed criticisms.

It seems a pity, however, that a Year Book should be compiled at the beginning of September, too early to deal with events in the last quarter of the year which it is supposed to cover. It would surely be better, even at the cost of a little delay, to wait until the end of the year before going to press.

J. S. S.

Problems of Chinese Education. By Victor Purcell, Ph.D. 8¾″ × 5¾″. Pp. viii + 261. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd. 1936. 10s. 6d.

The writer of this ably written book has been a Government official in the service of the Federated Malay States since 1921. Four years later he became Inspector of Chinese Schools in the Straits Settlements and Assistant Director of Education. Since that date his work has lain mainly in the educational departments of the Colony and Protectorate. With the experience gained in these responsible offices, coupled with a scholarly knowledge of the Chinese language, Dr. Purcell was well-equipped for the task of writing a trustworthy book on Chinese education, and it is a task which he has carried out with conspicuous success. He has given an excellent and comprehensive account of Chinese educational problems which deserves the careful attention of all serious students.

The book begins with a survey of the traditional educational system of China which formed the cultural basis of Chinese civilization for more than a thousand years and remained substantially unaltered until the first decade of the present century. The second chapter deals with the effect of contact with the West on Chinese educational principles and methods. The educational work of the Christian missions is discussed, and the chapter closes with a reference to the significant fact that "since 1927 subordination to nationalist policy has become the condition of the continuance of the Christian schools." The third chapter examines the spirit animating the educational movement and the present cultural revolution in China, and readers are reminded that allowances have to be made for "the Chinese tolerance of a very large discrepancy between programme and performance" (p. 76) and "the characteristic tendency to confuse deeds with

intentions" (p. 85). Similarly, in a later paragraph (p. 213), the author observes that "paper schemes, reports, and the like, mean very much less in China than they do elsewhere in the world." He adds—and those who know China best will be the first to agree with him—that "this serious defect lies deep in the Chinese character."

In the fourth chapter Dr. Purcell deals in a most thorough and interesting manner with the "Language Problem" as it affects Chinese education. Many readers, even if they do not find themselves in full agreement with all the author's conclusions, will regard this as the most valuable part of the book, if only because other Western writers have tended to neglect it, either because they did not realize its importance or because through their defective knowledge of the language they did not clearly understand the complicated nature of the problems involved.

Dr. Purcell criticizes (with great justice) the lamentable attempts made by many bilingual Chinese writers of to-day to deform the body and soul of their national language by forcing them into the mould of English syntax. He mentions a passage from a modern Chinese encyclopædia "in which a train of reason is translated from a European source." The prose of this passage, he says, is so unnatural that "it scarcely seems Chinese at all." Innumerable examples of this style of writing could be cited from contemporary Chinese writers, and unfortunately the style is by no means confined to translations from European books. It is improbable, however, that the school of writers who adopt this jargon will succeed in establishing it as the literary language of modern China. The true *kuo yü*, or national language, has come to stay; and although this literary form of the colloquial language will naturally undergo modifications as Western and other foreign influences enter more and more into the main stream of Chinese culture, there is very little danger that it will cease to be Chinese in form and spirit.

With all his justifiable respect for the Chinese language, Dr. Purcell is one of those who are in favour of "rendering a foreign word by its equivalent sound in Chinese" (pp. 114 and 149), and he seems to welcome such indications as exist that this method of bringing new ideas into the language shows signs of vitality or revival. This is a subject on which he cannot expect all his readers to agree with him. Perhaps he has hardly realized how such collocations of meaningless sounds as *ai-ti-mei-tun-shu* (for "ultimatum") and *tê-li-fêng* (for "telephone") and even the comparatively inoffensive *mo-têng* (for "modern") offend the ears of educated Chinese who do not happen to be bilingual, and even of many who are accomplished linguists. If it were proved to be impossible to express new ideas in purely Chinese terminology, the use of such barbarisms would be excusable and perhaps inevitable; but it is arguable that there is no fundamental difficulty in finding suitable Chinese terms for all, or nearly all, foreign words and ideas. *Tsui-hou-t'ung-tieh*, for "ultimatum," is somewhat clumsy (though not more so than *ai-ti-mei-tun-shu*) and will not, it is true, be found in Chinese classical literature, but it at least conveys an intelligible meaning to Chinese readers who are unacquainted with any language but their own; and such terms as *tien-hua*, for "telephone," are equally self-explanatory and have the great merit of being Chinese. Not every qualified student will agree that the Chinese language is incapable of finding or coining suitable Chinese expressions for foreign or novel ideas. It is doubtful whether the author is on safe ground when he cites (p. 158) a certain distinguished Chinese statesman and diplomat in support of the view that Chinese is "very defective from the standpoint of clearness, accuracy and logical sequence." It might be suggested, by those who are personally acquainted with the diplomat in question, that his education has been such that he, like many

other bilingual Chinese, is really more at home in English than in his native tongue—a fact which detracts from his competence as a judge.

It is a significant circumstance, often lost sight of, that although the modern Japanese are rather addicted to the practice of introducing foreign words into their language without translation—often giving them an uncouth pronunciation—it was long ago discovered by Japanese scholars that the Chinese language was able to supply them with satisfactory terms for new Western ideas, political, social, philosophical and scientific. The Japanese, in fact, have gone to Chinese for their new terms, just as we of the West have recourse to Greek and Latin to supply us with new words to express ideas which never entered the heads of the ancient Greeks and Romans. It will surely be regrettable if the Chinese, having the great privilege and advantage of being able to go to their own language for the materials necessary for the coining of new terms, should unnecessarily abandon their own linguistic resources and borrow the sounds of foreign words which they cannot reproduce either in written or in spoken Chinese without doing violence to the genius of their own language.

Although some of us may think more highly than Dr. Purcell does of the resources of the Chinese language and of its capacity to express alien ideas, all will agree that his discussion of the subject is interesting and instructive. He quotes (p. 154) the opinion of Dr. I. A. Richards regarding "the lack of real equivalence between the Chinese and English vocabularies" and the need of "a technique for comparative studies," but he admits on the preceding page that "there is no Western word or phrase, however esoteric, which modern Chinese cannot deck out with a closely imitative native dress." Dr. Purcell is fully justified in pointing out (p. 127) that "the idea of science and the scientific method is a new one to China, and upon the success of the Chinese language in adapting itself to scientific needs depends the future of the country." There will doubtless be many experimental adaptations, and the final outcome is still uncertain.

In discussing the question of whether English or any other Western language should be the medium for conveying Western scientific ideas to the Chinese mind, he expresses doubts as to the advisability of this on the ground that "English is too hard for most Orientals to acquire in addition to their native tongue"; but he puts in a good word for Basic English which, "if adopted on a large scale, and systematically," has "every chance of wide success" (p. 160). He concludes his chapter on the linguistic problem by observing that "tremendous developments are taking place in the Chinese language" which is "expanding daily." He adds that "the written ideographic script remains universal," and quotes Karlgren's remark that when the Chinese discard their system of writing "they will surrender the very foundations of their culture."

In his chapter on the principles set forth in the *San Min Chu-I* of Sun Yat-sen, Dr. Purcell notes that since 1925 the school textbooks issued with the sanction of the Chinese Ministry of Education have been "systematically permeated with political lessons designed to cultivate political, and especially anti-foreign, feeling." This fact is well-known to all who have inspected the books in question, and although the Japanese Government is the only one which has protested against the official encouragement of anti-foreign sentiments among school-children and students, Japan is by no means the only foreign country that is made the target of abuse. On the subject of Dr. Sun himself, Dr. Purcell has much to say that will not be relished by those Chinese nationalists who have been taught to reverence the memory of the so-called Father of the Chinese Republic. His facts, however, are correctly stated and will bring much-needed enlightenment to many

Western readers. His analysis of the famous "Three Principles" is masterly, and it is accompanied by a valuable note on a certain American source of the views for which Dr. Sun himself is usually given sole credit. Dr. Purcell's opinion of the book as "the foundation of the education of a race" is not high, and he considers that it "bears everywhere the marks of the failing power of a man suffering from an incurable disease." "Above all," he says, "it gives no guidance to the Chinese whereby they may discover the source of their own weakness and correct it." This is well said.

In his closing chapter (on "The Present Period.") Dr. Purcell gives sound reasons for his carefully considered belief that "what China and Chinese education require above all is a new æsthetic," and that "with the finding of a new æsthetic the Chinese will have gone far towards the solution of their problems."

There is a feature of Dr. Purcell's book which will give great satisfaction to those of his readers who are acquainted with the Chinese language, even if it makes his pages appear somewhat formidable in the eyes of those who are not. I refer to his liberal use of Chinese script for the names of books and authors and important Chinese quotations. Both author and publishers are to be congratulated on having made this valuable if costly concession to the needs of scholars and students.

The transliteration of Chinese names follows the Wade system, the imperfections of which are outweighed (for English and American students at least) by the fact that it was adopted by H. A. Giles in his Dictionary. A few of the transliterations, however, follow other systems. The name of the leader of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion, for example, is given as Hung Siu-tsuen instead of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan (p. 49); the reign-title Kuang-Hsü appears as Kuang-Sü; and that of the fourth Manchu emperor as Kien-Long instead of Ch'ien-Lung. Misprints are rare and of slight importance. On page 135 there are four lines which are unnecessarily repeated on page 145.

The author shows his familiarity with the best ancient and modern literature on his subject, both Western and Chinese. His book is one of the best that has appeared on Chinese educational and allied problems, and it contains features which will be sought in vain elsewhere. Not only may it be recommended with complete confidence to all Western students of Oriental politics and culture, but it is also well worthy of careful study by those Chinese statesmen and politicians who are entrusted with the delicate and difficult task of supervising and directing the educational and cultural development of their country during a very critical period.

REGINALD F. JOHNSTON.

Attack on Everest. By Neil Macintyre. Pp. 172. Methuen. 5s.

This short book is the elaboration of a series of articles on the various attempts to climb Mount Everest, which appeared originally in the *News Chronicle*; and it is difficult to find any adequate reason for their republication in this form.

Anyone interested in the climbing of Mount Everest would be better advised to read the various official accounts, which are free from the misstatements and inaccuracies with which this book abounds. These are not, as the author states, "largely inaccessible to the general public," but are even obtainable in cheap editions.

Mr. Macintyre's journalistic reconstruction of the climb on which Mallory and Irvine met their death may appeal to lovers of the sensational. Possibly I am incapable of judging this particular passage dispassionately; but I must confess that it appears to me to be in lamentable taste. In any case, Mallory was quite

incapable of uttering the slang expressions which the author puts into his mouth. The book contains a diagrammatic frontispiece and has been furnished with a photographic dust-jacket which portrays, not Everest, but Makalu! Altogether, a most unnecessary book: a journalist, in fact, steps in where climbers fear to tread!

JOHN MORRIS.

Tibetan Journey. By Madame Alexandra David-Neel. 9″ × 5⅞″. Pp. 276. Maps and illustrations. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head. 12s. 6d.

Madame David-Neel is well-known as an authoress of books on Tibet. Being a Buddhist and having studied the religion for many years from the inside, she has an unrivalled knowledge of the form of Buddhism practised in Tibet. She has, therefore, peculiar opportunities which are denied to other Europeans of describing and explaining religious incidents and details which come to the notice of every traveller in Tibet.

The book deals with a journey undertaken, we believe (for there is no indication as to a date), some years ago. The country through which the authoress travelled is not entirely unknown. If we remember rightly in recent years the late General Pereira and Sir Eric Teichman have both been along portions of her route; while the enterprising missionaries of the border may probably have made unobtrusive journeys into this country. The account of her journey is largely given up to interesting philosophical conversations which no one but the authoress would be able to describe and explain. It is pleasant to read a book by a traveller who is not in a hurry. Marco Polo's journey took him eighteen years and a delay of several he dismisses in a few words. Madame Neel does not go so far as this, but it is no trouble or disappointment to her to wait several days if necessary. Her descriptions of the country are pleasingly interspersed with incidents of travel varied and illuminated by anecdotes. She was forced against her will to accept the rôle of a Buddhist nun possessed of great spiritual powers. She and her companions were, in fact, Lamas, and were asked to perform ceremonies by the simple people among whom they were travelling. On one occasion she actually saw in a vision the place of rebirth of an "enquirer." It is interesting to note that a Mohammadan living in close contact with Buddhists burns incense sticks—not, of course, before images of the Prophet, but before views of Mecca. What would a Wahabi say to this? It is also strange that the reformed "Yellow Hat" sect use for certain of their purposes the most unreformed "Ngagpas" who, by dealing with evil spirits, can obtain boons which apparently are unobtainable without their aid.

One chapter is devoted to the description of the working of administration of the small community of Tibetan stock at Lachen, a village in the north of Sikkim. It is not very clearly stated that this village is under the wise administration of the Maharaja of Sikkim, assisted by a competent judge who hears all appeals. The Lachen people are, however, encouraged to settle minor questions themselves. It is, in fact, a good example of local self-government. This has nothing to do with the authoress's journey in Eastern Tibet; and it is perhaps a pity that this description of these very accessible and, we may say, charming people should have been mixed up with the description of this difficult journey.

Very few travellers have managed to get on terms of such intimacy and confidence with the lawless robbers of Eastern Tibet. Other travellers have also found that under the peculiar methods of obtaining transport and supplies when travelling in Tibet it is essential to get some sort of start. Once you can arrive at a village with *Ulag* (the transport supplied gratis to official travellers by villages

on the road), you are accepted as a person authorized to receive this concession, and can travel in this way indefinitely in Tibet.

The book is well illustrated.

I. B.

Social Organization and Customary Law of the Nepalese Tribes. By Dr. Leonhard Adam, American Anthropologist. No. 4. 3$.

In this short survey Dr. Adam uses information collected by him during the war from Gurkha prisoners interned in Rumania, and finds that on nearly every point there is in Major Mairs' *Gurkhas* (Delhi, 1933) striking confirmation of his records. This fact gives value to both works, as in many cases of field workers independent corroboration is impossible. Curious and interesting as the food prohibitions are, they resemble—superficially at least—some of the food taboos in the hill people of Assam, where, as Mr. Hutton remarks (*Angamas*, p. 396): "The origin is due to a fear that some bad quality of the thing eaten will enter into the eater or to a belief that such food has proved dangerous to the eaters in some particular case." The Nepalese custom of artificial brotherhood has twofold effects, and in this closely resembles the Oraon customs of Sahiaro and Saugi friendships which impose reciprocal duties on the parties and forbid matrimonial connections (Sarat Chandra Ray, *The Oraons*, pp. 402 and 405). It is highly probable that the obliteration of tribal differences, as noted by Dr. Adam, has proceeded far in certain areas, but in the absence of modern and reliable information as to life and conditions in the remoter valleys, it is not possible to be sure as to the nature and extent of these changes. But Hindu ideas are steadily gaining ground.

T. C. H.

Khyber Caravan: Through Kashmir, Waziristan, Baluchistan and Northern India. By Gordon Sinclair. 8¾″ × 6″. Pp. xvi + 287. Maps. Hurst and Blackett. 12s. 6d.

The writer of this book having, as he admits, "loafed around the (Peshawar) border for 'only' a week, lit out for Waziristan," where it would seem that he again only spent about the same period. It is perhaps, therefore, not altogether singular that his attempt to describe the customs and ways of the Pathan tribesmen, as well as the intricacies of frontier policy, is about as valueless as it is misleading.

Certainly those who have spent the best part of their lives in India—and I suppose the same applies to the frontier—are often told that things have so altered lately that even a few years' absence from that country has rendered their past knowledge and experience so entirely out of date as to make it quite worthless. If many of the stories told in *Khyber Caravan* are true and not merely the products of a very fertile imagination, then indeed is this argument not only correct, but fact is certainly stranger than fiction.

For instance, if the story given on page 76 of the Pathan girl engaged to be married to a sepoy in the Indian army, being allowed, nay, encouraged, by her own father to go and lead a life of easy virtue in Peshawar City, so as to earn something towards her future marriage, is the truth, then indeed has Pathan custom and Pathan honour so entirely altered as to be quite unrecognizable. But perhaps it was the author who forgot and dreamt that he was writing of Japan!

Again, the presence of a stone image of Buddha in a village in Waziristan is a possibility, although I have never heard of one, but surely not one of "the Monkey God"! And even if it were true it is hardly credible that the author's

"down-country" servant would have heard of its being there; or, hearing of it, would have dared to have crept out at night from what, by its description, seems palpably to have been the entrenched camp at Razmak, and stolen it from the said village and then returned in safety to tell his master the tale. A "leg-puller" of the first order must have been that servant!

And what of the Bamru trader (on page 84) who dealt in artificial noses, who had never seen an Englishwoman? He must have been as blind as the author's "muezzins"! And how proud the Political Agent must be to hear himself described, on page 82, as "an attaché at Scout headquarters," and the Piffers, to say nothing of other Indian regiments, to hear of "India's *Gurkha-guarded* Kohat and Khyber Passes"!

Many years ago one Louis de Rougemont "pulled the legs" of his readers about Africa, and perhaps the author has been trying to do the same with us about India and its frontiers. In one or two places he talks of stretching the credulity of his readers, and I must admit that *lions* and tigers roaring in Alwar, Indian ladies preferring to travel in the railway carriage with him rather than with their own people, and the story of the rather forward young Sikh lady in the blue car, to mention only a few, might well stretch their credulity to breaking-point!

Then what of Quetta and its disastrous earthquake? Knowing that "Algernon Montague Beatty, Quetta's grand old man," whose death is so graphically described on page 134, *was still alive*, although injured in the earthquake, checked the various stories of the disaster with one who not only was present at the time, but, in addition, had spent the greater portion of his life in Quetta and Baluchistan, and was not altogether surprised to hear that the best that could be said about most of them was that they were "terminological inexactitudes." He, like the reviewer, whose connection with Quetta started in 1876, had never even heard of "the valley of the living dead" somewhere (*sic*) in Baluchistan, where Buddhist monks take "vows of eternal imprisonment in their youth" and are visited "every seven years" by "pilgrims from Turkestan and Tibet, nearby Baluchistan and distant Nepal, some even from Kashghar, Samarkand and China."

To those, therefore, who enjoy having their "legs pulled" the book may have some attraction, but not as a serious study of either India or its frontiers. As such it is absolutely valueless.

C. E. B.

The Clear Mirror: A Pattern of Life in Goa and in Indian Tibet.

By G. E. Hutchinson. 9″ × 5⅞″. Pp. xii + 171. Cambridge University Press. 8s. 6d.

Had Nijinsky expressed himself in words rather than in dance, his work might have taken this spiritually fantastic shape. The technique is similar in both. A fantastic design, all alive and blown by the breeze—it is more than a "Clear Mirror," it is an intricate pattern, a live pattern, the pattern of a Kaleidoscope, but with softened edges, always merging into another complete pattern, to which it is in no way related. There is poetry in it, and humour, too, and a queer scholarly mind that allows itself to fuse occasionally, just to escape from the sanity of straight line.

Who would expect that the three Spanish priests who open the first pages would not survive beyond the deck of their Indian-bound ship? Your attention is quietly drawn to them in the Mediterranean, and for what reason? To read with them an absurd treatise on the christening of abortions of Cæsarean operations. And one was sorry over losing the priests, and still more sorry over losing the ghoulish subject of their books.

Then, with no tangible foundation, on we meander towards India, no longer priests, just a mind allowing itself to be captured by the breezes that blow, a mind relaxing and dissolving into deep-sea reflections of "fantastic monsters, countries of hermaphrodites, or double twins beneath the palm trees, beings whose strange bodies would of necessity have given birth to the most extraordinary customs."

Suddenly with no warning—Goa. You find yourself reading endless descriptions of the insides of churches. The same subject from the pen of an honest man of platitudes would bore you. Woven into this queer pattern, it satisfies and amuses, and incidentally makes those quaint old places live. The breezes waver in such an odd way that it is difficult sometimes to know whether it is two hundred years ago or to-day. But time does not matter. It is all part of the pattern and peculiarly readable. Strange portions capture the imagination and you go over them again, not because of violent interest in the church. You are being shown a new angle, in which magic lives. It is all too short this part about Goa, and ends as abruptly as would be expected.

Then another jump to South-Western Tibet. Not a thread of contact between the two countries is produced. You wonder why. There was much contact made by the priests of the old days between Goa and Ladak. A fleeting reference is made to Desideri, but nothing more is done about it. Desideri was strongly influenced by both countries on his way to Lhasa. Intimate studies of Buddhist mural decoration follow: ancient frescoes and—more surprising—modern Tibetan painting of high quality.

The description of endless Black Hat dance gyrations is made readable; Tibet takes the author into her grip and steadies him. She is so vast, so incredibly still—he makes you feel that too. "At night, by the light of stars and of camp fires, the gonpa is vaguely visible against the hill; when the great trumpets sound, it seems like a huge ship ready to sail off from its moorings on the mountain and travel up the Indus into the furthest recess of Tibet."

You wander round edges of lakes in Kashmir and Ladak. You poke your hand through the ice, the smooth stretched milky surface, to find a strange uncanny roughness on its underside—trivial details these. You discover yourself nose down studying a species of minute flower growing on one of these remote lakes. The name of the lake has escaped you, but you would not remember it, anyway.

By now, whether you are interested in biology and botany or not, you follow fascinated, and learn a great deal. The performances of a spider that lives in a quiet remote hill at the very back of the world interests you. You peep at it all through a microscope in a small corner of a vast land.

There are gay interludes, too, about people. The fan-shaped valley of the Indus, its people, its flowers, its fish, its innermost secrets of nature open up and you are privileged to look into those places which you would not notice were you alone.

A biological mind can be a very dull mind. When it combines itself not only with a vast understanding but also with a subtle wit, rare quality is the result. To see with Mr. Hutchinson's eyes, to feel as he feels, and laugh when he laughs, is a joyous way of learning. Where he takes you matters little. He could make the heart of the Sahara bloom. "The imagination is most accurately stimulated by familiar things. As the sun beats down between the dry cliffs of the Indus, where the fishes so curiously proclaim the history of the river, a horse slowly swings along a rocky path, and the mind floats like a boat borne from the mountains on the glitter of the river, through a world of light, and so carries the now

familiar memories of all that has been seen, as its cargo. These memories and these images are borne down on the glittering water from the lakes and mountains, worlds of form replacing ill-spelt names on a map; all this is carried down the river to be recreated in written words and speech and pictures, so that from these places, for a brief time in this life, the spirit may be made flesh."

T. W.

Gaṇeśa: A Monograph on the Elephant-Faced God. By Alice Getty. With an Introduction by Alfred Foucher. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1936.

Nearly twenty-three years have passed since Miss Alice Getty first published her admirable work on the iconography of the Mahāyāna—*The Gods of Northern Buddhism*—of which a second edition appeared in 1928. Students of Oriental religions have regretted that so well-equipped a scholar should not have increased our indebtedness to her by giving us the results of her further researches in a field of study in which she is one of the few competent workers. They will therefore give a hearty welcome to her new monograph on the subject of Gaṇeśa—that "elephant-faced god" who began his career in the humblest ranks of divinity in Southern India, but rose to be one of the most potent and popular divinities in the Asiatic continent and islands.

M. Alfred Foucher, in the entertaining introduction which he has contributed to Miss Getty's book, describes Gaṇeśa as having been originally "a kind of demon or jungle genius"; and Miss Getty tells us that in all probability he was "primarily the totem of a Dravidian tribe" and "possibly an unimportant village god, worshipped exclusively by the lower classes." Nevertheless from that undistinguished level Gaṇeśa gradually came to be "the most universally adored of all the Hindu gods." Although his promotion to the Brahmanic pantheon took place in relatively modern times (there is apparently no trace of his cult in non-Dravidian India before the fifth century of our era), his popularity to-day is such that his image is found practically everywhere throughout the Indian peninsula. Commenting on the fact that Gaṇeśa is not found in sculpture before the Gupta period, Miss Getty observes that "his image appeared not only suddenly, but in the classic form by which he may be identified from the fifth century up to the present day." His cult spread rapidly not only in India, but also in most of the neighbouring countries of Eastern Asia, including Nepal, Tibet, Turkestan, Mongolia, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and many of the islands of the South Seas, including Borneo, Java, and Bali. His ready acceptance by so many different races and his rapid promotion in the countries of his adoption were no doubt facilitated by his absorption of several divinities belonging to pre-Hindu animistic cults. In Cambodia, for example, and perhaps elsewhere, he came to be associated with an early cult of mountains; and in many places he assumed the functions of a "remover of obstacles" and a protector of travellers, especially against the perils of tempestuous waters, swollen rivers, and demon-haunted ravines and mountain-passes.

It will surprise many students of the cults of China and Japan to learn

that the worship of Gaṇeśa spread even to those countries, in spite of the fact that we may wander far and wide among the monasteries and temples of China without finding his image. In the two last chapters of her book Miss Getty shows not only that Gaṇeśa was adopted by the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists, but also that his image has been found in a double form which in other lands is unknown. It appears, however, that only two ancient representations of Gaṇeśa have hitherto been discovered in China. One is in a fresco at Tun-Huang in the north-west, the other is a stone bas-relief in a rock-hewn temple at Kung-hsien, an ancient city near Loyang in Central China. They are believed to belong to the sixth century of our era, which shows that Gaṇeśa must have been known in China very soon after he became a prominent figure in the Hindu pantheon in India. Indeed, it seems that the Kung-hsien image, which belongs to the year 531, is earlier than "the most ancient of all those found in grotto-temples in India," the earliest of which is half a century or more later. The earliest *dated* inscription in India in praise of Gaṇeśa is at Jodhpur and belongs to the year 862. Another sculpture at Dhānukā in Bengal is important because it "seems to indicate a transition stage from the classic Hindu form of Gaṇeśa to that showing Mahāyāna Buddhist influence."

How the northern Buddhists came to adopt this Brahmanic divinity into their system is not clear, though some account of the process is given in the fourth chapter of Miss Getty's book. It appears that in Tibet Gaṇeśa's image is found under the feet of the great Buddhist bodhisattva Mañjuśri. This may symbolize the victory of Buddhism over Hinduism. It seems likely that Gaṇeśa came to be regarded by the Buddhists as one of the numerous gods of heretical systems who, after being shown the error of their ways in drastic fashion, became docile converts to the true faith and its most zealous defenders.

In many of the lands in which his cult exists, Gaṇeśa is associated with the great Hindu god Śiva. In this connection, and in explanation of Gaṇeśa's elephant-head, a strange story is told in the Varāha-purāṇa. Gaṇeśa, according to this tale, had no mother, but was miraculously born from Śiva's forehead. Śiva's explanation of the affair was regarded with not unnatural suspicion by his wife, the goddess Pārvatī. Having gazed upon "the surpassingly beautiful youth whom Śiva had created of his own will and without her participation," she pronounced a curse upon the boy and condemned him to lose his own head and assume that of an elephant. There is, however, another legend which declares that Gaṇeśa was the son of Pārvatī herself, who, "after gently rubbing her body," gave birth to "a youth with four arms and the head of an elephant." Another explanation of Gaṇeśa's physical peculiarity is that when he was born one of the gods maliciously carried off his head, which was normal and beautiful. The other gods wept and wailed at the sight of this distressing occurrence, but the god Viṣṇu, bestriding the winged monster Garuḍa, flew away to a river where he found a sleeping elephant. Cutting off the animal's head, Viṣṇu flew back again and placed it on the headless shoulders of the newly-born child, who thereupon sprang into life to the accompaniment of loud

applause from the assembled divinities. Yet another version of the matter is that Śiva and his consort Pārvatī, rambling in a forest, happened to come across a number of playful elephants, male and female, enjoying one another's society. Eager for a new experience, the god and goddess transformed themselves for the time being into elephants. Gaṇeśa was the happy result of their frolic, and was born with an elephant's face.

It is as the son of Śiva that Geṇeśa is met with in Java. So numerous are his statues in that island that they " far outnumber those of any other deity, even Śiva." He is there, as in other countries, regarded as the divine protector of travellers. In Bali, too, his image or statue is very common, though " no evidence of an actual Gaṇeśa cult has been found which would justify the great number " of such statues in the island. In Bali one of his functions appears to be that of protector of dead and canonized kings and queens. Miss Getty does not, I think, specifically mention the so-called " Elephant Cave " in the dark recesses of which an image of Gaṇeśa is an object of religious devotion. As this cave is situated in the vicinity of a deep ravine, it is possible that in Bali, as in Java, it was Gaṇeśa's privilege to preside over river-crossings and other places of danger and to protect travellers, though Miss Getty is not convinced of this. At any rate, in Bali, as in Java, he is a " protector against evil spirits."

A delightful story is told of how Gaṇeśa came to be the cause of the waxing and waning of the moon. Because the moon on one occasion impiously laughed at Gaṇeśa's genial but mirth-provoking countenance, the god wrenched one of his tusks out of its socket and threw it at the moon with such force and dexterity that he extinguished its light. Implored by his brother-deities to restore the moon's brilliance by withdrawing his tusk, Gaṇeśa finally agreed to do so, with the reservation that as a perpetual punishment for the moon's ill-timed levity it was to fade into darkness once a month. This story is told in explanation of the fact that Gaṇeśa is usually represented as carrying one of his tusks in his hand ; perhaps as a warning to evil-doers that he might at any moment use it once more as a lethal weapon.

The publishers have done their part of the common task in the production of this sumptuous and richly illustrated work with all the care and skill that one expects from the Clarendon Press. It is regrettable, however, that they did not see their way to supplying Chinese characters for Chinese and Japanese names, and thereby lighten the task of those students of Mahāyāna Buddhism who may wish to make further researches in the field in which Miss Getty is a brilliant pioneer. Transliterations of Chinese script are always more or less inadequate for scholarly purposes, especially when, as in this book, the transliterations do not always accord with a single recognized system.

The descriptions of many of the plates are too meagre and should be amplified in a future edition. On page 49 there is a reference to an image of Gaṇeśa in Bali; but when we turn to the plate to which we are directed we find the words, " Bronze image, Indo-Chinese," followed by a mark of interrogation. Sir Charles Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism* is referred to

in the footnotes as B. and B. instead of H. and B. On page 69 the lion is described as the animal which is ridden by Samantabhadra, and the elephant as Mañjuśri's mount. This is an error. It is Samantabhadra (Chinese *P'u-Hsien*) who rides the elephant, and Mañjuśri (Chinese *Wên-shu*) who mounts the lion. Footnote 1 on page 75 needs rectification. In footnote 3 on page 81 the reference to A. Lloyd's article is inadequate. The index is not as full as it might be; Bali, for example, though frequently referred to in the text, is omitted.

These trivial blemishes do not detract from the value of an admirably written and scholarly production for which both author and publishers deserve high credit. Miss Getty placed her earlier work under the protection of the goddess Sarasvatī, and hoped that the goddess would inspire her consort Mañjuśri to draw his sword of wisdom and "cleave the clouds of Ignorance" so that the West might come to a clearer understanding of the East. This work is fully entitled to claim the protection of the elephant-faced god himself, who owes his gifted interpreter and biographer a debt of gratitude for having introduced him with so much grace and kindliness to the Western world and for having provided him with new opportunities for useful service to mankind. High-roads take the place of river-crossings as places of peril for travellers in these days, and it is reasonable to suppose that a divinity who has shown himself capable of guarding wayfarers against the perils of swift and raging waters will prove himself no less efficient at street-crossings in our crowded cities. If in the course of the next few months we hear that the cult of a mysterious "elephant-faced god" is spreading among Western seekers after new religious verities, and if his image is set up on the shores of wild Highland lochs to overawe the monsters and water-kelpies that lurk therein, and at dangerous road-crossings to defy the upstart and murderous demon of petrol, it is Miss Getty who may rightly claim the credit, and must also shoulder the responsibility, for having transformed us, if only for Coronation year, into an elephant-minded people.

REGINALD F. JOHNSTON.

Afghanistan. A Brief Survey. By J. D. Ahmada and M. A. Aziz. With a Foreword by Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal. 10″ × 7½″. Pp. xx + 159. First published by Dar-ut-Talif, Kabul, September, 1934. New impression, Longmans, Green and Co., printers in India, April, 1936. Three maps and seventy illustrations. 12s. 6d. Library edition, 15s. 6d.

This work may be regarded as a write-up of the present bureaucracy in Kabul against a physical and historical background. It is compiled largely from local and Islamic sources, and is, in fact, as its name implies, a mere survey, not attempting to be really authoritative on any of the subjects treated in the twenty-four thousand words of letterpress. Of the two Afghan authors, one is an educationist who has been largely instrumental in building up the present educational system in Afghanistan, and the other is a young archæologist. These two have apparently worked on the national blue book, adding more or less glowing personal appreciations to the meagre facts of the Kabul Whitaker.

The arrangement of chapters starts with six pages of general review, placing the original home of Aryan culture in this medley of mountains, discarding

apparently the more accepted claims of the Central Asian Steppes. After them a twenty-two pages on the physical features of the country which tell the reac little more than the height coloured "million" sheets of the area. Seven pag are given to climate and natural products and four to the inhabitants, followed forty pages of history, including a useful résumé of the reforms of Nadir Sh The forty pages on Government with portraits of Ministers give a brief accou of Ministerial problems, industries, communications, etc.

The appendices give details of Posts, Telegraphs, Customs, Passports, D tricts, etc., which, though useful, are usually placed in guide-books or Intelliger Summaries.

The binding and reproduction are not up to western standards, and there many inaccuracies in the text, such as showing the "onyx" as a wild animal page 36. It is a pity, too, that in their efforts to preserve the national flavour their publication, the authors have distorted the real perspective in omitting a acknowledgments to the French, German and Italian assistance they have employ in their administration, especially on the educational side.

The maps and seventy illustrations, being mostly not too well reproduced, not adequately portray the character of the country as they might.

Speaking generally, the volume is more suitable for propaganda work amo co-religionists than for study by western students, who will find nothing in which is not available in more useful and readable form in Sir George MacMun history published in 1934, and quoted in the bibliography on page 130.

G. M. ROUTH

The Ḥarēm. By N. M. Penzer. Pp. 260. Index. Map. Forty-two plat Harrap and Co. 1936. 21s.

The scope of Mr. Penzer's book is far wider than the title suggests. It is brief and sensational account of the Moslem ḥarēm in ganeral, as one might first suppose, but a detailed and well-documented study of the Grand Serail Constantinople. The ḥarēm naturally takes a prominent place in the text, just it does, architecturally speaking, in the confused complex of buildings that go form the Serail. But just as much space is given to a topographical descripti of the rest of the palace, and just as elaborate a picture of the life of the wh court is drawn as of that within or immediately around the ḥarēm itself.

The author begins by tracing the history of the various palaces built by early Sultans after the Turkish conquest of Istanbul in 1453, and elucidates rather complicated system of nomenclature, by which the term Eski or Old Se refers to at least two distinct buildings. He then goes on to a detailed examinat of the Grand Serail itself, erected on Seraglio point in the place of ear Byzantine constructions. To-day its most usual name is Top Kapi Serayi, Cannon Gate Palace.

The Serail is without doubt one of the most interesting, thrilling, and roma spots in the world. All through the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eightee centuries it was the very nucleus of one of the world's largest and most import Empires. Quite half of it has remained unvisited by any European, and of rest, to which a few of the more adventurous and daring travellers occasion succeeded in penetrating, we have but a few scanty, though often very delight accounts. Even to-day there are a large number of rooms which are not open visitors, though Mr. Penzer succeeded in penetrating to practically all, with exception of a few which are in a ruinous condition, and of others which ho the most sacred of Mohammedan relics, among them the Mantle and banner

the Prophet. The latter are probably the most sacred rooms in the world to-day; Europeans have penetrated to Lhassa and Mecca, but none have as yet seen the relics preserved in these rooms at the Serail. Now that the Caliphate is dead and that New Turkey is in the main non-religious, one wonders what will finally become of these relics. One fervently hopes that the day is still far distant when this sanctuary of Islam will follow the example of so many others, and in its turn become a museum.

The various courts and the buildings they contain are dealt with in order. The descriptions are admirably illustrated by the only complete plan which has as yet been published, and by a number of plates, many of which are from photos, the taking of which had never been previously permitted. The descriptions are exact and accurate, and the author succeeds in giving a very clear picture, not only of how the various buildings look to-day, but also of how they looked in the great days of the seventeenth century. With the exception of the kitchens, the superb chimneys of which dominate the hill when seen from the Marmora, and of a few of the kiosks, the architectural qualities of these buildings are not considerable, but the romance of their associations makes up for their architectural deficiencies. They live again in Mr. Penzer's descriptions, and the story of their lives presents a most intriguing narrative. Woven in with it we find studies of such subjects as the details of female costume in Turkey (p. 168), the practice of making eunuchs (p. 140), the history of baths and bathing in Asia Minor (p. 211), the Turkish debt to Byzantium (p. 228), and so on. Especially delightful to the author must have been the piece of research wherein he shows that the English writer Withers reproduced the work and descriptions of the Venetian Bon without acknowledgment (p. 36).

The text is at times rather disconnected, and the narrative is perhaps too often interrupted by such phrases as, "This will be dealt with later." But this is no more than a criticism of detail; the work is as a whole thoroughly interesting, and what is more important, it retains throughout the spirit of romance. How often, alas, do scholars denude the subjects they tackle of all their charm! Mr. Penzer succeeds in retaining it, owing to the delicacy of his attitude. On p. 153 he writes:

> "Here the personal atmosphere reigns supreme, and when we actually stand in the bedrooms and boudoirs of members of the ḥarēm, and realize that we are in the most secret and forbidden spot of a people whose name was once a terror to Europe, our perspective begins to change, and we feel like intruders and a sense of reverence mingled with what almost amounts to fear takes hold of us."

This is the secret of his success, and it comes as a welcome relief when so much of the historical and travel literature of the day consists of little more than a personal boosting for having got to places where no one had got before, and whither it would often have been better if no one had got it at all. There are many authors whom one would rejoice to see following the course of the too curious Europeans of the seventeenth century into the Bosphorus, but Mr. Penzer is not among them.

D. Talbot Rice.

Moslem Women Enter a New World. By Ruth Frances Woodsmall. Publications of the American University of Beirut, Social Science Series, No. 14. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 12s. 6d.

Miss Woodsmall has produced a book of wide interest and of great value both to students of sociology and to the general reader who seeks accurate information on the present position of Moslem women in the Near and Middle East. A travelling fellowship of the Rockefeller Foundation gave the author the opportunity to study conditions in Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, 'Iraq, Iran and India, and thus add to the knowledge she had already gained during nine years' service with the Y.W.C.A. in Turkey and Syria.

Writing from a scientific point of view, the author has tried to avoid presenting her own outlook, although she says: "My view of the East is inevitably tinged with my own background and hence cannot completely mirror the facts. Therefore this book can only give the observation of one who has seen the East frankly and sympathetically through the eyes of the West. A Moslem woman would write very differently of her changing world. . . ." Statistics are given, but are not unduly emphasized, for in one district a single example of progress may be more significant than numerous examples in a more Westernized country.

The book is divided into six parts. The first deals with recent social changes, such as the gradual discarding of the veil, less rigid observance of purdah, and the later marriage age; the impact of Western ideas on the Eastern concept of family life; and with marriage and divorce laws. The second part deals with education in the various countries visited by the author. The awakening to the benefits of education for girls is general, although the rate of progress varies. In 'Iraq, for instance, Moslem parents now send their daughters to schools where the Islamic tradition is observed. The main obstacles in the way of progress in girls' education in the past had been the Moslem tradition and the lack of teachers; this last was remedied by the 'Iraqi Government employing Syrian teachers, who have laid a sound educational foundation in the country. Their place is being fast filled by 'Iraqi teachers, for it is no longer the exception for a Moslem to allow his daughter to go abroad to study in order to get her teacher's certificate. The four remaining parts are headed "The New Economic Rôle of Moslem Women," "Health Standards, Old and New," "The Widening Sphere of Moslem Women's Interests," and "The Pressure of Change on Islam To-day." Many careers are open to women in the East to-day, besides teaching and medicine; and in Turkey, the most advanced country in this respect, their activities range from engineering to commerce and law, four women having even been given appointments as judges.

In reading the chapters on health, one is amazed at the difficulties already overcome, at the history of many battles fought and won against ignorance, prejudice and superstition, although there is still some way to go before religious bigotry will allow all women free access to medical aid. Some interesting comments on the effect of greater freedom on general health and nerves are quoted.

Perhaps one of the most interesting chapters is that which deals with the adaptation of Islamic tradition to modern life, and with the reinterpretation of the teachings of the Koran in relation to present conditions. The various problems which have arisen from the conflict of new ideals with the old are sympathetically reviewed.

Some outstanding personalities amongst the Moslem women have arisen to take the lead in emancipation, and the ease with which they have taken their place in public life, after having been in complete seclusion, is truly amazing. Surely it augurs well for the future that the women of the East have entered their larger field of activities with so much sense of proportion, avoiding the tendency to run

to extremes which at one time characterized the Feminist Movement in the West, and with such fine ideals of service to humanity, particularly in relation to the cause of peace as expressed in the Report on the All-Asian Women's Conference, 1931.

Thirty-one photographs illustrate the text, and there is a map showing the route Miss Woodsmall took on her journey.

This is an admirable book, containing a mass of information interspersed with picturesque detail, and written in an agreeable style.

A. S. S.

The Effects of Centralization on Education in Modern Egypt. By Russell Galt, Ph.D. 9⅛″ × 6″. Pp. vi + 134. Cairo: Department of Education, American University. 1936.

This book is, in the author's words, a "Dissertation presented at Teachers' College, Columbia University," and is sponsored by Professor Kandel, the well-known authority on education in America, and editor of the quinquennial American Year-Book on education. Dr. Russell Galt is Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the American University at Cairo, and it is not surprising that the volume before us should be written mainly from the American standpoint. It is, however, heartening to the British reader to learn of Dr. Galt's high opinion of the educational system as it exists in England to-day, where the relationships between the central and local authorities are admittedly so well-balanced and so successful.

The book must command the sympathy of all who have the interests of Egypt at heart. It is a severe condemnation of the educational system adopted in Egypt since the days of Mohammed Ali, and perpetuated with little change, in spite of great expansion in money and services, throughout the period of the British occupation. It is what Dr. Galt describes as the "centralized" system, copied in the main from the French in the first half of last century; but whereas in France the system has suited the peculiar needs of its people and has been modified in various ways from its originally extreme form, in Egypt it has remained fixed, bureaucratic, stereotyped, absolute power being in the hands of the Minister as the head of a completely centralized Department. "In Egypt an Eastern people, with its own Oriental tradition and genius, copied the French scheme. The French love of logic and reason, however, was missing, for the Egyptians stressed authority and memorization instead" (p. 61). The quotation refers specifically to examinations, but it applies equally to the system as a whole.

Dr. Galt presents his thesis with clarity and persuasion. The book is well documented, and he quotes at length from the Reports, not only of such experts as the late Mr. F. O. Mann and M. Claparède, who visited Egypt at the invitation of its Government in 1928-29, but also of a former Minister of Education, Ahmad Naghib el Hilâli Bey. That this Egyptian Minister was not prejudiced in favour of his country's system of education is clear from his Report on Secondary Education, issued in 1935. "In my opinion," writes Hilâli Bey, "the real cause of the trouble lies in the administration of education, in the system of supervision over schools, or, frankly, in the Ministry of Education itself. . . . If the time of the Ministry be taken up by deciding the most trivial school matters such as punishments, attendance, readmission of pupils, and approval of time-tables, very little time indeed will be left for the consideration of technical questions and the study of the high policy of education" (Secondary Education Report, pp. 2-3, quoted on pp. 48-49).

Indeed, it is clear from these Reports and from other documents, of which a complete list is given at the end of the volume, that the educational system has been severely criticized by trained Egyptian observers and by the Egyptian press, no less than by foreign experts, over a long period of years. What is surprising is that little or nothing appears to have been done about it. That the Egyptian Government has not loosened the shackles of centralization, with its accompanying evils of stereotyped schools, rigid methods of teaching, and inflexible examinations, is due, in Dr. Galt's opinion, to the fact that successive Ministers of Education have been obsessed by national politics to the exclusion of any serious attempt at educational reform. Even an ardent and earnest reformer like Ahmad el Hilâli Bey was not long enough in office or strong enough when there to make his ideas and ideals effective.

A typical example of the complete lack of elasticity displayed by the Ministry is to be found in the circular of 1932, quoted by Dr. Galt on page 57, and containing "Instructions to Headmasters and Inspectors for inaugurating an Organized System to be followed in Teaching." The circular gives meticulous orders to all concerned with the management of schools, from directions on the exact number of periods to be given by every teacher in each subject, without consideration of the type or mental development of the child to be taught, down to detailed instructions on the ruling of notebooks and the number of pages to be devoted to the subject by each headmaster and teacher. And this under pain of an adverse report by the inspector, should these orders be disregarded, to the responsible officials at the Ministry. Can one wonder that the teachers, however well-trained and enlightened, should soon lose all imagination and initiative, and become mechanized and wooden in their methods?

Dr. Galt sets forth the results of this rigid uniformity, under which every school, from the kindergarten to the higher secondary, is organized, allowing no initiative or self-expression on the part of inspector, headmaster, teacher, or pupil. The present reviewer can confirm from his personal experience that the criticisms levelled against the Ministry in this regard are not exaggerated so far as concerns the early years of the present century. In those days there may have been some excuse for a more or less rigid system. To-day there can be little or none: and it is disquieting to learn that in spite of the expert reports and other official documents criticizing the system in recent years, no radical change has been made, and that complete centralization, which, in Professor Galt's phrase, "out-Frenches the French," still holds the field in Egypt.

But over-centralization is not the only fault: indeed, it may be questioned if it is even the most serious. Surely equally important is the neglect of rural education, which until recent years was relegated to a position far inferior to that occupied by urban education. While large sums of money have been disbursed by the Egyptian Government in expanding and improving their primary, secondary and technical schools in the towns, comparatively little has been done for the large rural population, the *fellahîn*, who probably form about 70 per cent. of the whole. The census for 1927 showed that of all Egyptians five years of age and over, 771 men per thousand and 953 women per thousand were illiterate, making the total average of illiteracy for the country in that year 86 per cent. (p. 12). It is fair to assume that the great majority of these illiterates were to be found among the villages of Egypt. These figures refer to a date ten years ago, and it must be conceded that steps have since then been taken by the Ministry to remedy this state of affairs. But though in theory elementary education may be universal and compulsory, it will require many years and a vast expenditure of public money before this desideratum is translated into fact.

Dr. Galt's proposals for the reform of the system are interesting, and on the whole appear to be practicable. He advocates the institution of three bodies or departments. First of these is a National Advisory Council, composed of representatives of the Provincial Councils, the Egyptian University, and other sections of cultivated public opinion, in addition to selected officials of the Ministry, including the Minister himself as chairman. Such a Council would undoubtedly be of immense value to the Ministry, and would—in effect—be a revival on a wider basis of what formally existed, but has since become defunct, the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction Publique*. Second, Dr. Galt advocates a Department of Research, one of whose first duties would be to break down the present system of centralized examinations and to substitute for it something more in accordance with modern ideas. The Department would collect, study and publish all important educational data relating to Egypt; and it would also be responsible for conducting and reporting on such educational experiments as the Ministry decided to adopt from time to time. Dr. Galt's third proposal is the creation of a Department of Supervision, which would absorb and supersede the present inspectorate, and, while acting as a general mentor to the schools, would encourage experimentation and initiative. If these suggestions were carried out, "there would be an organization possessing possibilities for creating a new spirit in Egyptian education, and for transforming the old bureaucratic hierarchy into a scientific educational service" (p. 105).

How far such far-reaching proposals could be put into effect by any Egyptian Government it is difficult to say. It would require a Minister of courage and resource, strong enough to withstand the inevitable opposition of vested interests, established conservatism, and political antagonists. But if such a Minister were to be found, of the type, for instance, of Hilâli Bey himself, and were he certain of the support of his ministerial colleagues, he would do well to consider seriously the proposals set forth by Dr. Galt, to make effective some, if not all, of the reforms suggested, and so to bring Egyptian education more into line with the spirit of modern theory. The Egyptian Government may be warmly commended for realizing, as it does, the importance of expenditure of public funds on educational services. Does it also possess the wisdom to spend that money to the best advantage of its people?

This is a book which everyone should read who is interested in the educational problems of Egypt and indeed of other countries in the Near and Middle East. He may not agree with all Dr. Galt's statements or conclusions, but he cannot fail to be stimulated by its perusal.

H. E. B.

The Nile: From the Source to Egypt. The Life-Story of a River. By Emil Ludwig. Translated by Mary Lindsay. London: Allen and Unwin. 1936. Price 16s.

Despite many attractive passages, it is doubtful if this book will add to Herr Ludwig's reputation. That is not to say that *The Nile* is poor reading. Ludwig is seldom dull, and his vivid imagination, acute perception of the picturesque, and elastic style lift *The Nile* out of the commonplace. Yet to one reader at least the book is disappointing, and the story is suggestive of the jottings of an enthusiastic wayfarer rather than the reflections of a student.

Perhaps the disappointment is due to Ludwig's choice of his medium. His objective was not a travel book, but the relation of a life. "It is," he says in a foreword, "the river that travels: it is the river's adventure that enthralls us."

In short, the Nile, as the author sees it, is "a living being, driven from its radiant beginnings to its end in service." Thus he falls back upon his accustomed form of expression, the biographical. To achieve the goal, he personifies his subject, contemplating the Nile from source to mouth as a living human being. This much the conception has in common with the subject: both pulsate with vigorous life, both advance triumphantly to their appointed end. But there the analogy seems to end. Man is master of his actions, but a river only the slave of its environment.

The story does not halt. It begins with the great falls the Ripon and the Owen, it scampers through Lake Albert, the stormy lake, "whose spirit can unchain the winds and capsize all your boats": it traverses Uganda, comes face to face with the Sudd, a mass of matted vegetation so compact and deep that Ludwig pathetically asks: "Where is the Nile?" The cutting of this barrier to navigation was a formidable task, and Ludwig tells the story of the little expedition despatched up the White Nile in 1900 dramatically enough. A description of the chief Nilotic tribes, the Dinka, the Nuer, and the Shilluk, is attractive. Of the last, Ludwig preserves a tender memory. "Beside the Shilluk," he says, "nearly every white man looks clumsy," and certainly the young Shilluk is a graceful specimen of humanity. At Khartoum Book I, surnamed *Freedom and Adventure*, gives way to Book II, *The Wilder Brother*. It is an apt title for the Blue Nile: a river, born incidentally like its brother, the White, in a lake, that tears a passage through a cleft rock, only to be imprisoned for many hundred miles in a forbidding ravine. There follows a history of Abyssinia, which begins with the adventures of the Queen of Sheba and closes with a diatribe on the failure of the League of Nations to eradicate slavery: an interpolation that does not advance the narrative. Out of the sixty pages allotted to the Blue Nile, the history of Abyssinia occupies two-thirds: surely an inappropriate proportion.

At the junction of the two Niles opposite Khartoum, Ludwig pauses to describe the desert "neither tableland nor mountain," through which the single river thenceforth will pass. The halt permits him to speak of the devastating storms that beset the traveller, and in such passages as this he is at his best.

"Suddenly the bright glare of day is darkened, and a dull yellow glare suffuses the air": "no wind, heavy silence, the gross darkness of the Bible. The sinister storm approaches. Tents are overturned, the dry ropes break, and nobody notices: all creatures tremble, cast to the earth by the weight of the dark devouring storm."

From relation of this terrifying phenomenon, Ludwig turns to speak of the elephant, the lion, the giraffe, the gazelle, the ostrich and the vulture. A second disquisition leads him to a third upon man-hunting: that trade upon which the Sudan flourished for a while, and then split, as a ship splits upon a rock. In this book, the third and last of the trilogy that constitutes *The Nile*, the reader meets the formidable personalities connected with the earlier history of the Sudan: Mohammed Ali and his son Ismail, Baker, Zobeir, the uncrowned king of the razzia community, Gordon, and Mahdi. Not all of Ludwig's incursions into history are particularly convincing: the reference to Hicks' expedition, and the reasons that led to the abandonment, for example, are loose. Nor is his picture of Lord Kitchener more likely to commend itself to officers who served under that leader in the Sudan, and Ludwig seems misinformed of some facts connected with Kitchener's island opposite Aswan. The island passed out of Kitchener's possession in 1901, and if Kitchener intended "as an old man to wander through dreaming rose walks," as the author suggests, he must have done so elsewhere than on it. There are other slips: notably the announcement that "the Sudanese still stands under military law." He appears better informed upon ancient

Egypt's connection with the Sudan: of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasty raids into Dongola, of Rameses' glorification of himself at Abu Sinbl.

At Aswan the story ends: the concluding chapters concern Egypt's water supply. The great dams are described, deductions are pointed, and supported by statistics. Five maps elucidate, and a score of illustrations embellish the text. Lastly, the author may be congratulated upon his translator.

P. G. Elgood.

Sea Adventures. By Henry de Monfried. Translated by Helen Buchanan Bell. Thirteen illustrations and endpaper map. Methuen and Co., Ltd. 10s. 6d.

It is unlikely that this book will prove very popular with British readers, for M. de Monfried is one of those writers with an axe to grind. The grinding of the axes of other people has never a particularly pleasant sound, and when the keynote from the grindstone is vituperation of Great Britain and her ways the result is somewhat tedious.

As a saga of the Red Sea and its perils from sudden coral reefs and its shark-infested waters there is much to recommend it, for the style is both real and vivid and the adventures are exceedingly well recounted, but always the author returns to the evil and far-reaching activities of the British Secret Service as represented by the Consular officials and a few naval officers, who were in the Aden and Massawa area during the late war. Most of us are sufficiently well acquainted with these types to realize that usually they are not particularly Machiavellian, and that they are not addicted to sordid intrigues with Arabs, conniving at the wrecking of the boats of our Allies' subjects and the murder of Europeans, and this being the case the story reads somewhat unreal and fantastic. If M. de Monfried could conjure up in his mind all these underhand machinations, one may be excused for wondering how much more of the book is due to a vivid imagination. As a nation we thoroughly enjoy a joke against ourselves ruthlessly showing up our stupidity and ridiculous ideals, but nobody cares for 70,000 words harping on our alleged national underhand methods.

It is rather difficult to understand the exact nature of M. de Monfried's activities in the Red Sea during the late war. Apparently, although his country, France, was engaged in a life and death struggle for her existence, she was unable to make any use of the services of this hardy sailor with his intimate knowledge of the Red Sea. It appears he was medically unfit for service in France, but on his own showing he could swim three miles at night in a shark-infested sea. According to his book he appears to have been running the blockade that Great Britain had enforced to cut off supplies from the Turks in Southern Arabia, and in doing so M. de Monfried seems to have been under the impression that he was furthering the cause of his own country whilst hampering the English patrol system and earning dividends for himself. Considering the nature of his activities, it is small wonder that he aroused the suspicions of the naval and military authorities in the Red Sea area.

His visit to Abyssinia during the war for the purpose of purchasing suitable timber for boat building makes interesting reading, but this portion of the book is marred for the average British reader by his account of the uncalled-for shooting of five small *Guereza* monkeys, one of which had a baby at breast. M. de Monfried gives no explanation for this sudden bloodthirsty onslaught, though he does express some regrets later when the baby monkey dies of starvation, clinging to the skin of its dead mother. He did not require the monkeys for

food, and one can only conclude that his action was dictated by the same impulse that caused him to spend the period of the Great War interfering in the sea-patrolling of his country's chief ally.

C. S. J.

The Dangerous Sea: The Mediterranean. By George Slocombe. 8¾″ × 5¾″. Pp. xxx + 286. Hutchinson. 1936. 10s. 6d.

"Circumstances have caused the Mediterranean Sea to play a greater part in the history of the world, both in a commercial and a military point of view, than any other sheet of water of the same size. Nation after nation has strived to control it, and the strife still goes on. Therefore a study of the conditions upon which preponderance in its waters has rested, and now rests, and of the relative military values of different points upon its coasts, will be more instructive than the same effort expended in another field."

Whilst reading Mr. Slocombe's book, *The Dangerous Sea*, this quotation from Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power on History* happened to come under the eye of the reviewer, and seemed particularly suitable as an introduction to any remarks on this careful study of the Mediterranean question.

Mr. Slocombe more than justifies the title he has chosen. Potential danger to a mentally unbalanced world is to be found in almost any corner of this sea, so beautiful in time of peace, but where violent storms arise with little or no warning.

Spain is now the battleground of two opposing creeds which have so little to distinguish them one from the other. No Mediterranean Power could remain indifferent to the possibility of transfer to another Power of any Spanish territory in the Balearic Islands or in Northern Morocco.

The Tangier question is always with us. The unsatisfactory convention is due for revision, but the Powers are afraid to take it in hand. Nelson said: "Tangier must be neutral or British," and reminds us of a policy which cannot change.

The economic situation in the North African possessions of the Powers is very unsatisfactory, causing discontent among their colonists, whilst the native unrest which in its more acute stage started in Syria and spread to Palestine, is now extending in a threatening manner throughout the whole Mohammedan world. The spread of education has had the same disturbing influence on the native as on the European.

The difficulties over the large Italian population in Tunisia are still unsettled in spite of M. Laval's short-lived triumph in Rome. It is a thousand pities that Italy was jockeyed out of the protectorate over Tunisia; but until the phosphates at Gafsa are worked out there can be no possibility of any large territorial adjustment in this zone. Immense sums have been spent on agricultural development in Tunisia, but the soil is gradually reverting to the desert, as in the days of Carthage. In the Adriatic there is a deep-rooted hatred of the Jugo-Slav for the Italian which might break out into trouble at any provocation, and Albania is always Albania even if it is to all intents and purposes Italian. In the Ægean the rearming of the Straits has completely altered the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the difficulty over the vilayet of Aleppo and the Port of Alexandretta makes a point of contention between Turkey and Syria in which France becomes involved.

Nobody knows what is to be the final settlement of the situations in Syria and Palestine, but it is at the least doubtful if a satisfactory solution can be found.

The development of the Italian bases in Rhodes and the Dodecanese is a menace to British security in the Eastern Mediterranean and has required counter-

measures on our part, and finally there is the question of Egypt, and the communications of both Britain and Italy with their overseas possessions.

It does not require much imagination to see how aptly the title has been chosen.

Mr. Slocombe has not spared himself. His study starts in the year 4,000 B.C. and he takes us up to the year A.D. 2500.

After reading the book the reason for the wide difference in period before and after the present day will be apparent. The future seems so hopeless it is hardly worth while looking more than about five hundred years ahead.

He has gone very thoroughly into all the various questions affecting the Mediterranean; but the fullest study and the most interesting part of the work is that devoted to Italy and Italian aspirations.

There is no doubt Italy has been abominably treated. She was guaranteed certain specific advantages by the Treaty of London before she came into the war, which were amplified under the agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne at a time when her energies appeared to be flagging, and, except for the ex-Austrian territory which she had occupied by force of arms, practically none of these promises were carried into effect. The most disgraceful case was when M. Venizelos was pressed by the other allies, headed by the British Government, to land a Greek expeditionary force at Smyrna to forestall an Italian landing which was about to be made in accordance with unfulfilled promises made to Italy.

After the Greeks had landed and established themselves, and with their army, then in a good state of efficiency, could have overrun the whole of Asia Minor practically without opposition, they were prevented by the allies from advancing; and were kept to their lines on the perimeter of Smyrna whilst Greece was being ruined by the upkeep of this large force. During this period of waiting Mustapha Kemal appeared on the scene and commenced the organization of the Turkish forces, which later on finally drove the Greek army into the sea. The later development of this Greek excursion is outside the sphere of this review; but it will pass into history as one of the most discreditable episodes which have ever occurred in British foreign politics.

The internal state of Italy after the war was probably a contributory factor towards the lack of recognition of her just claims, and in moments of exasperation at the actions of Signor Mussolini it must be remembered that he raised Italy from a state of anarchy to the position of a Great Power, which had previously been unwisely withheld from her.

The question naturally arises and will soon be presented in a more definite form, whether Great Britain and France were too grasping over the distribution of the spoils of the Great War. In the light of after-events it is now obvious that there was a great deal too much disturbance of the *status quo ante*, but it is too late now to recognize this fact.

Our own motives were admirable! Though we had no particular desire for territory for ourselves, we had an active disinclination to see some other Power installed on territory from which they might menace the security of any part of our Empire. The wisdom of this point of view can now be seen.

It would have been distinctly unsatisfactory during the recent bickerings with Italy over Abyssinia to have had an Italian mandate over Palestine as an additional menace to the security of our position in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Mr. Slocombe very wisely writes with decision, and naturally his opinions will not always be shared by others; but no undue bias is shown and his facts are presented in an interesting manner.

Some of his statements may be rather more sweeping than is justified by the

facts of the case, and the rounding-off of a phrase has occasionally been obtained by a sacrifice of accuracy. There is an absence of dates which detracts from the merits of the book; but it is one that can be confidently recommended as a most comprehensive study of the Mediterranean question, not only to the student of foreign affairs, but also to all those who follow with interest the various crises through which we pass with such bewildering frequency at the present time.

H. K.

Aden Protectorate: A Report on the Social, Economic and Politica Condition of the Hadhramaut. By W. H. Ingrams, O.B.E. Colonial No. 123. Pp. 1-127. With map. H.M. Stationery Office. 3s.

This report, under the imprimatur of the Middle (or should it be "Muddle"?) East Department of the Colonial Office, has its virtues and its blemishes. In many places it ambles along with an amiable farrago of facts, hearsay and fancies. Everyone who has interested himself or herself in the Hadhramaut is plied with an unceasing supply of local "histories from our earliest times." Such vague novelettes are scarcely appropriate to a Government publication. Trade tabulations (pp. 73-78) not confined to the Hadhramaut are hardly apposite. Hearsay schedules (such as those on pp. 94-96) are of no importance: the usual "Who's Who" of the locality (pp. 123-141) had much better have been confined to office use. Dissemination of such often leads to errors and invites meddling. Nor should an official report contain so many grammatical slips, printing errors, and slang.

Apart from these blemishes, the publication has its virtues. It embodies in accessible form a mass of scattered information. It sets out (and herein lies its main value) the real problem confronting not only the Hadhramaut itself, but the British Government as a necessarily interested party therein. The Hadhramaut littoral is held by the old allies of the British, the Qu'aiti. The hinterland—in the great wadi—is the fief, to all intents and purposes, of the rich Al Kaf seiyids, in whose hands the Kathiri Sultan is but a pawn. The Kathiris loathe this Qu'aiti stranglehold, for the Hadhramaut lives on remittances from its wealthy children abroad. Treaty after treaty, sponsored by His Majesty's Government, has essayed to reconcile these two antagonistic interests: success has never yet been approached. Mr. Ingrams evidently has a soft spot for the Kathiri: it were better he had steered an absolutely impartial course in such a report. The chapters on Hadhramis abroad are the most interesting part of the volume. It may be regretted that the compiler, in his casting about for a possible solution to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri impasse, does not envisage the utility of the Aden authorities applying to the Government of the Straits Settlements for a "middleman" acceptable both to hinterland and coastal elements. It was from Malaya and Java, through enquiries initiated by the late W. R. D. Beckett, C.M.G., at that time H.B.M. Consul-General at Batavia—and not, curiously enough, from or in Aden—that the importance of the impending discontent in the Hadhramaut was first clearly drawn attention to twenty years ago.

W. H. Lee Warner.

The Arabian Knight: Sir Richard Burton. By Seton Dearden. Pp. 334. Arthur Barker. 12s. 6d.

This book would be better named "The Tragedy of an Arabian Knight"—"the last and noblest of the Errant Knights," according to the epitaph written by

Sir Richard Burton's friend, Justin Huntly M'Carthy, whose generation knew not Lawrence. For in this book the pitiful story of the failure of a genius unfolds itself to the reader who weathers the first shocks provided for him by the author, and continues reading. A protest might be registered here against the undue proportion given to the less pleasing side of Burton's character. Of no importance is it to posterity compared with his remarkable geographical discoveries, particularly his penetration to Harar in Abyssinia and his finding of Lake Tanganyika. The hardihood and endurance, the adaptability and quick decision in the face of unforeseen dangers, shown by Burton make fascinating reading: it is a pity that in the midst of real enjoyment of the author's vivid descriptions of scenery and circumstance the reader should be brought up with a round turn by some unpleasant detail of no moment. The travels of Burton shorn of more personal aspects might well inspire the youth of to-day to seek to know and understand the world and its peoples. The care and accuracy of the traveller's records made in circumstances of great difficulty, even in the jolting shelter of a camel litter, when discovery meant certain death, would be an added inspiration.

The psychological interest of Burton's life lies, of course, in his failure to receive the recognition for his great accomplishments that should have been his. Various reasons for this have been suggested, but chief among them seems to have been his inability to work with others—in a negative way, an asset to a traveller, but in a government servant a most unfortunate defect. His *farouche* and cynical manner to those he did not like—he was quite unable, even outwardly, to "suffer fools gladly"—added to his unpopularity.

To the unfortunate and admittedly unjust dismissal from the Consulate at Damascus, Burton's devoted but unwise wife, Isabel, contributed not a little by her overbearing manner and interference in Arab homes. The effects of life in the Orient on various notable women, British and French, during the last century were remarkable: Isabel Burton added another to the list, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Lady Hester Stanhope, and the Princesse de la Tour d'Auvergne among others. From Jane Digby Lady Ellenborough, wife of an Arab sheikh, Richard Burton appears to have acquired much of the intimate knowledge of Eastern women and the life of the *harim* that is evident in his great translation of the *Arabian Nights*. In our own day, Gertrude Bell fell under that potent mind and a balanced judgment saved her from the eccentricities of her predecessors.

Outstanding among the unfortunate decisions made by Burton in his relations with his colleagues was that to allow his subordinate, Speke, to visit and verify the existence of the Lake Victoria Nyanza, the source of the Nile, while he himself concentrated on making even more detailed his already detailed and valuable notes on their journey to Lake Tanganyika. To this blunder he added the even worse mistake of allowing Speke to return to England before he did himself. Thus to Speke fell all the lionizing that was bound to follow on the announcement of so remarkable and valuable a journey of exploration.

Almost ironic, indeed, was the way in which Burton throughout his life ruined his own prospects. But the crowning irony came with the burial of this man of complete religious independence in an obscure Catholic cemetery in a London suburb at the instance of his wife. There he lies "neglected in death as in life": the diaries and other MSS. that might have brought to him after death the recognition that should have been his in life were burned by his devoted wife for fear of any indiscretions in them coming to light.

D. M.

The Gates of Jerusalem. By Jacqueline Cockburn. With an appreciation by Sir Ronald Storrs, K.C.M.G., C.B.E. Pp. x+300. John Murray. 7s. 6d.

In the sixth century the Romans at Madeba had an easier task in representing Jerusalem in their mosaic map than had Mrs. Cockburn in the twentieth, in her literary representation of the people, whose "lives form a many coloured mosaic of the faiths and passions, the desires and memories, which are Jerusalem," to quote Sir Ronald Storr's appreciation.

Mrs. Cockburn has attempted an ambitious project, far too ambitious to be confined to 300 pages, and the result has been that, whereas at times she has shown that she is an artist with a sympathetic, penetrating, yet critical eye, at others she is a sophist trying to force big ideas into the heads of a variety of artificial puppets.

Through some of the historic gates of Jerusalem lead paths, trodden by her finely drawn characters, and it is a joy to walk and think with them. Brother Angelo is a worthy follower of St. Francis, who learned that peace "was to be found in the heart of a great city as well as in the solitude of the hills"; who rejoiced that his friend, the mouse, nibbled at the *Fioretti* rather than the *Civitas Dei*. Reb Ephraim, the orthodox Jew, losing his family and all in a pogrom in Lemberg, but finding peace in the observance of the Passover in holy Jerusalem and contentment in the knowledge that he should be buried in the Vale of Jehosophat. Selim, a true follower of the Prophet, a Seeker of the Truth, confined to Jerusalem because Allah willed that he could not travel and visit the great libraries of the world. Serge, the type of the Ancient Régime, who finds on Olivet the *raison d'être* for his remaining in Jerusalem; his love for the Prioress, Tania. Ralph Daubeny, of the Palestine Police, whose d'Aubignys' blood made him a modern Crusader and student of history.

To have fitted these men into one canvas would have been difficult enough, but Mrs. Cockburn has painted a more intricate picture. They have their opposites, as in reality. The man of science, Morelli, is no longer a practising Catholic, but as a student approaches the Holy Places. Reb Ephraim's son, David, is a son of *Eretz Israel* and believes in a "Temple not made with hands. It is a building wonderful and rare—the Temple of the great Brotherhood of Man." He is a comrade in a communistic community. Here the authoress describes pettiness, grumbles and dirt; one is led to wonder if she has not failed to perceive and understand the idealism which underlies the movement, in which, for the sake of the community, the individual has voluntarily surrendered so much, especially the family life. The Moslem Selim likewise finds that his own brother has sold the family land to a Jew and has failed to help the Mufti to restore the Dome of the Rock.

Other figures appear on the scene and discuss their problems, including, naturally, the great question of Arab *versus* Jew. It is a pity that there is so much discussion, as dialogue is not Mrs. Cockburn's strong point. This is especially evident in the last chapter when, through the mouth of a shopkeeper, a feeble attempt is made to link all the characters together, whereas, in reality, the only link between them would be their presence in Jerusalem.

Mrs. Cockburn does not fail to describe, often admirably, the background for her people. Contrast the Ghetto, for example, where "the houses cling to the rock like limpets. . . . Here all is dirt and decay, ugliness and squalor, as though God's chosen people sought to evoke His pity by a visible show of their utter wretchedness," with the "intensely beautiful landscape" on the way to Ain Fara, where "the stony earth was hidden by a carpet of pale green blades starred with flowers . . ." cyclamen, grape hyacinths. "On every side there were patches of

purple iris and white jonquils mingling with the golden cups of the adonis and the crimson petals of the ranunculus." It would be a pity to miss the description of the scene at the Wailing Wall.

The background is often historical. But, lest her work is used as a textbook, it is well to point out that to say that Constantine rediscovered the Tomb of Christ is as misleading as to say that Queen Elizabeth captured the Spanish Treasure Ship. He ordered the Bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius, to discover it: a very different story (p. 122). The Zion Gate of to-day could not have been seen by the Crusaders in 1099, as it was, together with the South Wall, the work of Suliman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century (p. 54). Finally, though not of great importance, neither "cannons" nor the coffins of "canons" were found by the Turks in St. George's Cathedral during the War (p. 185). The printer must, presumably, be blamed for calling the Dome of the Chain the Dome of the Chains (p. 159).

J. D. C.

Who is Prosperous in Palestine? Labour Pamphlet No. 7.

This pamphlet is indeed heart-breaking. To read that Palestine Prosperity is a myth—that over 6,000 Jews are unemployed—that the employees of Lord Melchett have been "exploited" (beloved word)—that the solution is the combination of Jewish and Arab "labour"—is indeed disturbing. Has the much vaunted prosperity of Palestine been unreal all the time? Impossible. Has a huge adverse trade balance eaten into this wealth at last? Is it that we are faced with reality and that the "economic laws do not apologize"? Surely not.

Whatever the solutions of the problems, whatever the better understanding and book profits of the past, we have, it seems, to face facts and action will have to be taken. How distressing to the Theorists this will be! With high prices for vegetables, bread, meat, and ink, what will the Theorists do? We feel that the less said about this pamphlet the better, as "British Resident"—*anti*-British Resident might have been more truly descriptive—merely accuses Zionism of being unreal and solves the problem by co-operation between the labourers.

Anything more "unreal" than this could not have passed through the mind of Karl Marx.

The Palestine Mandate: Invalid and Impracticable. By W. F. Boustany. *Palestine Information Centre. 1936. 1s. 6d.*

As the author, a prominent Christian Arab member of the Palestine Bar, explains in the preface, his book consists mainly of the memorandum he submitted to the Colonial Secretary last autumn, setting out an Arab case against the Mandate as being invalid in law as well as unjust and impossible in practice.

The whole confused story of the war-time manœuvrings between the British Government, the Sherif Hussein and the Zionists is well described, though naturally from the Arab standpoint. It is difficult not to admit that the Arab view of the McMahon correspondence, that Palestine was included in the area to which independence was promised, is the only intelligible interpretation, though that may not have been the British Government's intention, and that the Government's shuffle out of its embarrassment was crudely disingenuous; and convincing argument for this may be found in these pages.

The author quotes all the familiar extracts from the various official reports which give recognition to the Arab grievances, and they constitute a formidable

and damaging indictment against the Mandatory which has consistently blinded its eyes to the true condition of affairs in the Holy Land. Generous extracts from the 1930 White Paper are included, but it is regrettable that no mention is made of the interpretative letter subsequently addressed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, to Dr. Weizmann, which corrected certain impressions to which the White Paper gave rise.

The book differs from much printed material on the Palestine problem in that it is set out in easily digestive form, and is extremely well indexed. There is also a welcome, and most unusual, paucity of statistics. But it resembles most of such literature in that it offers no constructive suggestion for a solution of the present impasse, apart from the replacement of the Mandate by some other instrument. To that extent therefore it is purposeless, but it may be commended to any who desire a clear insight into what the Arabs of Palestine to-day believe, Christian as well as Moslem, the fellah in his village no less than the office worker and the labourer in the towns.

ARCHER CUST.

OBITUARY

MAJOR-GEN. SIR PERCY COX, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

THE sudden death of Sir Percy Cox will be regretted by untold thousands of the inhabitants of 'Iraq, Arabia and the countries surrounding the Persian Gulf. He had secured the esteem and, in many cases, the affection, of all classes in a manner that has never been equalled in the case of an Englishman. Nor will he be less regretted by the very large number of officers, naval, military and civilian, who have worked with him in the strenuous years that are past. Born in 1864, he was educated at Harrow and at Sandhurst, joining the Cameronians in 1884 and entering the Indian Staff Corps in 1889.

In 1893 he was appointed Vice-Consul at Zeila on the Somali coast, where he took full advantage of the wonderful lion shooting. In 1899 he began his long and distinguished connection with the Persian Gulf as Consul at Maskat. There I made his acquaintance in January, 1901, since which date I was in touch with him for the rest of his life.

Maskat is perhaps the hottest seaport in the world, but Cox, supported by his devoted wife, made the very best of it, studying alike its delicate problems and those of the Persian Gulf. Lord Curzon, during his official visit to the Persian Gulf in 1904, noted Cox's remarkable ability and his keen insight into its various problems, and in 1904 he was appointed Resident of the Persian Gulf. In this position his influence was felt far and wide. Not only did he improve the safety of commerce, by the erection of lighthouses and wireless installations, but in every area the civilizing influence of Great Britain was more strongly felt than before, while the deepest respect was entertained for the Resident, whose name was a byword for justice and integrity.

Recognition is also due to the skill he displayed in defeating the schemes of Germany for securing a terminus for the Baghdad Railway in the Persian Gulf, or for securing a monopoly of the pearl fisheries through the shadowy claims of the Sultan. In this field he won the praise of Wassmuss, destined to be a formidable opponent in the Great War, who hailed his appointment as Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department with joy.

Cox, who did not particularly like the work at Delhi and Simla,

hastened to return to the Persian Gulf shortly after the outbreak of the Great War, and took part in the military operations throughout. Thanks to his training and loyalty of character, there was little friction with the army commanders, while he proved himself a great administrator, setting up an honest and efficient rule as the provinces of 'Iraq were successively conquered. In 1918 Cox was sent temporarily to act as Minister in Persia, where, owing to the unfortunate inability of the Legation to understand the difficulties of the various officers who were commanding forces in that country, his appointment was hailed with intense relief. Friction was succeeded by close co-operation, much to the benefit of the tasks to be carried out.

Cox negotiated the Anglo-Persian Agreement, in which Lord Curzon insisted on taking over practically every department of the Persian Government and thereby naturally aroused the strongest opposition alike from patriotic Persians and from vested interests. The final result was failure. Cox, whose silence was considered to be golden among the Arabs, chilled the hearts of the Persians, to use their own expression. He won their esteem, but, as ever, he felt that his work lay in Arab-speaking countries, and he was glad to return to 'Iraq.

He now undertook the task of laying the foundation of an independent state in 'Iraq—one of the most difficult tasks ever undertaken by a British official and one which he assumed with reluctance. However, thanks to his remarkable gifts, he was able to set King Feisal on the throne in 1921. Through the talents and personality of the new king, who fully appreciated Cox, the experiment proved to be successful, although the early death of King Feisal was a calamity. Cox received various decorations, but his extraordinary services were not adequately recognized by Government. He certainly never pressed his own claims to recognition. After his retirement he served with great distinction as President of the Royal Geographical Society, being especially interested in exploration. To conclude, Sir Percy Cox was undoubtedly the outstanding figure of his generation in the Middle East and our deepest sympathy is due to his wife. Her heroic endurance of bad climate and her kindness of heart supported a husband, whose character was *sans peur et sans reproche*.

P. M. SYKES.

CORRESPONDENCE

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF MODERN TURKEY FROM MUDROS TO LAUSANNE

The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,
77, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

SIR,

After reading the interesting review in the January number of the Journal of *The Making of Modern Turkey,* I should like to emphasize both the importance of the subject of Turkey—which is still in the making—and the achievement of the present Ruler of Turkey, who, in far more difficult circumstances, and without any of the bombastic utterances used by other Dictators, has secured for Turkey the place among civilized nations which had practically been denied to her by the Allies after the Great War. Such is the ignorance and indifference of the average Englishman to Turkey and the "unspeakable Turk," that so gifted a writer and so eminent an authority on the entire Eastern question as Sir Harry Luke ought to lay himself under the solemn obligation of still further lightening the darkness of the average English reader as to the true situation of Turkey and the Near East generally, the future of which is so inextricably bound up with the future of Great and Greater Britain. "Modern Turkey" is still in the making, and its shape is almost as much dependent upon the policy of Great Britain, and the wisdom and foresight of British statesmanship, as upon the present Dictator of Turkey himself.

On the title-page of an earlier work, *An Eastern Chequerboard,* Sir Harry Luke quotes a resounding passage from the late Lord Curzon of Kedleston, which it seems useful and appropriate to reproduce here: "The East is a University in which the scholar never takes his degree. It is a temple where the suppliant adores but never catches sight of the object of his devotion. It is a journey the goal of which is always in sight, but is never attained. There we are always learners, always worshippers, always pilgrims."

Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha might perhaps do well to ponder over these weighty words, and to compare himself with "The Blazing Sun of the Great Caliphate in Highest Heaven" (one of the late Sultan of Turkey's numerous high-sounding titles), whom "The Ghazi," the "Victorious One," with the able assistance of Western politicians, was enabled to sweep into limbo along with so much other superfluous lumber in Turkey.

To return to more mundane consideration, and to the history of Turkey since the Armistice, it is not too much to say that when Turkey asked for, and was granted, an armistice at Mudros a golden opportunity presented itself for continuing the work contemplated by Benjamin Disraeli when he occupied Cyprus in 1876.

Unfortunately the Prime Minister of Great Britain (Mr. Lloyd George) took upon himself to act without previous reference to France, the Ally by whose side we had fought throughout the War. Similarly during the War he had ignored his own Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Commander-in-Chief of

H.M.'s Forces in the Field. There is no desire on the part of the present writer to follow Mr. Lloyd George into the field of general recrimination (and almost of vilification of men no longer able to defend themselves) which covers six weighty tomes, at a guinea each, of Mr. Lloyd George's Memoirs. But the proceedings of the Prime Minister form history. Moreover, the tragedy of the devastation of Asia Minor, and the disasters which have overtaken both Christians and Moslems in that ill-fated region, are the direct consequence of the attempt made by Mr. Lloyd George to carry into effect the bag and baggage policy of Gladstone. This was little short of political dishonesty.

Sir Harry Luke was British Political Officer at Constantinople after the Armistice, and he must have knowledge possessed by no other living man of the hideous confusion, and divided counsels, which turned Constantinople into a kind of "thieves' kitchen," and enabled the one honest man, the hitherto "unspeakable Turk" to come by his own, and create the homogeneous Turkish State with which, in future, Western politicians will have to reckon.

Sir Harry Luke mentions *The Angora Reform*. This book consists of three lectures delivered at University College, London, on June 27, 28, and 29, 1927, by the late Count Ostrorog, the only Christian who ever held the office of Legal Adviser to the late Imperial Ottoman Government. In *The Times* newspaper of February 21, 1928, a remarkable review appears, whose opening paragraph seems to hail the advent of The Maker of Modern Turkey: "When something over five years ago the victorious horde under the command of then little-known Mustapha Kemal, pressing hard on the heels of the defeated Greeks, swept down to the pillage and subsequent destruction of Smyrna, observers on the spot entertained no doubt that the movement in progress was 'national' in good sooth, but something deeper than nationalist. It was described by more than one as 'Continentalis Continentalist,' for they felt indeed as if they were facing an awakening Asia, fuming and raging against a still arrogant but to all appearances exhausted Europe."

Amongst the other achievements of the "victorious" Allies during their occupation of Constantinople was the appointment of Mustapha Kemal to an Inspectorate-General in Eastern Asia Minor, which gave him an excellent opportunity (of which he was not slow to avail himself) to consolidate, and bring to a high state of efficiency, the force with which he ultimately conquered Smyrna.

In April, 1920, Mustapha Kemal summoned a "Constituent Assembly" to meet at Angora, and from that moment his defiance of the Sultan's Government may be said to have begun. The tragi-comedy enacted by the unfortunate Sultan is picturesquely recorded by Sir Harry Luke.

On the entry of Mustapha Kemal's victorious troops into Smyrna the Sultan (who can hardly have taken such a step without "Western" connivance) issued an "Imperial Rescript" (Khatt-i-Humayun) declaring the "Nationalists" to be rebels. At the same time the Sheikh-ul-Islam was induced to issue a "Fetva" in a similar sense.

Thus (says Sir Harry Luke) the Sultan pronounced the doom of his dynasty, as did the Sheikh-ul-Islam the doom of his order.

Shortly afterwards the Sultan slipped out of a side-door of the Yildiz Kiosk and repaired on board H.M.S. *Malaya* which conveyed him to Malta.

It would take too long to trace out, step by step, the complete defeat of Western "diplomacy" in Turkey which persistent dishonesty, and divided counsels, rendered comparatively easy.

The outstanding feature of the history up to the present of Modern Turkey is the emancipation of the Turkish peasant.

Sir Harry chronicles the fact in the concluding words of his brilliant introduction to the history of this period: "Paradoxical as it may sound, it is none the less the truth that the Turks were the last of the subject races of the Ottoman Empire to achieve their national emancipation. Now that they have done so, for the first time in its history—that strange history of two centuries of glory, followed by three centuries of decay—Turkey has become a unity."

A recent picturesque episode furnishes an outward and visible sign of this historical fact. Sir Harry Luke, as Lieutenant-Governor of Malta, entertained a Turkish squadron, the flagship of which was the former German battleship *Goeben*. A story which the present writer frequently heard during many years' residence in Turkey, is reproduced in a former work by Sir Harry Luke himself. A Turkish Admiral ordered by the then Sultan to proceed to Malta returned, after some days' cruising, and solemnly reported to his Imperial Master: "Malta Yok!" ("There is no such place as Malta.")

A contrast between this story and Sir Harry Luke's recent exercise of hospitality furnishes additional proof—if, indeed, any were needed—of the gigantic achievement of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, to call him by the name by which he was known when he turned the tables on the apparently victorious Allies.

The entire question of the Near East opens up such a vast field that it is necessary to resist the temptation of pursuing the matter any further. The majority of Englishmen know little, and care less, about Turkey, except as the home of "atrocities" and other abominations. For the first time in history *The Making of Modern Turkey* does justice to the Turk.

In the interests of justice, therefore, as well as of Great Britain (the home of justice) and of Turkey, the secular victim of injustice, it is to be hoped that Sir Harry Luke may be induced to bring up to date his history of the making of Modern Turkey, and, in particular, to tell us more about the Allied Occupation of Constantinople; and of the events which led from the brutal injustice of the Treaty of Sèvres right up to the abject surrender of the Treaty of Lausanne.

I am, etc.,
PHILIP L. SARELL.

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NOTICES

At the Special General Meeting of the Society on Wednesday, June 23, 1937, the following additions were made to the Rules:

Added to Rule 2: "There shall be an Entrance Subscription of £1, payable on election to the Society."

This Entrance Subscription will be charged to all New Members elected to the Society after October 1, 1937.

Added to Rule 5: "In addition the Council shall have power to recommend for election at the Anniversary Meeting as Special Honorary Members, Princes of foreign Royal Houses, and other distinguished foreigners who have visited the Society and shown their interest in the advancement of the studies which the Society exists to promote."

THE LAWRENCE MEMORIAL MEDAL

In the April number of the Journal it was announced that the Endowment Fund for this Medal had reached £94 11s. 6d. By subscriptions since that date, the balance has been brought up to £100. The Fund is now closed.

Since April, 1937, subscriptions have been received from:

E. M. Gull, Esq.
Mrs. Sandford Storey.
Mrs. Wanklyn.

Members who have not yet paid their subscription for 1937 are asked to send it either to the Office, or to the Society's Bankers, Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Cox and King's Branch, G.1, Section 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

Members are asked to notify the Office of any change of address and to send a postcard if they do not receive their lecture cards and notices when home on leave.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

NOMINATION FORM.

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....

....

(Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address)

...sirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL

...OCIETY, *we recommend* $\frac{\textit{him}}{\textit{her}}$ *for membership.*

Proposed..

Seconded..

...nection with Asia is:

TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
KING GEORGE VI

May it please Your Majesty,

We, the President, Chairman, Council, and Members of the Royal Central Asian Society beg to assure Your Majesty of our most loyal devotion to Your Person on Your Accession to the Throne of Your Ancestors.

We pray Your Majesty to accept our dutiful and grateful thanks for Your Royal Patronage, and we hope to prove ourselves worthy of it.

We pray for Your Majesty and for Her Majesty the Queen long life and happiness in the devotion of Your subjects and the prosperity of Your Empire.

We subscribe ourselves Your Majesty's most devoted servants.

President: LLOYD.

Chairman: HORACE RUMBOLD.

Honorary Secretaries:
P. M. SYKES, BRIG.-GEN.
E. M. GULL.

From the Home Secretary.

May 10, 1937.

MY LORD,

I have had the honour to lay before the King the loyal Address of the Royal Central Asian Society on the occasion of His Majesty's Accession to the Throne, and I have been commanded by the King to convey to Your Lordship, as President of the Society, His Majesty's deep appreciation of the sentiments of loyalty and devotion to which it gives expression.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
(*Signed*) JOHN SIMON.

THE LORD LLOYD OF DOLOBRAN,
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O.

SIR PERCY COX: AN APPRECIATION

You will no doubt have received many tributes to the memory of Sir Percy Cox, a distinguished member of the Society, whose loss we all deplore. May a soldier, whose good fortune it was to be associated with him in Mesopotamia, add these few lines of tribute to his memory?

Like all who really knew him, I learnt to appreciate his many great qualities, but what impressed me most was the manner in which Sir Percy, "the Uncrowned King of the Persian Gulf," as many of us liked to call him, effaced himself and played second fiddle to a series of generals of very varying calibre all through the campaign in Mesopotamia.

Before 1914 there were perhaps only two Englishmen known to the Arabs of those parts, Sir Percy Cox and Leachman or, to give them their Arab names, "Kakkus" and "Lidjman." That these names carried weight with the Arabs may be inferred from the fact that all our Air Force officers in Mesopotamia carried a card printed in Arabic stating that the bearer was a friend of "Kakkus" and "Lidjman," in case of a forced landing among the tribes.

Thanks to Sir Percy's kindness, I was privileged to accompany him on the first visit he ever paid to the Shia Holy Cities, Najaf and Karbala. We were met some miles out of Najaf by official representatives of the town and drove in, surrounded by crowds of Arab horsemen, who galloped about in all directions loosing off their rifles. Leaving the carriage at the entrance to the city we walked through dense crowds; the whole city seemed to be in the streets and all the way one heard nothing but "Kakkus," "Kakkus," as the Arabs struggled to get a glimpse of the man who represented to them the might of the British Empire, whose name they had long known but whom they had never before seen.

C. B. S.

PERSIAN ELEMENTS IN THE ARTS OF NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES*

By PROFESSOR D. TALBOT RICE

The first annual "Persia Lecture" before the Royal Central Asian Society on March 31, 1937, in the Hall of the Royal Society of Arts, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said that he spoke as the President of the Persia section of the Royal Central Asian Society. He felt it was a great privilege to have the pleasure of presiding on the occasion which was to be the first of a series of lectures on Persian culture and history.

Iranian sculpture had had a very great influence on the world at large, especially in ancient times; and Persia had a beautiful influence on the art of the world.

THOUGH the importance of the rôle played by Persia in the formation of Islamic art as a whole after the establishment of the Abbasid dynasty at Baghdad in 750 has long been generally recognized, the degree of influence which she exercised on the arts of neighbouring lands at an earlier date has been more debated. The task of estimating this influence with any degree of accuracy has, indeed, presented numerous complications, owing to the frequent scarcity of material on which to base conclusions. Of recent years, however, archæological discoveries have progressed so rapidly that plenty of material is available; the difficulty is to keep pace with it. It would be impossible to attempt to deal with all of it, even had I the knowledge, in the space of an hour. I shall hence omit the later and the earlier periods, and will attempt to give a general idea of the magnitude and nature of Iran's influence by citing examples from about the fourth century B.C. onwards until the full establishment of Islam.

The later ages present such a wealth of material attesting Iranian influence that it is hard to select a few odd examples; I therefore leave them for separate consideration. The earlier ages again cannot, I regret to say, be considered; for one reason, time and space forbid, for another they present a very different problem, for the age of the great Hellenic conquests under Alexander presents a very definite and important break in the history of all the cultures of the Nearer East. Alexander's conquests and the fabulous marches of his troops are

* The notes at the end refer to the most conveniently accessible illustrations.

bywords of history; but perhaps even more amazing was the effect that these advances exercised on art. At that time the Greek idiom was strongly implanted all over western Asia, and from then onwards, until full Islamic times, it remains alive, sometimes cropping up in a considerable degree of purity and sometimes blended. Sometimes, again, it is completely obscured by the idiom of the East, which gradually advances westwards from about the second century B.C. down to the twelfth century or so A.D. But whereas the power and quality of the Greek idiom gradually waned, that of the Eastern element gradually waxed, so that by about 800 A.D. it had not only become vital and predominant in Nearer Asia, but had also penetrated far and wide in Europe.

In an examination of the spread of this element the first question that arises is that of its nature. What exactly was this Eastern manner in art, and in how far is it to be considered as Iranian?

It is, to begin with, not the art of the ancient Iranian world that concerns us. The vast palaces of Persepolis, with their tall columns and fantastic monsters, the friezes of archers of Susa, with their majesty and grandeur; these are definitely things of the past. Even the stylized animal art of Luristan, with its bronzework, is something rather foreign to this new age. A different spirit has penetrated art, which is not to be attributed either to the ancient world or to Greece. It is more vivid, more realist, more mysterious; it may be summarized by the one word "expressionist," to borrow a term which is in general use among students of the art of to-day. One can see its presence in sculpture in such a monument as the relief of Antiochos I. of Commagene at Nimrud Dagh of about 34 B.C.,[1] or in architecture, on a more imposing scale, in the palace of Hatra of the first century A.D.[2] There is none of the straightforward pomp and circumstance of the old world of Persepolis here; little of the polished elegance of Greece. Both these monuments, and many others with them, not only savour of mystery and of strange, hidden cults, but they also show the "expressionist" manner of the new art. That is to say, both of them, the palace with its great halls open at the east end only, and the relief with its strange, symbolic headdresses, are the very expression of a religion which centred around the sun cult. In the same way, a door jamb from Hatra is the very expression of an age when symbolism and ornament were more or less synonymous; how different is this to a classical frieze, which is inseparable in idea from the open-air nature cults and the athletic life of Greece.

Along with this "expressionist" art, there was also penetrating another distinct manner, the purely non-representational, which seven hundred years later was to culminate in the aniconic art of Islam on the one hand and in the iconoclast movement in Byzantium on the other. As early as the very beginning of the Christian period its influence is but seldom fully realised—the heritage of the ancient world and of the Greek art, disseminated by the conquests of Alexander, was still too strong to permit it, for the non-representational manner was far more revolutionary in spirit than was the vein which we term the "expressionist." But we can see it clearly by the early fourth century in the Mausoleum and Palace of Diocletian at Spalato, and the manner is definitely to the fore by the sixth century, as we see in such monuments as the two pillars from Acre now erected near St. Mark's at Venice.[3] Before the establishment of Christianity we see the manner attempting to penetrate in the art of the "Caravan Cities" of the desert fringe, as in the temple of Bacchus at Baalbeck.

Where exactly these two new arts, the "expressionist" and the non-representational, were born cannot as yet be affirmed with certainty. Strzygowski, the veteran historian of art, whose statements, propounded as pure theory, have so often been proved by later discoveries as fact, suggests, in his more recent books,[4] that the latter, a symbolical, searching art, was evolved in the frozen north, and that it gradually moved towards the clement Mediterranean zone, to intermingle there with a straightforward, purely figural art, in its turn indigenous to the warm climate of the south. The degree of admixture produced the various other arts that we know, and the "expressionist" art distinguished here is to be accounted for as a blend, wherein the speculative element of the North was well to the fore, though not entirely uppermost.

Wherever and however they originated, one fact seems clear about both these trends—namely, that it was in Iran that the blend which produced the "expressionist" art first took place, and that it was there that the non-representational style first began to develop an elaborate and a characteristic idiom of its own and to utilize certain specific, and usually symbolical motives, in a very specialized way. And hence, though all speculation as to ultimate origins is beyond our consideration here, the history of these arts is inextricably mixed up with the history of art in Iran. And one may set in the same category the history of a certain type of architecture, characterized by an extensive use of domes and vaults, of rather thick

walls and of rather long, narrowish chambers, like those which we see at Hatra in Parthian times, at Sarvistan, Firuzabad, Qasr-i-Shirin, or other places in Sasanian times, and at Ukhaidir or Mshatta or some of the other desert palaces of Syria in the early Mohammedan age. The arches of Hatra are round, in the Syrian manner, but those of the Sasanian palaces were of a particular elliptical form, which it would appear gave place in the course of time to the true pointed arch; in any case the mosque of either c. 700 or c. 800 at Damghan, known as the Tarikh Khane, shows what appears to be a definite transition from the elliptical to the pointed form. Certain authorities dispute the origin of the pointed arch in Persia, and assign the honour to Syria, citing Kasr-ibn-Wardan as the earliest instance. But though the question is still not quite certain, the Iranian hypothesis is at any rate very probable; and if it be accepted, the origin, though, of course, not the development, of the whole Gothic pointed style is to be attributed to the East. More certain is it that certain architectural forms which were developed by the Romanesque and Gothic styles alike first appear in Persia, and most notable of these is the intersecting or groined vault. The first instance is in the palace of Taq Eiwan, examined and published in the last century by Dieulafoy. The disposition of the arches which span the building transversally, and of the vaults that they support, is clearly shown by Dieulafoy's reconstruction. The system was developed into the true ribbed vault, as we see in the great mosque at Isfahan (apparently 1088), and the development seems to have taken place in Persia earlier than it did in the Western world.[5]

The "expressionist" art, apart from the architectural phase which we here associate with it, is perhaps to be seen at its best in such subjects as hunting scenes. These began to appear in the Parthian age, and though the earliest examples so far known come from Dura on the middle Euphrates, where the Yale expedition has recently unearthed most interesting wall-paintings,[6] the work is in spirit so un-Hellenistic and so unlike what the ancient world produced, that the influence of the new Iranian stream is quite evident. The culmination of this particular type of scene is to be found on Iranian soil in the well-known reliefs of the time of Chosroes II., about 620 A.D., at Taq-i-Bostan.[7] Similar hunting scenes form one of the favourite topics of Sasanian art, and they are to be seen on many of the silver plates as well as in sculpture; they doubtless also formed the subjects of numerous paintings, which have long since disappeared.

These hunting scenes, of equally Iranian style and character, are

also to be found in South Russia, as, for instance, in a tomb at Panticapaeum of the second century A.D. The Russian examples are strikingly akin to the Dura scenes, and the whole spirit and system of Parthian and Sasanian art, on the one hand, and of what is presumably to be called Sarmatian, on the other, is so closely akin that the northern and the southern branches can without doubt be classed as cousins, both of them finding a common parent in Iran. The true physiognomy of this parent is preserved in its direct offspring, Sasanian art. The closeness of the relationship may again be illustrated by comparing a typical piece of Palmyrene sculpture and a wall-painting of the head of Demeter from the Great Bliznitsa mound in South Russia. Here the greatest common multiple is again unquestionably Iran, and the spirit of the art is identical with that of Sasanian sculpture, as exemplified, for instance, in the fallen statue of Shapur the Great in a cave sanctuary many hundreds of feet above the plain on which Shapur city stands. The relationship may be underlined by illustrating one further piece of Palmyrene work, showing a man on horseback, in the Museum at Palmyra.[8]

The influence of this spirit on sculpture to the west of Iran is very widespread, and it is even to be traced in the Byzantine world. Though most of the sculpture produced there before the time of Justinian was either purely architectural or definitely Roman in appearance, here and there examples in the Iranian manner crop up, and the head, usually associated with Theodora, in the Castello at Milan, may be cited as an example.[9]

Apart from this very distinct manner, this "expressionist" art of Iran is again to be distinguished by its naïve character, its love of frontality, and by a curious dissociation of man and matter. One sees this especially clearly in the well-known painting of 85 A.D., discovered by Brestead at Dura at the end of the war.[10] It depicts a Mazdæan, and hence an Iranian, scene. The same manner is apparent in a painting of the second century A.D. at Kertch.[11] An even more interesting parallel is the sixth-century ivory in the British Museum of the Archangel Michael, who stands frontally on a flight of steps with his feet spread over them.[12] This is no incompetence on the artist's part. It is the new Iranian manner, which we see on numerous Eastern monuments, and more especially at Dura. Mr. Hinks most aptly described it in his book on Carolingian Art as the "Levitating treatment."

After these excursions into the realm of æsthetics it will be well to

come to earth and offer further instances of Iranian influence of a more concrete character, where techniques, motives, and so forth are concerned. Such instances are none the less numerous.

The motives of stuccos from Hira, Sasanian in style, but actually post-Sasanian in date, are thus closely paralleled at Damghan in Northern Persia or at Ray, in the Sasanian period, on the one hand,[13] and at Amman in Transjordania, of the Moslem age, on the other. Another sculptured stone at Amman bears the Iranian tree of life,[14] which we see paralleled at Taq-i-Bostan or on a Sasanian ewer in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The whole decoration of the desert palace of Mshatta, almost certainly to be assigned to the middle of the Omayyad period,[15] is again essentially Iranian, and the favourite Sasanian motive, the dog-bird, which we know from numerous textiles and vessels, as on a silver dish from Kytmanova in the Hermitage,[16] not only appears there, but also on numerous other monuments. A large group of textiles, which show the same creature, such as one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, are descended from Iranian models. The superb Byzantine silk at Sens, known as the shroud of St. Siviard, is the outcome of this vein. Others, with such motives as mounted riders shooting backwards, are again Iranian in origin, though many of them were made in Egypt or in the Byzantine world. Most famous are the examples in the Kunstgewerbe Museum at Berlin.[17] A number of Egyptian ones are reproduced by von Falke in his book on textiles.

Another motive which presents a very interesting history is that of a particular type of cross, with sprigs or leaves on either side of the stem. It was in very great favour in the Nestorian world, and we see it in all Nestorian art, from the Stela of Siganfu of 781 in China, to Hira in Mesopotamia. It was also in favour in Armenia, as, for instance, on the church on the Island of Achthamar, Lake Van (915-921).[18] In the Byzantine world it only came into favour as a result of the iconoclast controversy. It is to be counted as an instance of the Eastern influence that distinguished that movement, and, together with other motives and ideas, is almost certainly to be attributed to Iran.

In the other so-called minor arts the debt, not only of Islam, but also of the Byzantine world, to Iran is even more considerable, and here techniques are concerned as well as motives and style. The whole family of sgraffito pottery is possibly to be counted as of Iranian inspiration, though it is impossible to make sweeping affirmations with regard to so usual and widespread a technique. But apart from this, there are numerous specimens of pottery in the Byzantine world which

show close Persian influence. A bowl in my possession, of the thirteenth century, bears two parrots of Eastern appearance,[19] and the colouring, in green, yellow and brown, is again closely influenced by Persia. Another bowl, from Corinth, shows a similar manner; a third, with its charming delicate scene of a deer in foliage, might well have been drawn by a Persian artist.

A distinct group, with painted polychrome decoration, examples of which have been found at Preslav and Patleina in Bulgaria, and at Constantinople, though less Iranian in technique is often more Iranian in motive. Sometimes the inspiration is Islamic, as on a plate in my possession, which bears a Kufic script. But more often it is Sasanian, the rather heavy, stylized floral motives attesting the Eastern spirit. Most striking in this respect are plaques and tiles from Patleina and Preslav in Bulgaria.

These motives must have reached the Byzantine world along the great trade routes, to the north by way of Trebizond and Armenia, to the south by way of Antioch and the Euphrates. Frequent though their occurrence is, however, the art of the Byzantine world remains Byzantine; it is only the motives, or sometimes a particular stylistic manner, that are to be attributed to the world outside. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the Iranian element goes much deeper, for it was conveyed along with the Bulgars themselves from their original home between the Caspian and the Caucasus. It was only gradually supplanted by the idiom of Byzantine art, which penetrated from Constantinople, when once the Bulgars were firmly established in their new home south of the Danube.

Striking instances of this original Iranian style are to be found in all the arts in Bulgaria. Thus the two ninth-century palaces at Aboba Pliska, excavated by the Russian Archæological Institute of Constantinople before the war, are entirely non-Hellenistic and non-Byzantine in plan. The walls are thick, the rooms long and narrow, as can be seen from a plan of the building known as "The Great Palace."[20] Rooms of similar shape, with a similar disposition of narrow flanking passages, are to be seen in the Sasanian palace of Firuzabad (226-242), and, even more striking, in those excavated by the Oxford-Field Museum expedition at Kish. The little palace at Aboba Pliska, again, is almost an exact replica in double of the Sasanian palace at Sarvistan. The method of construction—three longitudinal blocks alternating with one transverse one—is only to be found in the earliest Bulgar monuments at Madara, Preslav, and Tirnovo; the later ones show

the adoption of normal Byzantine methods, and the plans are also Byzantine.

We see the Sasanian influence again present in the rock relief at Madara, which was erected during the reign of the Khan Omurtag (814-831).[21] It shows a mounted rider in a costume of rather Iranian type, and below are a dog and a lion transfixed with a lance. It may be compared with numerous Sasanian rock reliefs, or with similar subjects on the silver plates. A striking parallel with regard to the horse is offered by a relief showing the triumph of Bahram II. at Shapur (277-293).[22]

It would seem wellnigh certain that the famous Nagy Szent Miklos treasure is to be assigned to the same wave of migration and phase of art, for its Sasanian appearance is marked. The winged gryphon attacking a deer is most striking; the rider on a human-headed steed is a less Sasanian motive, but the whole style is Iranian. Iranian again are the form and part of the ornament of a drinking bowl in the shape of a ram from the same treasure, while another bowl, with an intricate interlacing non-representational ornament, is more typical of the art of the central European migrations. But it attests the same original influence, which travelled from Iran by way of South Russia. Here the spirit is more northern, and there is practically no hint of that blending with the art of the south or the Mediterranean region which was alluded to at the outset, and which produced by intermixture our "expressionist" art.

Our examination has thus carried us in a half-circle round Persia, and with the Bulgars and the art of the migrations we are conveyed back once more to South Russia, and also to the Caucasus-Caspian area. The Caucasus, and more especially the Eastern Caucasus and Armenia, has ever been something in the nature of an outpost of Iran, and to attempt to examine the Iranian influence there, whether in Islamic or in Christian art, would be a very lengthy task, calling for wide and detailed research. I can do no more here than allude to the work of Strzygowski, who regards Armenian architecture as an offshoot of Iranian, which uses ashlar work instead of brick or the rough stone masonry of Sasanian building, and call passing attention to the ceramics, metal work, and sculpture of Daghestan, which constitute an important but distinct branch of Persian art of the Islamic period. A few more words must, however, be said about South Russia, for it was here at an early date that Iranian art played one of its most important rôles.

The culture which we know as Sarmatian and which flourished in South Russia for about five centuries from the third century B.C. onwards has already been alluded to. Its most characteristic art was what Rostovtzev terms the "polychrome style," a rich art of jewellery and metal, where a profuse ornament of coloured stones overlies the metal, so that the ground is very often hardly visible at all. This art was not only highly developed in the region; it was also carried westwards by various migrations, both Hunnic, from the east, and Gothic, from the north, and it formed as a result the basis of all the various arts of the dark ages in Europe, which we know under the varying terms of Merovingian, Frankish, Visi-Gothic, and so on. An excellent example is the Berengaria Cross at Monza. The origin of this polychrome style is now generally accepted as Iranian, and some of the finest early examples that we have are the superb bracelets from the Oxus treasure, one of which is in the British Museum and one in the Victoria and Albert. The precious stones that adorned them have long since mostly disappeared, but the cloisons or partitions that held the stones can be clearly seen.[23, 24]

The Sarmatian age in South Russia came as a successor to a more or less purely Hellenistic culture in the cities, alongside which there existed the nomad Scythian culture from the seventh to the third century B.C. At first the Hellenistic culture shows occasional Iranian elements in its art; as time goes on these become more and more numerous, until the Hellenistic-Sarmatian art, which we have illustrated by paintings at the Great Bliznitsa, is evolved. Scythian art shows rather more Iranian influence at an early date, and certain motives of Iranian origin, such as the animal combats, have been so assimilated into the art that we have come to regard them as definitely Scythian. In actual fact, Scythian art in its earliest stages is devoid of Iranian elements; it was an art of a nomad people, developed in Siberia in such materials as bone, leather, or in small, hard wood, as we see in the remarkable find made a few years ago at Pazirik in the Altai. Only later did it become a sumptuous art, with gold as one of its more usual media, and only later were the Iranian elements assimilated.

To travel farther into the Eastern world is beyond my powers. And to try to estimate the Persian influence in the art of Islam, from Spain on the one hand to India on the other, would take many hours. I can but allude to it, and then, before closing, summarize briefly my conclusions.

The influence of Iran is to be seen in practically every neighbour-

ing land, and at practically every period from Hellenistic times onward. Sometimes it is exemplified in motives of decoration, sometimes in plans of buildings or types of construction, sometimes in the manner of work or in technique. But such influences have been exercised to *greater or lesser degree by every art of quality—for quality is invariably imitated.* What is far more important is the rôle played by Iran as the initiator of a very distinct manner, which has here been termed the "expressionist." I have alluded to various aspects of this style, but, I fear, not clearly enough. I have hinted at the immensity of the break which the introduction of this new style marks, but it has only been a hint. The real significance is far greater than that of a break. It is the initiation of a whole new style, distinct from that of the Ancient as from that of the Classical world. It is the style which was to be practised in Byzantium, and, in fact, in the whole of Europe until the Renaissance. It is the style of the "dark ages." "It is out of Persia that emerged the whole of the Middles Ages," writes Strzygowski in his most recently published work, *L'Ancien Art Chrétien de Syrie.* One may confidently say that without Greece the Renaissance could never have existed. And so, without Iran, the Middle Ages could never have existed. The glories of Romanesque and Gothic have long been recognized; Byzantium is at last beginning to come into her own; we are now coming to realize that a great deal of the obscurity of the dark ages is in our knowledge of them rather than in the ages themselves. And for all this the glory of initiation, though naturally not of accomplishment, must go to Iran.

The CHAIRMAN: I think Professor Talbot Rice will realize how very much we are indebted to him from the applause he has just received. We owe a great deal to him for the remarkable address he has given, and for the pictures he has thrown on the screen. I was especially struck by one of the slides, which reminded me of a mosque I saw recently in Senegal. And in a new Christian church, which was one of the most beautiful modern edifices I have seen, there was evidence of an Oriental design. So even to-day Oriental culture brings to people a sense of beauty and an understanding of real values.

Sir PERCY SYKES: In the absence of Mr. Upham Pope, I would say that, while listening to this extraordinarily able lecture, what struck me was the marvellous introduction it forms to the *Survey of Persian Art* that Mr. Upham Pope has promised us for this autumn. It will come out in seven volumes, so it will take us a long time to examine it. That

work will be the great artistic event of the year, and this marvellous lecture will serve us as an introduction to it.

Professor MINORSKY: Sassanian art is very far from being my speciality. I have greatly admired Professor Talbot Rice's particular point of view, in that instead of studying Iranian art in itself as a closed field of art, he took the effect of its radiations and developed the aspect of the results of the emanations of an art outside its own particular country. His mention of the influence of Persia in as obscure a field as the metal-work of Daghestan is an example of how complete are his materials for this study.

I am not, however, entirely convinced that we can unite all the influences of Iranian art together in Sassanian times. Salmatian art had so many variants that I should not perhaps class as one the art of Iranian nomads and the art of the settled population of Iran. It seems to me that, as in their Zoroastrian religion, there is some dualism in their art. Perhaps those northern emanations of Iranian art might be connected with the art of other nomads, perhaps with those of Siberia, of which undoubtedly the nomad peoples of Iran were by origin one.

There is another thing we must not forget—that is, that flowing outwards towards Iran there were other influences, as, for instance, that of Rome. There are action and reaction of every kind in the influence that one art has on another. I would say, then, that Iranian art, and especially Sassanian art, had come under the influences from very far West.

We have to thank Professor Talbot Rice for an extremely interesting paper, illustrated with wonderful photographs.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

NOTES

[1] Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, Pl. 56.

[2] Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pls. 58, 59.

[3] Strzygowski, *L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie*, Paris, 1936, Pl. XIX.

[4] See especially his *Asiens bildende Kunst* and *L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie*.

[5] Reproductions of all these buildings are given by the author in an article entitled "Some Near Eastern Elements in Western Architecture," *Architectural Review*, July, 1935, vol. lxxviii., p. 15.

[6] Rostovtzev, *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art*, Yale Classical Studies, 1936, Fig. 79.

[7] Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pls. 88 ff.

[8] For illustrations see Rostovtzev, *op. cit.*, Figs. 78 ff.

[9] D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Art*, Oxford, 1935, Pl. 26*c*.

[10] Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, Yale, 1924.

[11] Rostovtzev, *Antique Decorative Art in South Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1914, Plates. (Text in Russian.)

[12] Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Art*, Pl. 29*b*.

[13] Talbot Rice, "The Oxford Excavations at Hira," 1931, in *Antiquity*, Sept., 1932, vol. vi., No. 23. Plates.

[14] Strzygowski, *Origin of Christian Church Art*, Oxford, 1923, Fig. 29.

[15] Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. i.

[16] Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 121.

[17] Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pls. 98, 99.

[18] Strzygowski, *Origin of Christian Church Art*, Fig. 57.

[19] For this and others see D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, Oxford, 1930.

[20] See B. Filow, "Les Palais vieux-Bulgares et les palais sassanides," in *L'Art byzantin chez les Slaves*, vol. i., Pt. I., Paris, 1930. See also Filow, as in note 23.

[21] See G. Kacarov, "Notes sur la sculpture rupestre de Madara," in *L'Art byzantin chez les Slaves*, vol. i., Pt. I. See also Filow, as in note 23.

[22] Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 79.

[23] B. Filow, *Geschichte det altbulgarischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1932, Pls. 4 and 5.

[24] Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 50.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM IN THE NEAR EAST

By JUDGE MICHAEL HANSSON

Lecture to the Royal Central Asian Society on March 17, 1937, at Burlington House, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O., in the Chair.

In introducing the lecturer, the CHAIRMAN said: Judge Michael Hansson is the President of the Governing Body of the Nansen International Office for Refugees of the League of Nations at Geneva, which has to be wound up by the end of next year. Enormous difficulty is being found in performing that task.

Judge Hansson was formerly President of the Mixed Court of Appeal of Egypt, and then Member for Norway of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. He also served on the Committee of International Assistance to Refugees. I should like to add that I met Judge Hansson at a Conference in 1935 at Geneva, which was held under the auspices of the Nansen Office to deal with the problem of German refugees. As one result of that Conference of ten days, he was asked to take over the position of President of the Nansen Office. He has now just returned from a tour of Syria, on behalf of the League of Nations, and is in England on a visit of only a few days.

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—You have honoured me in inviting me to address this distinguished gathering on "The Refugee Problem in the Near East." And I propose, this afternoon, to deal with this subject in so far as it represents the Armenian refugees in Bulgaria, Greece, Syria, and the Soviet Republic of Erivan.

I was glad that Sir Horace Rumbold mentioned the time we worked together at the problem of the German refugees. I think we were able to help each other, and that the work of the Committee was satisfactory on the whole, and we were able to clear up many difficulties.

AS regards Bulgaria, I have not much to say. I have not been able to visit that country, but, according to the statistics available at the Nansen Office, there are some 14,500 Armenian refugees living there. I am, however, afraid that a considerable number of them are living under rather wretched conditions, and I have been informed that they are anxious to be transferred to the Republic of Erivan, which, as you know, is what remains of the old Armenia.

This part of Armenia—that is to say, Russian Armenia—is quite a small country, covering only 30,000 square kilometres. It is situated on the border of the frontier between Russia and Turkey. It has a population of roughly one million people.

In Greece it is difficult to say, even approximately, how many Armenian refugees there are. In 1935 the Greek authorities estimated that they numbered about 25,000, but in 1936 the reduced figure of 12,000 was given—why, I do not know. However, when I was in Athens in November of last year, the representative of the Nansen Office on the spot told me he believed that the first figure I have mentioned was probably the more correct.

A large majority of the Armenian refugees in Greece are to be found in Athens and the Piræus, but there are others at Salonica.

I visited their camps at Athens, where the refugees are living in wooden huts, or barracks, or in small houses, and under very miserable conditions. Thanks, however, to the comparatively mild climate, and to their respect for cleanliness—which is one of the characteristics of the Armenian people—they are able to put up with those conditions.

The Armenian refugees have been allowed to settle only temporarily in Greece, and I know that the Greek Government is anxious that they should leave the country. The Government would be grateful if the Nansen Office could find the means wherewith to transfer them elsewhere. There is nothing astonishing in this desire of the Greek Government, seeing that it was obliged to open up its territory to some 1,300,000 people coming from Asia Minor after the collapse of the Greek army at Smyrna in 1922.

It is a miracle how Greece has been able to absorb this enormous number of newcomers, or "returners," and it is interesting and satisfactory to know that these people have made good either as agriculturists or artisans, or again in trade. However, Greece finds it difficult to supply sufficient food for so many mouths. The Government is obliged to import huge quantities of corn every year, which causes it very considerable financial embarrassment. For this reason the Greek Government would like to reduce the population by eliminating the foreign elements. Such elimination would perhaps also be popular with a certain class of the population, but for another reason—namely, that the Armenians are extremely industrious and able, not only as workmen but also in trade, and whatever the capacity of the Greeks themselves may be, the Armenians, in the localities in which they have settled down, have rapidly become competitors of account for the people of the country.

Now, I take the liberty to say that, in my personal opinion, it would be wise to allow the Armenians to remain in the country, for, from what I have seen for myself, I am convinced that wherever they

settle down they inevitably become a source of wealth. In this connection, I should like to point out that in France, for instance, where, according to the statistics of the Nansen Office, there are about 65,000 Armenian refugees, the Armenian leaders told me that only about 10,000 of them now really wished to leave the country. It would, therefore, appear that of those remaining at least 50,000 have been able to settle down and to establish themselves under conditions which enable them to make a sufficient living for themselves and their families; some of them are very comfortably settled. In my opinion, of all the various refugees the Armenians are those who have the least difficulty in adapting themselves to new circumstances and conditions.

I had a talk with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs regarding the Armenians. He told me that the Greek Government would, of course, continue to be very lenient, and did not wish to throw the Armenians out of their poor lodgings until it became absolutely necessary. I am sorry to say that that necessity appears to have made itself felt quite recently. The Nansen Office has been informed that in Athens, this coming spring, about 2,500 families will be turned out of their huts, or barracks, for reasons which I do not sufficiently know, but which, since the welfare of so many people is involved, must have seemed decisive to the Greek authorities. In any case, the Nansen Office, which is constantly being called upon to face new difficulties which appear to be insurmountable, has again in this case been requested to solve the problem, and the Office is doing its utmost. It has made a first advance, quite recently, of 2,500 Swiss francs. A further 2,000 Swiss francs have now been granted by the Office on condition that the Armenian organizations will subscribe a like amount. I have also promised to propose to the Managing Committee and the Finance Commission of the Office, when they meet on April 9 next, that they should vote a further credit of 10,000 Swiss francs. This money will be provided from the Norwegian fund resulting from the sale of the Nansen postage stamps which have been issued by the Norwegian Government and which have proved a very appreciable contribution. It is a pity that the French Government is the only other Government to have followed the Norwegian example.

With the funds mentioned above a piece of land will be bought, and the construction of modest, but healthy, small houses will be begun at once. A considerable number of the 2,500 families in question will therefore be housed under favourable conditions.

In this way the Nansen Office will once more have managed to

render remarkable service, not only to the refugees themselves, but also to the country in which they have taken refuge. It will, however, be necessary to find much greater sums in order to deal with this new problem. Where shall we find that money?

On the whole the Armenian refugee problem would be a simple one if the Nansen Office disposed of the necessary money, and if the various Governments and the League of Nations would do what I consider to be their duty. You will remember that after the massacres of the Armenians in 1915—the most terrible history has ever known, and which make one shiver each time they are brought to one's mind—the leading statesmen of the Great Powers solemnly promised to create a national home for the Armenians, and this pledge was also given by the League of Nations by Resolutions carried unanimously year after year. But what has been done by those who gave these pledges? Dr. Nansen, in his indignation, publicly declared that *nothing at all had been done and that the promises had been shamelessly broken.* I am afraid that no other answer can be given to this question even to-day. All that has been done to fulfil the pledges was done by Fridtjof Nansen, as High Commissioner, and by the Nansen Office. As a matter of fact, in the course of a couple of years the Nansen Office transferred to Russian Armenia 10,400 of the poorest of the Armenians from Greece, Bulgaria, and France.

The Nansen Office is only too willing, and has the ardent desire, to continue these transfers, as it believes that they offer the only practical solution to the burning problem which should not permit the League of Nations, nor the leading Governments of Europe, to sleep in peace until it has been solved. According to all the data I have obtained through the Armenian organisations and from the publications issued by the Soviets themselves, there is no doubt that tens of thousands of Armenians would be welcome at Erivan. I think—I may even say that I am quite certain—that this little country is in a state of extraordinary development from an economic point of view. Agriculture, industry, and commerce are flourishing. Had Dr. Nansen's great plan for the irrigation of the Sardarabad plain been carried out—it failed because in this matter he did not get sufficient support from the League of Nations—it is probable that most of the several hundred thousand Armenians living in foreign countries would have already gone back to Erivan.

However, as I say, even to-day tens of thousands of them could find a living there if the Nansen Office had the means not only of

transferring them to Erivan, which is a small matter, but also of constructing houses for them, which is a far greater undertaking. But this undertaking is also a small one compared with the refugee problem as a whole, and if the moral obligations of Christian humanity towards the Armenians be also taken into account.

The Nansen Office, however, unfortunately has not any capital at its disposal for the purposes in question. In this connection I would like to compare the situation of the Nansen Office, and especially the situation of the Armenian refugees, with that of the German refugees and, particularly, with that of the Jewish refugees from Germany. The Jews hold together. In this respect they are a wonderful people. They have powerful, rich organizations. There are very wealthy Jews all over the world ready to help their co-religionists with huge contributions. You know how, in a very short space of time, the Committee, headed by its very distinguished and very able chairman Sir Herbert Samuel—whose family subscribed for their own part £100,000—was able to collect £750,000—and to-day perhaps even more.

When one thinks that, according to the latest official statistics published last autumn, the whole German emigration during the last two years amounted to 115,000 only, and of that number 90,000 are definitely settled in Palestine or in North and South America, it must be recognized that these refugees, whatever may be the compassion one may feel for the manner in which they have been treated, are far better off than the great mass of the Armenians, not to speak of the Russian refugees, entrusted to the care of the Nansen Office.

It is true that there are about half a million Jews still living in Germany, but, fortunately, there are no signs of any new move to drive them out. At the Secretariat of the League of Nations nothing is known about any new exodus. I went into this matter myself when I was in Berlin last December, but there again there was nothing to show that new emigration was pending. On the contrary, I was told, and during the last few days I have heard it assured, that not a few of the Jews who left Germany during the last two years are now returning to that country, and I have also been told that in Paris, according to Government census, there are now only about 9,000 German refugees in all, and in Brüssels perhaps not more than 150 to 200 remain. The others have gone to foreign countries, where they have settled down, or they have returned to Germany.

I mention these facts as it is, in my opinion, very unwise to exaggerate the refugee problem. Exaggeration frightens and tires the

public. Personally, I am trying very hard indeed to obtain exact figures, especially in connection with the refugees under the care of the Nansen Office. I am happy to be able to say that, according to the information I have collected little by little, the figures now in my possession, though still very impressive, are nevertheless smaller than those given a short time ago, when it was estimated that the number of refugees under the Nansen Office reached the figure of about one million. It will interest you to know that as far as it is possible to give an approximate estimate the number does not exceed 600,000, of which 115,000 are Armenians.

The Nansen Office is struggling day after day to obtain money to satisfy the most urgent needs of a large number of these unfortunate people. This is the part of my activity that I find the most trying. As, at present, the public and the Governments are reluctant to give financial assistance to the Office, I have been obliged to propose—and the governing body of the Office has approved the proposal—to organize an international lottery, the profit derived from which would in the first instance be used for the establishment of the Armenian refugees in Erivan or elsewhere. Should this effort also prove to be a failure the Nansen Office will despair of fulfilling the moral engagement taken by greater powers than itself.

I have been asked on several occasions whether the Armenians transferred to Erivan are really well treated. In this connection I cannot do better than to quote the following letters from an Armenian organization, copies of which are inserted in the last Report of the Nansen Office to the Assembly of the League of Nations:

"*At the Other End.* A telegram sent from Erivan states that the Government of Armenia had formed a Commission under the Chairmanship of Comrade R. Dashtoyan, the Secretary of the Central Executive Committee, to receive the immigrants at Batoum, to carry them to Haiastan, and settle them at their destinations. The Federal Government of Transcaucasus and Ajaristan will kindly offer housing accommodation and other help pending the transport from Batoum to Armenia. In Erivan itself the city council has arranged the means of reception and settlement. The returning people will be settled in Nor* Ceserea, Nor Malatia, Nor Arabekir, and other new cities erected by the Heirenaktsakan Unions of the same name. Houses, co-opera-

* "Nor" in Armenia means "new"; Nor Ceserea—now Ceserea.

tive shops, etc., have been prepared for in the course of the last few years. Local industries and vast farms are already in operation to absorb the new arrivals. Hundreds of scattered families and relatives will thus be reunited and new cells of happiness and production of wealth constituted. In my view, that is the only road to 'collective security.' Civilization will benefit by such practical acts."

"*Nor Bewthania.* At the southern outlet of the city of Erivan a block of buildings was completed last summer. It forms the nucleus of Nor Bewthania, assigned to the immigrants who returned from Greece five years ago. Beautiful buildings are gradually rising from the sands. Five years ago the ground was a useless steppe; now nearly 2,000 people live on their own properties endowed with all conveniences. As you approach the settlement you see from a distance an inscription on one of the highest buildings. It reads: 'Nor Bewthanian Michnakark'dprots'—'The Secondary School of Nor Bewthania.' It is a happy and thriving community. The children who five years ago were wandering hopelessly in the streets of Piræus are now a healthy and enthusiastic set of pupils at study and at gymnastics. Their parents work in factories and institutions. In the mellow and bracing air of Haiastan in the spring you hear songs and music from every house. In Nor Bewthania alone there are 1,620 children in the schools; many of them attend from the neighbouring quarters."

I have also carefully investigated the question of the exercise of religion in Erivan. I have been assured from all sides, and especially by the Armenian leaders, that in this respect the authorities leave the population entirely free to do as it pleases.

Let me now deal with the situation in Syria.

I went there last autumn on behalf of the Nansen Office and in accordance with the wishes repeatedly expressed by the governing body of that Office. I am very glad I did so. I learned a great deal on that voyage, and I have given a résumé of my experiences in a Report which has been sent to all the members of the governing body of the Office, and to all those who are interested in the matter. More especially was it addressed to the organizations which so generously granted loans to the Nansen Office for the construction of houses for the suffering Armenians in Syria.

The total number of Armenian refugees there is about 135,000. A

certain number of them were already living in the country before the disaster which fell upon the Armenians in 1915 and later, but at least 100,000 came to Syria when the French army left Cilicia in 1921. Strictly speaking, the Nansen Office should have nothing to do with this group of refugees as they practically all became local citizens and because, as you know, the Office deals only with refugees who are State-less. A great number, however, of the newcomers to Syria, about 40,000, were without means and without homes. They were put into camps, where they erected for themselves huts made of packing-cases, tin boxes, and sacking. The situation in these camps was really terrible. The most elementary principles of hygiene were completely ignored, and words can give no idea of the state of filth in which these people were obliged to live. It was, therefore, soon recognized that something would have to be done for the inhabitants of these camps.

Dr. Nansen was then asked to try and build houses for these people, or to settle them in agricultural colonies. After Dr. Nansen's death the Nansen Office continued the work.

Up to the present 35,000 Armenians have got their homes in Aleppo, Beyrout and Alexandretta, and in villages in the country. The Office had hoped to be able to complete the work in question by the end of 1934, but this proved to be impossible. Even to-day 1,000 families—or some 4,000 to 5,000 people—are living in the barracks in Aleppo and Beyrout. As I said before, I visited the camps in which they are living. I never imagined that human beings could live under such conditions. The smell, the hideousness, and the unhealthiness were appalling. This explains why so many of the inhabitants have lost their reason, and why small children, even those two or three years of age, are not bigger than babies and cannot stand on their feet. In northern countries, in any case, even animals would not be allowed to live in such unhealthy lodgings.

One thing is certain: it will be the shame of humanity if these 1,000 families are not delivered from their wretchedness.

The local authorities have decided to destroy the remaining barracks, but they have granted the Nansen Office a new delay in the hope that houses will be built for the inhabitants of the camps.

Should the organizations which have advanced money to the Nansen Office be willing to allow it to continue to use the instalments repaid by the Armenian debtors for the purpose, we shall be able to build houses for the remaining families.

Up to the present all the families which have secured lodgings have obtained the land through the Nansen Office, they themselves paying a part of the cost thereof. At present the refugees themselves buy one of the lots earmarked for the purpose, and the representative of the Office in Syria advances them the money they lack for the construction of modest houses. This has proved to be the best way to help these people, and it facilitates the recovery of the money advanced to them. They do not become the owners of the land until they have completely repaid their loans. It must be said that the Armenians show themselves willing and ready to repay the money advanced to them. This remark applies also to the Armenians in Greece who have been helped by the Office. The recuperation of the advances has, however, recently become more difficult owing to the uncertain conditions now existing in Syria generally, and to the effect that that situation has had on the minds of the Armenians and of the other Christian minorities.

Before dealing with that situation I must return for a moment to the housing of the refugees in Syria. There is in Beyrout and Aleppo a certain number of families who are so poor as to be unable to subscribe even the smallest sum towards the construction of lodgings or homes. It is hard to have to say so, but I must recognize that it is difficult to start building houses for these people free of charge until all those who can pay a small amount themselves have obtained their houses. All who have experience in these matters agree that if the Nansen Office now started building houses for the poorer people without cost to them it would be impossible to get those to whom advances have been made to repay their loans, and more difficult still to persuade those still living in the camps, and who could dispose of small amounts, to part with their funds. They would all pretend to be the poorest of the poor. You know, as I do myself, that that sort of benevolence is demoralizing and dangerous. Nothing should be given free unless absolutely necessary.

Should it be impossible for the British organizations interested in this splendid work momentarily to waive the reimbursement of their funds a new appeal will have be made to the world. Unfortunately, an appeal made in this connection last year gave no result. However, I cannot believe that our generation does not feel responsibility for the Armenians and compassion for them. Dr. Nansen felt so strongly in this matter that shortly before his death he said without hesitation to a person who was going to Geneva as a member of the Mandates

Commission and who asked him if he had anything special to recommend: "Don't forget the Armenians."

The organizations in this country which have helped in the past and which continue to assist me are the following: The Armenian (Lord Mayor's) Fund, The Friends of Armenia, The Society of Friends, and the League of Nations Union; also many private individuals, as instanced in the very helpful work carried out by Miss Roberts. I know that your organization, along with those in the United States of America, have accomplished a great deal in the past, and I thank you for this help and pray that it may be an augury for fuller support in the future, until unitedly we have liquidated this problem which besmirches the name of Christendom. I mention with great honour that little Denmark and not much bigger Switzerland each send every year to Syria private contributions amounting to between £7,000 and £10,000. Switzerland has sent her quota through that honoured, indefatigable worker and outstanding friend of the Armenians for over thirty years, Mr. Künzler, who, loyally supported by his wife, and with funds received from Switzerland, has already built 200 houses for Armenian widows and children, and distributes meals daily to over 500 persons, especially old people and children.

I refuse to believe that it is impossible to find the comparatively small amount still necessary to finish the work so well begun by Dr. Nansen. I would add that the present situation in Syria is very serious owing to the devaluation of the French franc, which has given rise to an extraordinary increase in the prices of bread and of the simple foodstuffs composing the meals of the people. The number of unemployed has also increased considerably during the last month. I am trying to find money to enable me to send a few hundred tons of flour and cases of milk to them, and I have good reason to believe that the Armenian benevolent organizations will shortly find funds for this purpose. There must be, somewhere, some people of means who share the feeling of responsibility which was so strongly expressed in Dr. Nansen's personality! I again call attention to the magnificent way in which the Jews are acting on behalf of their suffering brothers. Is it possible that we Christians are devoid of the same spirit of brotherhood?

I now return to the uncertainty of the situation in Syria.

You know that France has decided to follow the not very happy example of England by giving up her mandate over Syria. She has

already concluded one treaty with Syria and another with Lebanon, giving those countries practically complete independence. France will maintain troops in Lebanon, but in Syria there will only be two aviation camps with small contingents of troops at each camp. This will be the arrangement for the first 25 years after the treaties have come into force, after which the two countries will be free of every sort of control.

In Lebanon the majority of the population is Christian, but only by a small margin. In Syria, on the contrary, there is a huge Moslem majority.

The Parliaments of the two countries have approved the treaties, which will now be discussed by the Mandates Commission, and finally placed before the Assembly of the League of Nations.

When I visited Syria and Lebanon the elections were in full swing, and I witnessed trouble practically everywhere I went. In Tripolis, which is in Lebanon but eager to be joined to Syria for commercial, religious, and political reasons, the Moslems kept their shops closed for weeks and obliged the Christian minorities to do likewise. Finally they started firing from the roofs to prevent travellers from entering the town. In Aleppo things took a serious turn, but order was comparatively quickly restored. In Antioch I saw myself how the young electors and the mob generally stoned the police station, and even in Beyrout, the residence of the High Commissioner, without the presence of the French troops things would have become critical. After a service in the mosque where some of the leaders—who, as always on similar occasions, remained unpunished—made inflammatory speeches, the Moslems, irritated because the Christians in Beyrout had eagerly manifested their joy on the acceptance by Parliament of the treaty with France—which the Moslems dislike because it does not give Lebanon the same rights as Syria—turned out and started plundering Christian shops, burning motor-cars, and so on, as is the usual thing in such circumstances. The French troops had to be summoned, so much the more as the Christians, of course, retaliated and acted in the same way as the Moslems. The situation was so serious that the authorities were obliged to have the town guarded by the military for a week following the outbreak of the riots.

According to an old habit, it was said at once that the Armenians were responsible for the troubles. I looked into the matter very closely, and I am able to say that not only did the Armenians not promote riots, but they even kept quiet when the other Christians re-

taliated. They were panic-stricken, especially the women and children, and on the fifth day of the rioting the rumour got about that the Kurds were coming. As you know, in this part of the world Kurds will always try to be present when there is the slightest chance of murdering Christians.

Fortunately, the rumour was false, but the authorities, both civil and religious, had great difficulty in calming down the Armenians and in persuading them to go back to their homes.

I am telling you all this because it proves how frightened the Armenians are—I think, with good reason. They seem to believe that once France has given up her mandate the Moslems will seize the first opportunity available to massacre them. This belief is rather common amongst the Christian minorities generally, but it is especially so in Syria. As I have already pointed out, the situation is far better in Lebanon, where the highest ecclesiastical authorities told me that should the worst take place the Christians would defend themselves and prove themselves able to do so. However that may be, the Armenians, even in Beyrout, felt anxiety about the situation, and I was asked whether the Nansen Office could not transfer them to Russian Armenia (Erivan). This feeling, of course, was stronger in Syria. In Aleppo a deputation very strongly urged the necessity of creating for the Armenians a national home, which they could call their very own. They could not see that any country other than the Erivan Republic was available for them.

The situation, however, was worse in that part of Syria called the Sanjak of Alexandretta, about which so much has been said recently. According to the agreement between France and Turkey the Sanjak enjoys a sort of local independence of the Syrian Government. It is more or less directly governed by the High Commissioner, through his delegate in Alexandretta.

According to the treaty prepared between France and Syria this semi-autonomy of the Sanjak is to be brought to an end and the Sanjak is to become a regular part of Syria under Syrian rule. Turkey has very strongly objected to this, and the whole matter is now under consideration by a specially appointed committee of six members, who will have to report on the subject to the Council of the League of Nations.

When I visited some of the Armenian villages created by the Nansen Office in the Sanjak the elections for the new Parliament were just taking place. In some of the villages the Armenians told me that

Turkish notables had been there and had told them not to take part in the elections. The Turks themselves, as a matter of fact, boycotted them, and they very graciously told the poor Armenians that they should remember what had happened in the past, and that as Kemal Ataturk had decided to take over the Sanjak as a part of Turkey they should have no difficulty in imagining what would happen to them if they did not abstain from voting. This, of course, was bluff. In any case, the Turkish dictator has never said anything to that effect. What he claims is that the Sanjak of Alexandretta should not be fully incorporated in Syria from an administrative point of view, and that the local autonomy should be maintained. He will not allow Turks to be put under Syrian—*i.e.*, Arabic—rule. Turkey claims that the majority of the population of the Sanjak is Turkish, but, according to official statistics published in October, 1936, the Turks numbered exactly 39 per cent. of the total population (85,000 out of 219,000, the number of Armenians being 25,000).

Personally, I am of the opinion that the best solution would be a mandate—French or other—over the whole of the territory of Syria and Lebanon, but this does not appear to be a practical possibility as France does not wish to continue. Secondly, I would consider as a happy solution the continuation of the local autonomy under the League of Nations, which is the proposal of the Swedish Rapporteur on the subject. But, in this case, there must be a really effective control by the delegate and not another tragedy similar to that of the High Commission in Dantzig.

I should feel great anxiety should the Sanjak be simply handed over to Syria, especially as the control of the French troops will be withdrawn from the country. From what I have been told in several quarters, the sad fact is that the Armenians in the whole of Syria feel alarmed, and many of them are trying to sell their properties. In this, however, the Nansen Office cannot support them. About eleven million French francs have been invested in the construction of houses and in the creation of villages for the Armenians, and we must complete the work. But we must insist also upon an effective protection of the Armenians. The incredible scandals which took place towards the end of the last century and after 1915, the deportations, the outright killings, the ill-treatment resulting in death, must not be forgotten. Dr. Nansen estimated the number of victims only during the so-called deportations, which were simply death transports and straight murder, at between 800,000 and 1,000,000; whereas Lord Bryce reckons

that the number was even higher. He puts it at between 1,000,000 and 1,200,000.

It is the most elementary duty of Europe, of the League of Nations, *and of the whole civilized world to take the necessary steps to protect the Armenians, if only because they are a people who have suffered,* more than any other, from the gruesome treatment which has been their lot. The Christian minorities as a whole should likewise benefit by such protection.

In the treaty between France and Syria the Syrian Government guarantees the rights of the minorities, but that is not enough. It seems to me that to the League of Nations France should guarantee the loyal execution of the guarantee given by Syria; nothing less, in any case, ought to be expected and demanded.

What happened in 'Iraq must not happen again. I know that the situation in Palestine is a very trying one, and I do not at all envy the British Government which is obliged to deal with it and is responsible for it, but in Palestine the Jews arriving there to-day must be considered as newcomers, or intruders, on Arab territory, whereas in Syria and Lebanon the Christians have absolutely the same rights as, and even better rights than, the Arabs and the Moslems, on the whole, to live in the country.

It is, of course, only a comparatively small matter to protect these minorities if the necessary steps are taken, and, personally, I do not hesitate in saying that the failure to take these steps would amount to a new and a very great scandal.

The CHAIRMAN: I would propose on your behalf a vote of thanks to our lecturer for his very interesting lecture. The more you consider the refugee problem—whether as a result of the Great War or, more recently, as an outcome of the civil war in Spain—the more difficult and even hopeless it appears. It has not been possible, for instance, to find a home for the Assyrians. And then there are the Jewish refugees. Palestine cannot absorb them all, and where is there a country prepared to take a large number of them? And so we must feel grateful to anyone who throws all his energies into trying to find solutions for these and similar problems.

RELATIONS BETWEEN ARAB CIVILIZATION AND FOREIGN CULTURE IN THE PAST AND TO-DAY

By MAJOR J. B. GLUBB, O.B.E., M.C.

Lecture given at the reception in honour of H.H. the Amir Abdullah of Transjordan on May 25, 1937, at the Royal Geographical Society's Hall, the Right Hon. Lord Lloyd of Dolobran, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., presiding.

The President, in welcoming His Highness on behalf of the Society, said that the Amir was one of the distinguished sons of the late Sherif of Mekka, whose adherence to the British cause was one of the turning-points in the history of the Great War. It was of more importance to-day that His Highness was a good friend of the British Empire, and a good friend both of the Arab peoples over whom he ruled and of others beside. Lord Lloyd had recently had the advantage of visiting Transjordan, and saw there the remarkable progress that country enjoyed under His Highness. Among other things, he learned that a fiscal survey of the country had just been completed under which a partition of communal lands was being successfully carried out.

The Society also welcomed the presence of H.H. the Sultan of Lahej, whose territory is separated as far as possible in Arabia from those of H.H. the Amir who was meeting him there that evening. Also among those present was Sir Charles Cox, and the President would voice the warm congratulations of the Society on the honour which had just been given him for his work in Transjordan.

All in the Royal Central Asian Society knew there had never been a period when greater interest was taken in Arab countries and politics than was being shown at the present time. Miss Freya Stark, Mr. Bertram Thomas, and Mr. Philby, especially in respect of his recent journey to Shabwa, had, by their enterprise, awakened renewed interest in the literature and geography, and indeed all that pertained to Arabia to-day. All the more fortunate was it for them to have the honour of Their Highnesses' presence to-day at Major Glubb's lecture.

His Highness the Amir of Transjordan had acted with his usual wisdom in appointing Major Glubb to his Desert Patrol; for there was no one who cared more for, or was more interested in, the desert Arab than Major Glubb. He was the Society's first Lawrence Medallist, and that would surely be only one of the honours that awaited him.

I AM sure that you would all have preferred greatly to have heard our guest of the evening, His Highness the Amir Abdullah, as speaker rather than myself. Unfortunately, however, His Highness is our guest, and so we cannot well trouble him to give us a lesson, though he is a well-known authority on Arab history and literature. I should like to state, however, before beginning, that the subject-matter of the lecture has been approved by His Highness.

Geographical Considerations

I must ask you first of all to glance at a map of the Near and Middle East. The most important thing to notice in the map of Northern Arabia is that its vital portions are on its northern circumference. The Syrian Desert forms the heart of Northern Arabia, isolating from one another the rich and populated countries of Syria and Palestine on the west, 'Iraq on the east, and Nejd in the south. But whereas these three Arabic-speaking countries (for geographical purposes I group Syria, Palestine, and Transjordan together), Syria, 'Iraq, and Nejd, are separated from one another by deserts, the first two, Syria and 'Iraq, are in close and intimate contact with Anatolia and Persia. Not only so, but Syria, across the Mediterranean, has, throughout all her history, been almost as closely connected with Greece, Cyprus, and Egypt as she was across the desert with Nejd.

Nejd itself presents a reverse phenomenon. Whereas the northerly Arab countries consist of a desert surrounded by fertile lands, Central Arabia consists of fertile lands surrounded by a ring of deserts. The settled towns and villages of Nejd are surrounded by a complete circle of deserts, from the Syrian Desert, down the Hejaz, round the empty quarter, and up again between Central Arabia and the Persian Gulf.

Thus we may expect to find a more or less indigenous Arab culture in Nejd, while Syria and 'Iraq, in more intimate contact with outside countries than with the remainder of Arabia, will show a mixture of civilizations.

An Historical Survey.

A brief glance at the known history of Northern Arabia will confirm these conjectures and will show that 'Iraq, throughout history, has been subjected to Persian influence, while Syria and Palestine have been, in like manner, divided between European and Arab influence. For the purposes of this lecture, however, we are considering the contact between Arab civilization and that of Europe. Hence we shall be interested in the developments in Syria and Palestine rather than in those in 'Iraq. Let us, then, briefly review the history of Syria and Palestine in the light of their position as the meeting-ground of East and West.

I am not an archæologist, and thus I am unable to discuss prehistoric or early Biblical times in Palestine and Syria, but I believe that the remains of this period which have come to light do indicate that, even in very early ages, the civilization of these countries was influenced by

Crete and the Ægean, Egypt and Mesopotamia. In the eighth century B.C. came the Assyrian and later the Babylonian conquest. These, in their turn, were overthrown by the Persian Empire, which we associate with Cyrus and Darius. The period of supremacy of all these three empires we must consider as one of Oriental political ascendancy.

In 334 B.C., however, European influence comes in. Alexander the Great conquers Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and then Persia itself. And for two centuries Greek influence held sway over all the fertile crescent of Northern Arabia—Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and 'Iraq—not to mention Egypt. Of the two Greek dynasties, the Ptolemies held their capital at Alexandria, the Seleucids at Antioch in Syria. Thus Greek influence was, of course, strongest along the Mediterranean coasts, the Nile delta, Palestine west of the Jordan, and Syria west of Lebanon. But it extended all over Northern Arabia. Many Greek cities were founded in 'Iraq, the greatest being Seleucia on the Tigris, twelve miles below the site of modern Baghdad. The Greek political control of Mesopotamia lasted for nearly 200 years, being finally overthrown in about 150 B.C. by the Arsacid dynasty under Mithridates I. Thus from 150 B.C. onwards Mesopotamia parts company from Syria and remains Oriental.

In Palestine an intensely interesting struggle ensues between the civilization of the Jews, Samaritans, and Phœnicians and the newly arrived Greek European culture. The inhabitants of Palestine possessed a culture which, even if somewhat mixed, was preponderantly Arab and Eastern. But a vigorous Hellenizing party soon arose amongst the Jews and Samaritans. These Hellenizers were chiefly of the ruling classes, even the brothers of the ruling high priests of the Jews. It is amusing to read that the Hellenizing Jews incurred the resentment of the old-fashioned by wearing hats and by introducing Greek sports and gymnasia. History has a way of repeating itself, not only in its principles, but in many quaint if unimportant details. The wearing of hats and the playing of football in the East to-day will recall this complaint against Hellenized Jews 2,300 years ago.

A more important feature of this struggle, and one which we shall refer to again later on, is the fact that it was the ruling classes, particularly in the cities, who imitated the Greeks, while the peasants and the country people clung to their old religion and customs. When the reaction to Greek influence resulted in the rebellion of Judas Maccabæus, his adherents seem to have been mostly the peasants of Palestine, still deeply attached to their old Oriental life. The struggle between East

and West continued in Palestine, although, in 63 B.C., Pompey captured Jerusalem, and Rome replaced the Greek dynasties of Egypt and Syria. The Jews rebelled once more against the Romans, and in 70 A.D. Jerusalem was destroyed.

I have referred at some length to events in Palestine, owing to the peculiarly interesting nature of the struggle in that country between Eastern and Western culture in the 300 years preceding the birth of Christ, but it must not be thought that the spread of Greek culture was limited to Palestine. On the contrary, Syria was even more intensively Hellenized.

From the expulsion of the Jews in 135 A.D. until the year 611 A.D., European influence seems to be paramount, especially west of the Jordan and of Lebanon. Nevertheless, it seems probable that, even at this time, the lower classes remained essentially unchanged. One of the most remarkable confirmations of this surmise is, I think, provided by certain place names. Thus Amman was known as Ammon in Biblical days, but was renamed by the Greeks Philadelphia, and remained Philadelphia for about 700 years. Yet with the Arab-Islamic conquest we find its name reverting to Amman, a name it carries to this day. I suppose the Arabs must have called it Ammon all the time, unaffected by the language of the Romanized ruling classes. The same applies to Beisan, called by the Greeks Scythopolis, but reverting to its ancient name after the Arab conquest.

The Arab Spirit of Nejd

At the beginning of this lecture I pointed out that Northern Arabia was bounded on the south by Nejd, the fertile desert-encircled heart of the Arabian peninsula. Surrounded on all sides by deserts, we should expect to find in Nejd an indigenous Arab culture. And we are not disappointed. The remoter history of Central Arabia is vague, and I will not trouble you with it. But we know enough of it shortly before the rise of Islam in the seventh century A.D. to recognize that it possessed a distinct and peculiar culture and religion. In spite of the proximity of the great monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism, the Arabs of Nejd and the Hejaz had remained pantheistic. Apart from their religion, their culture was of the type more or less common to all nomadic people in history, and distinguished by the characteristics of love of war for the sake of glory, lavish generosity and improvidence, and a romantic attitude to women.

While Palestine, and Syria west of Lebanon, seemed to have been

Romanized for centuries, and the Arab spirit of chivalry and glory remained unchanged in Nejd, Transjordan, as usual, was half Arab and half Palestinian. Here in later Roman times reigned a half-independent Arab dynasty, the Ghassanides. A similar Arab dynasty under the protection of Persia governed the western marches of Mesopotamia. The two dynasties, protected respectively by Rome and Persia, carried on unending knightly warfare in the Syrian Desert, according to Nejdi custom.

This Nejd culture, hitherto confined to such a narrow area, was soon to sweep half across the world. In 622 A.D. Muhammad, the son of Abdulla of the Arab tribe of Qureish, attempted to preach monotheism in Mecca, and was driven out by the inhabitants. He took refuge in the neighbouring city of Medina, waged war on Mecca, and before his death in 632 A.D. had conquered the whole of Central Arabia. After his death, and under the leadership of his successors, the Moslem arms were carried into Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, to India, and westwards across North Africa to Morocco, Spain, and the south of France. Syria was one of the first to fall, and the decisive battle of the Yarmuk was fought in 636 A.D. Not only so, but in 661 A.D. the capital of the mighty Moslem Empire was transferred from Mecca to Damascus. The wheel had spun full circle, and Syria had become the centre of the greatest Eastern empire the world had yet seen.

In 327 B.C. Alexander the Great had carried Europeanization to the plains of India. A thousand years later the East had her revenge when the Arab armies carried their triumphant banners into Southern France.

Moslem Supremacy and Decline

Just as, for about a thousand years, Europe had influenced Western Asia through Greece and Rome, so, for about a thousand years following the rise of Islam, Asia influenced Europe. This cultural influence was exercised at first by the Arabs themselves, and later on by Arab religion and institutions which the Ottoman Empire adopted. The tide began to turn once more in favour of Europe about the seventeenth century. In the last three hundred years the industrial revolution in Europe has created such wealth as to give the West once more a dominating position.

European Influence To-day

To-day the educated classes in Northern Arabia have been greatly influenced by European culture. In such cases a danger exists that

some of the adopted foreign culture may not be suited to local conditions. A further complication arises where the influence is chiefly confined to the educated classes, thereby causing a wide cultural rift between the educated and uneducated classes, a peculiar state of affairs which exists to-day in many parts of the Arab countries.

Such changes are not, indeed, unprecedented in history. I may again remind you of the Jewish Hellenizers 200 years before Christ, who wore hats and went in for Greek gymnastics, thereby becoming estranged from the majority of their countrymen. Doubtless the upper classes of Palestine and Syria became later largely Romanized. And yet the reappearance of the Arab place names after so many hundred years of Roman names seems to indicate that the lower classes were Arabs all the time. Similarly, when the Arabs conquered Spain, the ruling classes of Western Europe hastened to imitate them in chivalry, hospitality for all, and a romantic attitude towards women and courtship. But I suspect that the lower classes remained much the same as they had been in Roman days.

Again, we find an illustration in Ireland. Here the upper classes were largely Anglicized, were educated at Eton, went into the army, and were unrecognizable from the English upper classes. But the Irish peasant remained absolutely distinct in character from the English, and the Irish rebels were, like the followers of Judas Maccabæus, mostly of the lower classses of society. Thus we may see that the spread of foreign influence among the ruling classes of Northern Arabia is not without historical precedent. And the point of interest to us is this: in all our past examples it is the persistent adherence of the peasants to the national culture which has ultimately triumphed.

Eastern and Western Cultures

A culture or a civilization is a difficult thing to define, and in trying to analyze the characteristics of European and Arab culture I feel that I may have embarked on a task beyond my powers. If so, I can only ask your indulgence, both for my errors and for my boldness.

The English have, perhaps, an unenviable reputation in Europe for wanting to tell other nations how they should behave. I hope I have avoided this pitfall. My object in general has been to endeavour to define the difference between the two points of view. But I must admit to a personal opinion on these subjects, which can, perhaps, be summarized in a phrase attributed to Mr. Gandhi: "I should make use of

indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects."

I hope that I shall not give offence to anyone by what I say. I suppose that anything I say about the English reflects equally on myself. As regards the Arabs, I trust that they will treat me with patience: firstly, because I have lived half my life amongst Arabs, and thus I consider Arabia as a second country to me; and, secondly, because I have not advised them to imitate the English, but rather the reverse.

I have never believed that East is East and West is West, and I do not believe that there is any hard and fast line between Europeans and Asiatics. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this lecture I think that we shall find that we can deduce certain principal characteristics between the typical present civilization of Western Europe and the traditional culture of the Arabs. I propose, therefore, to discuss the subject under the following heads:

(1) Government.
(2) Patriotism and nationalism.
(3) The administration of justice.
(4) Military training.
(5) Business and industry.
(6) Morality in general.

When considering each subject, I will first endeavour to define the principal characteristics of the European and Arab traditional points of view. I will also, though with some hesitation, put forward my own comments on each subject in turn.

Government

In endeavouring to define, in a few words, the characteristics of government in Europe and in the Arab countries, I should say that Western European government is impersonal, inhuman, but perfectly organized. It runs like a machine. Eastern government is more personal, more human, less mechanical, less bound by red tape, but more exposed to breakdown through human failures.

Let us first consider the advantages of the Western over the Eastern type of government. Here everything has been thought out and laid down with the minutest accuracy. Taxes, for example, are carefully worked out in advance so that the revenue balances the expenditure. The most advantageous percentages of taxation to be imposed on every salary and every form of commerce have been calculated on the basis of

past statistics, so that neither the taxpayer be overburdened nor business killed, and yet, at the same time, the Treasury obtain as much money as it can. But all this is done by legions of invisible people. The taxpayer fills in forms, writes cheques, or sticks stamps on a card, but there is no human being for him to deal with. The machine keeps turning, without either cruelty or mercy. No man has the power either to oppress him or to have pity.

In the East the reverse system is often followed. Government is less carefully organized, the incidence of taxation is less uniform. But the system is more human. Subjects like to have a man to appeal to—a man who can listen to their sorrows and grievances, and who, by using his own common sense, has the power to remit a tax there or to increase it here.

But you may think—and doubtless rightly—that this is a dangerous power to give to one man. But does not the need produce the man? Or rather does not " mechanical " government destroy the man? Is it not possible that the very perfection of our machinery of government is destroying our capacity to rule? In Arabia people subject to a mechanized government (if I may use the term) complain of the impossibility of finding anyone responsible. The Arab wishes to explain his grievances to a man, but there is no such man. He interviews many carefully dressed, impassive employees seated at their desks, but none can help him. They all refer him to someone else or to a volume of laws or to files of correspondence. Even a Cabinet Minister, should he ever reach him, will take refuge behind the improbability of Parliament agreeing, or will put him off by promising a committee of enquiry.

Mechanical government saves us from the worst forms of oppression, but it also to some extent prevents us from producing great men. And when it comes to self-sacrifice and service, does not man really prefer to follow a prince or a saint rather than a constitution or a book of laws? Perhaps all human nature is so. In England, having so adjusted our laws and constitution that everything is automatic and no man solely responsible, we then stand twenty-four hours in the streets to cheer the King. The Arabs at least, I believe, do greatly prefer to follow men and not machines. Yet in 'Iraq, Transjordan, and Egypt we find constitutions established on the British model to the smallest detail.

But here an important point must be noted. This introduction of European methods is nothing to do with direct European political influence. Turkey, Persia, Japan, and China, independent Asiatic

nations, have been the first to introduce European methods and to throw away many of their traditional usages. Throughout the whole of this lecture I refer to cultural and not to direct political influence, such as European colonization or the mandate system, although my own experience has necessarily been chiefly in countries where European political influence existed.

It may perhaps seem to you a paradox, but I believe that Arabs like to be ruled by men, not by laws or committees; but at the same time they are the most outspoken and democratic of races. They are no respecters of person, still less of ceremonies, pomp, or snobbery, and even less of set laws or the book of words. There is a famous verse in a poem by the first Ibn Rashid that—

> "The rule of men does not come by ink or paper,
> But by striking with the sword and avoiding transgression."

Another paradox: the Arabs have no class distinctions, but they probably take more pride in genealogy than any race on earth.

The Arab princes of the old school reflect, in their manners, these peculiarities of their subjects. Perhaps in many ways autocratic, they are, at the same time, the most democratic rulers in existence. They move freely amongst their subjects almost without escort and without ceremony, as do English kings. They speak and shake hands with high and low, and must be prepared to defend their actions before the outspoken criticism of their subjects.

In brief, the Arab, with his sharp wit and penetrating criticisms, is not to be bluffed by an ancient ceremonial or by mediæval splendour. He wants to see the man who aspires to rule. And seeking, as he does, a man, he will feel even less respect for a committee or a code of laws.

The ideal Arab ruler of history was, perhaps, Saladin—pious, brave, generous, gentle, courteous, and accessible to all. Who would not die for such a man?

Patriotism and Nationalism

Greece and Rome, in historical times, bequeathed to Europe the ideal of civic virtues and the sacrifice of self for the common good. The Arab, with his independent spirit and his love of personal freedom, is an individualist. He might, perhaps, profit from the example of Europe in learning the self-sacrifice of the individual for the public good.

It is noticeable that, while these civic virtues were so greatly praised in Roman times, they are little in evidence in the Middle Ages in

Europe, when the ideal of personal honour and knight-errantry replaced the Roman idea of patriotism.

In Roman times, however, the diplomatic situation was somewhat different from that in the world to-day. For many centuries Rome was almost mistress of the world. To fight for Rome, therefore, was to serve the cause of law and order and civilization against primitive Africans or savage German tribes. Only the Persian Empire at times aspired to rival Rome.

To-day, however, with the world divided into dozens of jealous governments and nations, this ideal of patriotism carried to extremes has produced intense hatreds and rivalries. These were unknown until recently in Arabia and, indeed, throughout Asia. Hatred existed, it is true, between rival rulers and rival religions, but the idea of compact, self-contained nationalities like Italy, France, or Germany is a modern European one. We who live under the shadow of this fear cannot but lament the possibility that Asia may follow Europe along the same road. The first signs—Customs barriers, passport restrictions, conscription, armament, jealousy, fear—sometimes seem to be already discernible.

Justice

Arab methods of justice differ from those of Western Europe in the same manner as do their systems of government—namely, they rely on the human touch more than on a complicated code of laws, so inclined to destroy the initiative, even the interest, of the judge. One of the most attractive peculiarities of many Arab systems of government is the manner in which governors will sit in open mijlis at certain times of the day, ready to hear complaints from the poorest and meanest of their subjects.

The motives for the commission of a crime, the circumstances of the offender, his character and past history, and a host of other considerations, are so varied that it is impossible, one often feels, to lay down any fixed punishment for any given offence. The psychological condition of the offender is often such that conviction or imprisonment will serve only to make him a hardened criminal. Yet as a magistrate even a senior official is haunted by the fear that he must convict and imprison because the law expects it. In fact, if he did not do so he would probably not long remain a magistrate. It requires definite moral courage to resist this system of trial and punishment, even if such resistance be " legal," because the European system is the rule of fixed law to the exclusion of human initiative.

Not only, however, does the imposition of European laws and lav courts on the Arabs destroy the initiative of judges, but it has als imposed on the people a complete system of laws which they are ofte unable to understand. The educated classes have often gained Europea law degrees, and are doubtless expert lawyers and judges. But they ar thereby separated by a wide gulf from their fellow-countrymen. Pe haps four fellaheen or bedouins out of five who come before a law cou of this type are unable even to understand what the whole procedure i about. I have known many cases where men have been sentenced fo a crime of which they were innocent, when the means of proving thei innocence were at hand, because they never clearly understood th procedure.

Further, the impression on such a people of a strange code o laws creates a large class of lawyers. It is like a religion of which th prayers must be recited in a dead language, known only to the priest The poor and uneducated are obliged to resort to a local lawyer, wh often mulcts them in the process.

This imposition on the common people of foreign laws produce yet another result—non-co-operation. In proportion as the laws ad ministered by the courts are strange and incomprehensible, the lowe classes make every effort to keep out of them. I remember a cas where two young men, cousins, belonging to an Arab tribe, had violent quarrel. One, in a moment of passion, stabbed the othe with a dagger and killed him. An informer told the police, an out came a police officer, the public prosecutor, and the doctor. Th murderer was arrested. But everybody in the tribe swore that the ma had been killed by a thief who crept into his tent at night. No evidenc against the murderer was forthcoming, and he was released. A mont later both parties to the case came to me, explained how the murder ha occurred, introduced the murderer, and asked me to stand security fo the payment of blood money. Surely there must be something wron with a legal system under which the father and mother of a murdere boy perjure themselves by swearing to the innocence of the murderer o their son in order to avoid going to the law courts.

Not only, however, are the legal methods of Europe incompre hensible to Arab peasantry, but the actions considered in such law to b crimes are often not so according to local opinion, and *vice versa*. Fo example, if we consider the crime of assault. The degree of importanc of such a crime in Arab custom depends on many considerations. Tc strike a man's guest in the house of his host is a very serious offenc

against the host. In European law no offence has been committed against the host, only against the person assaulted.

Why, it may be asked, have laws so unsuited to the population been introduced? Owing, as it seems to me, to a failure to differentiate clearly between what is suitable and what is unsuitable when borrowing ideas from Europe. I would remind you once more of Mr. Gandhi's phrase: "I should make use of indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects."

This should not be difficult, because two elaborate codes of law already exist in Arabia (without adding a third)—namely, the Sheria, or religious law, and Arab customary law. Let us try, if we can, to take Mr. Gandhi's advice and make use of these, at the same time gradually curing them of their proved defects. If we introduce an entirely new and ready-made set of laws, they will probably be entirely unsuitable, will certainly cause injustice for a long time owing to being imperfectly understood, and may well be rendered ineffective by the non-co-operation of the inhabitants. But even if these new laws were the best, I would sooner start with the indigenous institutions and approximate them gradually to the new form by a process of building up on existing foundations. For murder, for example, Arab customary law prescribes no punishment to be inflicted by the State. The relatives of the murdered man may kill a relative of the original murderer in revenge. To avoid this fate the relatives of the murderer must go into exile for a number of years, after which a reconciliation may be effected by the payment of a large sum in blood money. This will be thought a primitive and savage system. Should we, then, introduce murder legislation similar to that in force in England? I think not. If we do, the parties to the case simply refuse to co-operate, as they did in the murder case which I have described above.

Let us see if we can build up a better system out of these old customs. Firstly, counter-murder must be immediately forbidden. This can be done, because customary law prescribes an alternative—exile and ultimate compensation. The murderer and his relatives are removed into exile under police escort. This in itself is a considerable penalty. Secondly, the system of separating the criminal and civil parts of the case must be avoided, because the relatives of the victim do not regard Government action as revenge for them. Therefore they will not be interested in a criminal court case and will not assist to obtain a conviction. The trial should take place before a local Arab jury, and if the accused is not convicted by this jury the relatives of the victim will not

get blood money. Thus the plaintiffs are bound to plead and secure a conviction. The murderer will be sentenced to pay a large sum and to remain in exile for a number of years. This in itself is a very heavy punishment. But there is no objection here to giving a Government magistrate certain powers of punishment over a man convicted by a local court to pay blood money. You will see the significance of this point. If it were a Europeanized Government trial, no one would give evidence. But the plaintiffs will establish their claim to blood money in an Arab court. You may thus be certain of getting the right man convicted. Then put a punishment of your own on top. But there is no use hanging the man. The whole system is based on a life for a life, or equivalent compensation. If Government, a third party, intervenes and kills a man, it will often upset the whole affair.

The basic idea is a building up on existing institutions with the help and approval of the people. The laws of England have been, and are being, evolved continuously by similar methods. But this method is temporarily discredited in some Arab countries, and to introduce complete codes of law from Europe is now the fashion, with the result that the bewildered peasant either suffers injustice or refuses to co-operate at all.

The Obstacle of Distance

Another point of great importance in dealing with the administration of justice is that of distance. A formal administration of justice must usually take place in a specified building fitted up as a law court, and with the documents, registers, and appurtenances at hand. This is easy enough in most European countries, where towns are many and are connected by buses, trams, and trains. But many Arab countries are much larger, towns are further apart, and public conveyances are rarer. This fact gives an enormous advantage to an inhabitant of a large town as against a countryman. To the former it is no trouble to call in at the law courts, which may be only two streets away from his house. But if the townsman's opponent is a countryman, the latter may have an eight- or twelve-hours' ride on a horse the day before the hearing, and be absent from his home for three days. I have often known countrymen lose cases against townsmen by default because they were sick of riding backwards and forwards to town. Abandonment of formality makes it possible to hold improvised courts in a tent or in the shade of a tree or under the lee of a motor-car. I believe that in all Arab rural districts magistrates should tour the country and settle

minor cases summarily. But I know of no case where this is done, either in 'Iraq, Syria, Palestine, or Transjordan. The reason is that all eyes are fixed on the European law courts. There is not enough adaptability, it seems to me, nor accommodation to local conditions.

Military Training and Social Classes

We are all so accustomed to consider armies as consisting of officers and men that it rarely occurs to us to question the wisdom of such an arrangement. And yet this organization is largely a modern European development, based, I presume, on the feudal system. I do not, of course, mean to suggest that an army should be without commanders. The severest discipline may be maintained between a private soldier, a sergeant, and a warrant officer, but there is no social bar, whereas the strictest social bar (based on the status of their families in private life) divides the most junior officer from the most senior "other rank." In Arabia, however, no such class distinctions exist. Combined with a great respect for genealogy, and quite a ready obedience to authority, the Arabs are one of the most naturally democratic races in the world. The attempted creation of an "officer class" is, in my opinion, an error because it does not represent any division of social classes in civil life, but is merely an imitation of European institutions. And I have found no weakening of discipline to result from abandoning these restrictions. This is because Arabs are not "class conscious." Surely to introduce these distinctions amongst them would be a mistake.

The second point to which I should refer in military training is that of clothing. This sometimes seems at first sight to be merely a superficial matter, but it does not, on mature consideration, prove to be so. A change of clothing signifies that the wearer has abandoned his sentimental attachment to the past. It is an open confession of faith; he seeks to be Europeanized.

From a practical point of view, Arab clothing seems to me much more suited to Arabia than is European clothing. Being largely white, voluminous, and loose, it is ideal for a hot, dry climate. The kerchief or keffiya worn on the head gives excellent protection from the sun. Tight coats and trousers and hats are supremely unsuitable. Again, a change of clothing necessitates a change of life, because in tight European clothes it is impossible to sit on the ground. Chairs, tables, and beds become a necessity to people wearing European clothes. There is no great advantage in furniture, that I can see. A room well carpeted,

with low diwans and cushions, is more comfortable than most European drawing-rooms.

In the military sphere the wearing of European clothes becomes even more ridiculous. The rank and file of the army are of the poorer classes, who wear Arab clothing and live in homes without European furniture. When they become soldiers they are made to wear tight breeches in which they cannot sit down. People who all their lives go barefoot or wear sandals are made to wear boots. Again, Arab clothing, being loose and voluminous, if supplemented by an Arab sheepskin cloak, is ideal for sleeping out on the ground in any weather. Tight European clothes are very uncomfortable to sleep in and cannot be wrapped around the wearer like a cloak. As a result, Arab troops dressed in European clothes suffer considerably when they sleep out, and, moreover, have to carry blankets, waterproof sheets, tents, and all the paraphernalia necessitated by the unsuitability of their garments for campaigning.

What, now, are the essential lessons which Eastern soldiers can learn from Europe? The first is detailed organization, method, and discipline. This is ensured by mental and moral training, and does not necessitate the introduction either of foreign social distinctions or of foreign dress. The second lesson they require is the use of scientific weapons—motor transport, machine-guns, artillery, wireless, and aircraft. I believe that it is possible for Arab troops to learn the lessons which Europe can teach in organization, discipline, and scientific weapons, without departing from their hereditary customs, manners, and dress. Indeed, certain small forces trained on these lines do exist in various Arab countries, including Transjordan. But in the majority of cases a close and detailed imitation of European military methods is attempted, with very little modification for local traditions.

Business and Industry

The industrial revolution took Europe unawares. The invention of machinery suddenly brought undreamt-of wealth within the power of the successful exploiters of machines, and the temptation was too great. It thus led to an age of materialism and a sordid struggle for money, which brought in its train:

(1) Extreme wealth and extreme poverty side by side, leading to hostility between capital and labour, industrial disputes, class hatred, and revolution.

(2) Unemployment and the gradual disappearance of the smal independent men. So that the greater part of the poor became wag labourers with no interest, no responsibility, and no security.

(3) The concentration of the population in towns, leading to slum and unnatural conditions of life.

We all see and lament these conditions in Europe and struggle rather hopelessly to find a solution. But industrialism is only now beginning to make its first appearance in the East. Could not these now-known evils of industrialization be avoided when making a start in new countries? Yet one sees work commencing exactly as it did in Europe, and already the same talk of strikes and rivalry. Industry, like the Bourbons, has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.

The Moral Outlook

In a manner all these subjects which we have discussed—government, justice, business, the army, patriotism—are superficial. They are, so to speak, a fashion of imitation, not a fundamental change of character. But, in a way, it seems to me that the most serious thing of all is that the example of Europe appears to be undermining the moral sense of the Arabs. One of the most significant things which have struck me in recent years is the frequency with which Arabs, when recommending some course to Europeans, will say: "Of course, we know that everybody in this world seeks only his own interest, but the suggestion which I make to you will bring you profit." If they wrote this in the Press or used it in politics, one might think it was propaganda. But they seem genuinely to think that the trump card in argument with a European is his private gain. They use it to a European whom they want to convince.

The Arabs see Europe powerful and successful, and they look for the causes of this success. Some think they have found it—in Europe every nation and individual is ruthlessly engaged in seeking its or his own personal advantage, irrespective of all other considerations.

As a result, the more Arabs come in contact with Europeans, the more they desire money. Generosity and hospitality are two qualities which have been characteristics of the Arabs for centuries, but they seem to lose them gradually when they come under the influence of European civilization. Before the war few Arab country towns contained any food shops at all. All travellers were entertained as guests. I have always found the Arabs a most humane, kind, and tender-hearted race. The poor, the old, the blind are supported willingly by all, and not

only they, but even the able-bodied idle and improvident. No ma
can go hungry as long as there is an Arab anywhere who has foo
While the Arabs are pictured to the world as fighters and plunderers,
have found them myself to be a gentle, a generous, and a philosophic
people.

There is one other peculiar characteristic of the real Arab—h
sensitiveness to an appeal. I think that this is very rarely referred t
and still more rarely understood, by Europeans. The latter are incline
to try and persuade by argument or calculation, and they utterly fail
convince. But put an Arab on his metal, appeal to his honour, or as
his help, and he will, as often as not, with a noble gesture, give you a
that you asked or more. The Arab, naturally generous, compassionat
and sensitive, seems under European influence to abandon some of h
greatest virtues.

Summary

I would summarize the impressions which I wish to convey
follows:

Firstly, European cultural influence is at present strong in Weste
Asia. This is probably only a passing phase. History shows us th
Asian culture has influenced Europe and European culture has i
fluenced Asia, during alternate periods of almost equal length in t
past. Such influence is usually exerted principally on the educate
classes, to whom alone foreign culture is accessible. The peasa
classes seem often to have been almost unaffected, and eventually
have caused a return to the original native culture.

Secondly, if we consider the present state of Western Asia, we m
concede that the Arabs can profit from European assistance, notably i
organization and in scientific methods; perhaps also in certain civ
virtues of public service, if they be not so exaggerated as to devel
into extreme nationalism. But in other directions the Arabs ha
different traditions of government, justice, and military service.
venture to suggest that these traditions should only be gradually mod
fied where they have been proved unsuited to local conditions, ar
should not be swept away wholesale to give place to European ideas.

Thirdly, the Arabs have a low idea of European morality, the
impression being that Europeans are cynically pursuant of their ow
interests alone. Unless Europeans can set a higher standard than thi
their influence cannot benefit the Arabs in the moral sphere. Whe
the predominance lay with the Arabs they gave Europe chivalry. L
us hope that, in return, Europe will not give them materialism.

The PRESIDENT threw the meeting open for questions.

Mr. J. C. FRENCH: Might I ask Major Glubb if there is much land in Arabia, especially in Transjordan, that has not yet been occupied?

The LECTURER: I do not know of any such land at the present time. I do not know of any cultivable land that is not owned or worked by someone, although I am not an agricultural expert to say whether all the land is producing its greatest possible output of crops.

The PRESIDENT: We have listened with real interest to Major Glubb this evening, and what struck me most was the profound insight he showed into Arab customs and ways. We shall find in it food for a great deal of reflection when it appears in the Journal, and enough material for a dozen further lectures.

One can recall profound changes in ways of life and administration ever since 1914. Seeing His Highness in this room this evening reminds me of a meeting in Cairo in 1914 between His Highness, Lord Kitchener and Sir Ronald Storrs. No one at that meeting, even with the most highly developed sense of romance, could possibly have foreseen the immense changes which twenty years would show in the Near East. It is almost frightening for us now to think what the next twenty years will bring forth of profound changes in that region. The central point over which His Highness rules seems alone to be free from the elements of instability which show themselves in all the surrounding countries.

We would offer him our very warmest greetings and our gratitude to him for the many kindnesses he has shown in the past and to-day to British guests in his country. If His Highness will allow me to say so, we all feel that "Ismuhu Sherif, Shakhsuhu Sherif, Nafṣuhu Sherif" may more properly be said of His Highness than of almost anyone we know. "His name is noble, his character is noble, and he himself is noble."

THE STRATEGIC PRINCIPLES OF LORD LYTTON'S AFGHAN POLICY

By JAMES J. ALLAN

SOUND historical opinion has correctly assigned to Lord Lytton the major responsibility for the second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878-1879. The Viceroy's actions at that time of crisis were so precipitate that such a conclusion is almost inescapable. However, it will be worth-while to review this period in the light of available material in order to present the principles actuating Lytton's policy towards Afghanistan. It is hoped that this will serve not only to clarify events leading to the outbreak of hostilities between England and Afghanistan in 1878, but will enable us to follow Lytton's own reasoning as portrayed in his despatches to the India Office.

It will be well to indicate briefly the peculiar situation facing Lytton when he assumed the high office of Viceroy of India in 1876. The previous few years had been a time of some uncertainty in Indian foreign policy, especially in regard to relations with Afghanistan. That uncertainty had ended with the advent of the Disraeli Government in the spring of 1874. Lord Northbrook, Lytton's predecessor, had resigned rather than carry out the policy now indicated. However, it would appear that a consistent and clear-cut policy towards Afghanistan and other Central Asian countries was desirable. Russia was aggressively continuing her advance in Turkestan, inaugurated for definite and well-known reasons after the Crimean War. The latest step had been the annexation of Khiva in 1873. Although such a move undoubtedly contributed to the tranquillity of Central Asian politics and had been clearly foreshadowed by past Russian acts, yet it was effected only a few months after Shuvalov had given Granville a definite promise to the contrary. Certainly this did not calm the apprehension of either the Foreign Office or the India Office.

The question was where would Russia stop—at the northern or southern Afghan frontier? With the protection of the North-West Frontier of India looming so large in British policy during the late nineteenth century, this was a vital matter for England and India. It was imperative that some definite plan be evolved; one taking into

account the results of the meeting of British and Russian spheres of influence in Central Asia. A decision had to be made. This decision was the work of Disraeli and Salisbury, and after 1874 England was committed to an active programme. Lytton was the enthusiastic instrument of the new "forward policy"; and he went to India with definite instructions to that effect. In spite of the fact that he was a zealous, if not impulsive, advocate, his programme towards Afghanistan received the support, and, in its initial stages, or until its dangers became evident, the encouragement of the Home Government.

The point around which most of the controversy of Lytton's administration has arisen is his handling of Afghan relations in the autumn of 1878. In that year the Central Asian problem became, more than ever, definitely interwoven with the Straits Question. Disraeli's hostility towards Russia, evidenced by numerous and familiar measures at the time of the Russo-Turkish War, led to counter-actions on the part of Russia in Turkestan, especially in the region of Transcaspia.* Moreover, England's hostile attitude at Constantinople, in the spring of 1878, was the direct cause of General Stolietov's presence at Cabul. And Stolietov at Cabul aroused Lytton to such a state of excitement and apprehension that he hurriedly, even though eloquently, pressed forward a British mission on an unwilling Afghan Amir, the unfortunate Shere Ali.

For the despatch of General Sir Neville Chamberlain to the Khyber Pass in September, 1878, Lytton has been universally condemned. However, a later generation may well suspend judgment until an investigation is made of the factors which led him on to take this drastic action. Lytton viewed the entire problem of the North-West Frontier of India in its broad strategic outlines, and upon this view was his policy towards Afghanistan founded. This should be clear from his despatch of September 9, 1878, to Lord Cranbrook, Secretary of State for India.†

* This is indicated by a quotation from Terentiev, the outstanding Russian authority on the Russian expansion in Central Asia: "In answer to the English naval demonstration (before Constantinople), we decided to undertake a demonstration by land troops in the direction of East India, as the most vulnerable part of England's possessions." Terentiev, M.A., *Istoriia Zaveovaniia Srednei Azii* (three volumes, St. Petersburg, 1906), II., p. 428.

† F.O. 65 Russia 1150, Lytton to Cranbrook, No. 79 (Secret), September 9, 1878. This is an important and lengthy despatch of forty-six pages. It contains a minute in which the Viceroy reviews the whole problem of the Russian advance in Central Asia and of the protection of the North-West Frontier of India. The present article is based on this minute by Lytton. As it deals only with the

In this despatch, and its accompanying minute, Lytton reviewed the nature of the problem under several headings; the progress of England and Russia in the East, the present position of England and Russia, the country between the British and Russian frontiers, and the strategic geography of Central Asia. He concluded with a review of the situation in 1878 and an examination of the various solutions which present themselves. The Viceroy's well-executed and brilliant minute was occasioned by the ill-advised Chamberlain mission. As is well known, Lytton regarded the mission as "offering us our first and possibly last opportunity of entering into personal explanations with the Ruler of Afghanistan . . . regarding the relations between his country and the British Empire." And as General Chamberlain's embassy resulted from the presence of the Russians in Cabul, Lytton viewed it as raising the whole question of the relative influence of England and Russia in Central Asia. He even hoped that "it might not improbably lead to a final settlement of that long vexed question." It is in this light that the Viceroy examined the problem of England's future in Central Asia.

In the early years of the eighteenth century Russia's most advanced outposts, Orenburg and Petropavlovsk, were over 2,000 miles distant from the relatively insignificant British settlements in India. At that time England's only rivals were the French in India proper. Russian possessions were far removed; vast, impenetrable deserts and lofty mountain ranges separated the frontiers of the two countries. Certainly no one could, in the early eighteenth century, foresee that England and Russia would come into collision in that part of Asia.

By the process of natural expansion the two frontiers began to move gradually nearer. While Russia was absorbing the nomads of the Kirghiz steppes, England was annexing Bengal and establishing important centres of influence at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. The first half of the nineteenth century saw England advance in great strides over India. The Treaty of Mandasor in 1818, breaking the power of the Maratha Confederacy, established England as the paramount power in India. But the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 was a most important event; decisive in that for the first time the British frontier extended across the Indus; significant because the outposts of the two great nations, whose rivalry in Asia so picturesquely dominated

strategic principles of Lytton's policy, diplomatic and military events will be presented only incidentally. All quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from the Lytton minute.

their relations in the nineteenth century, were now less than 1,000 miles distant.

After the Crimean War Russia's advance was as great in the next twenty years as England's had been in the first half of the century. The result was that the distance between the two frontiers was again approximately halved. Lytton summed up this advance in a penetrating paragraph: "The approach of the two powers has, for nearly two centuries, been a steady continuous movement; undiverted by any obstacles, whether purely physical or of human origin—most rapid on our side during the first half of this century, and recently on the side of Russia—never ceasing, however, but, on the contrary, constantly increasing in rapidity." From such a review and estimate Lytton drew the following conclusion: "Within a time which can almost with certainty be computed at less than a generation, and which may prove much shorter, England and Russia will be conterminous in the East. Accepting this as certain and unavoidable, it remains for us now to determine where this contact shall take place."

In view of future events, it seems possible to regard this statement as forming the basis of Lytton's policy towards Afghanistan. He recognized that British and Russian spheres of influence in Asia would soon meet. He simply desired to have that meeting occur at the geographic point most favourable to England. His Afghan policy, therefore, was based on this strategic principle. His object was "to secure certain points necessary for the safety of India, and to do this with the least possible danger, disturbance, or expense."

Starting with the assumption "that neither England nor Russia will recede from any position they now occupy," Lytton concluded "that the line of ultimate contact must be either the present frontier of one of the two countries or some intermediate line." He examined the region now occupied by the British frontier, which dated from the annexation of the Punjab. His criticisms are based on the fact that it was not a chosen line, but represented the approximate points to which the Sikhs had penetrated. Moreover, because this line stopped at the foot of the mountain region, he regards it, strategically, as "dangerously and fatally defective." In dealing with this frontier Lytton indicated very clearly the strategic principles upon which his Afghan policy was based.

"The theory of awaiting attack behind a mountain range belongs to the pre-Napoleonic period of strategy, and to the time

of wars of position, when armies manœuvred opposite each oth
for months, and the capture of one town was considered a suf
cient result of a year's campaign. Napoleon shattered this theo
with many others, and in every instance where this defecti
strategy has been adopted it has resulted in utter defeat and rui
Modern military authorities are agreed that the value of :
obstacle such as a great river, or a mountain range, depends up
the command, on both sides, of the points of passage, and on tl
power of operating at will on either side of the obstacle. To tl
combatant who securely holds the passes, it is of incalculab
value, enabling him to mask his movements, to concentrate h
forces in safety and to strike at will, or to hold his adversary
check while measuring his defence or preparing his counterstrok
To him who does not command the passes, it is, on the oth
hand, a barrier which hampers his movements and a screen whi
masks and protects his enemy."

The Viceroy concluded, from the above passage, that British influen
must be paramount in Afghanistan to control the passes of the Hind
Kush and to prevent Russia from extending her authority "over tl
passes leading into India."

After this discussion of the present British frontier Lytton examine
the Russian frontier. This, he concluded, was likewise weak in th
it was not a natural frontier. Therefore both countries were bein
"urged forward by considerations of military and political expedienc
and by the instinct of self-preservation, towards the Hindu Kush, tl
great natural boundary between India and Central Asia."* Und
such conditions long or continued inaction by the Government c
India appeared to him impossible. Although the policy of Lytton
Government was essentially defensive, yet it must be offensive in th
matter of choosing a line of contact with Russia. Accordingly Lytton
Afghan policy was to secure the strongest and safest frontier availabl
In his opinion, such a frontier was the crest of the Hindu Kush, fror
the Pamirs to Bamian, with its western end following the Parapamis
mountains to Herat. While Herat may or may not be the "Gate" t
India, its geographic position renders it the "Key" to Eastern Persi

* "The natural frontier of India would appear to be on the Hind
Kush. . . ." *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India*, III., p. 281. Quote
by J. L. Morison in his penetrating and most valuable Raleigh Lecture o
History (1936), "From Alexander Burnes to Frederick Roberts."

and Western Afghanistan, because it controls the roads from Transcaspia to the Persian Gulf.

Historically, the solution of the Central Asian question had been the maintenance of Afghanistan as a friendly and independent State—*i.e.*, a buffer State—between India and Russia. However, the continued approach of the British and Russian frontiers, the development of Russian influence in Afghanistan, and especially the rapidly growing interdependence of the Straits question with Central Asian affairs, vitiated that solution. This fact was plainly indicated by the arrival of General Stolietov at Cabul, the immediate result, as has been indicated above, of Beaconsfield's hostile policy and of the British naval demonstration before Constantinople during the Russo-Turkish War.

Lytton concluded that there were three courses open to Great Britain: To establish a paramount British influence in Afghanistan to the exclusion of Russia, to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement with Russia, or to try to stop Russian progress in Central Asia by "making any further advance on her part a *casus belli*." He argued against the second course because of the difficulties and the time required to conclude such an understanding; he rejected the third because it would be only temporary and because a sovereign State, such as Russia, would never recognize such a line. There remained, then, only the first course. The Viceroy was prepared to adopt this immediately. It could be completed without the delay and complications of European diplomacy; and, as it required action between India and Afghanistan alone, it could be promptly and effectively carried into effect. In announcing this policy Lytton indicated no intention of returning to the *status quo ante* in Afghanistan. A Russian mission was in Cabul and could be sent there again; Lytton desired so to dominate Afghanistan that such an event would be impossible in the future. "Some visible proof of England's supremacy in Afghanistan" was the essential principle of this policy. This could be obtained only by the continual presence of British representatives in Cabul.

To carry out his policy Lytton proposed three conditions which Shere Ali was to be required to accept: An engagement not to receive Russian agents and not to have relations with any foreign power without first consulting the Government of India, free and ready access for British missions to the Amir, and the reception of permanent British agents at certain places in Afghanistan. If these stipulations were accepted, Lytton authorized General Chamberlain to promise Shere Ali an annual subsidy, the recognition by the Government of India

of the Amir's heir, and a territorial guarantee against aggression. If Shere Ali was recalcitrant and the mission failed Lytton proposed and presented a detailed plan for the immediate invasion of Afghanistan.

Upon receiving the news that General Stolietov was in Cabul, Lytton telegraphed Cranbrook: "To remain inactive now will be to allow Afghanistan to fall as certainly and as completely under Russian power as the khanates" (of Central Asia).* The Viceroy requested permission to send a British embassy to Cabul. Permission to prepare such a mission was authorized by Cranbrook. Lytton's letter to Shere Ali, the advance of General Chamberlain and his repulse at the Khyber Pass are well-known events and need not be repeated here. However, it must be pointed out that Lytton sent Chamberlain forward in direct violation of instructions from the India Office to delay the departure of the embassy until further explanations could be obtained from Russia.† Lytton's hasty action was censured by the Cabinet, even though it did give him its support. Cranbrook stated that the Cabinet "regrets your action in sending forward the mission without awaiting further telegram as directed on September 13."‡ In such critical circumstances it was unfortunate that Lytton remained unaware of the progress of events in Cabul. Upon the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin, ending the crisis between England and Russia, General Stolietov was instructed to return to Tashkent. This he did in August, leaving General Razgonov in charge of the Russian embassy. Moreover, General Kaufmann had sent orders to Razgonov, on September 17, instructing him to advise Shere Ali to receive the British mission.§ Had Lytton been aware of these developments and of the opinions of the Russians he might not have taken the steps which resulted in war.

It is not the purpose of this paper to follow the course of future

* F.O. 65 Russia 1031, Lytton to Cranbrook, Telegram of August 2, 1878.

† F.O. 65 Russia 1031, Cranbrook to Lytton, Telegram of September 11, and 65 Russia 1033, Cranbrook to Lytton, Telegram of September 13. Salisbury was attempting to adjust the difficulty occasioned by Stolietov's presence in Cabul through direct negotiations with Russia.

‡ F.O. 65 Russia 1033, Cranbrook to Lytton, Telegram of October 5. In a private letter of September 22, Cranbrook wrote, "Your telegram announcing the departure of the mission has rather taken me by surprise, as, at the desire of the Prime Minister and Lord Salisbury, I sent the message of the 13th 'to await orders.'" Gathorne-Hardy, Alfred A. (ed.), *Gathorne-Hardy, First Earl of Cranbrook* (two volumes, London, 1910), II., p. 100, Cranbrook to Lytton, September 22.

§ Terentiev, II., p. 480. The Russian Minister of War, General Miliutin, wrote Kaufmann on October 19 that the Amir should be advised to make peace with England. *Ibid.*, p. 490.

events or the subsequent military action against Afghanistan. However, it should be perfectly clear that Lord Lytton must bear the greater part of the responsibility for the second British war with Afghanistan.* It has also been established, from references to the Lytton minute, that the Viceroy was prepared to resort to hostile action should that become necessary through the repulse of his embassy by the Amir. However, it must be remembered that neither hostility nor aggression, but an earnest desire to control the passes of the Hindu Kush for India dominated and determined Lytton's actions.

The principles of Lytton's policy in 1878 have now been presented. What may we conclude? Obviously that he was actuated throughout by due regard for the interests of the Indian Empire. There can be no doubt of his sincerity, although we may doubt the expediency of his brilliance and daring. Secondly, his policy towards Afghanistan was based on what may be considered sound strategic considerations and on a certain knowledge of the frontier regions. However, the main defect in Lord Lytton's Afghan policy in 1878 was its undue haste. In pressing forward General Chamberlain's embassy, without Afghan consent and regardless of the instructions of Cranbrook to delay its departure, he was courting the very insult which became his famous *casus belli* for the second Afghan War. Thirdly, this episode indicates the close relationship between the Straits question and events in Central Asia. As soon as the Anglo-Russian crisis in the Near East had passed, Russia drew back from Afghanistan; Lytton, undeterred and possibly not realizing the significance of the Treaty of Berlin on Russia's immediate policy in Central Asia, went ahead. The result was war with Afghanistan. May we conclude that that war was unnecessary and that the same results might have been obtained through diplomacy? It may be possible to draw such a conclusion. However, diplomatic action, in dealing with the Central Asian question, has always been slow, and, moreover, has often resulted in dangerous incidents, as the later crisis of 1885 indicates. Lord Lytton felt that haste was necessary in order to prevent the geographical points, upon which his Afghan policy was based, from being dominated by Russia. And although he did not obtain the frontier line which he deemed so vital, yet through the Treaty of Gandamak and the subsequent agreement with Abdur Rahman England secured the domination of that line by means of her control of Afghan foreign relations.

* *Cf.* Davies, C.C., *The Problem of the North-West Frontier* (Cambridge University Press, 1932), p. 156.

PRESENT-DAY KASHGARIA

By COLONEL J. THOMSON GLOVER, C.B.E.

Lecture before the Royal Central Asian Society on April 21, 1937, at Burlingto House, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G M.V.O., in the Chair.

The Chairman, introducing the lecturer, said that Colonel Thomson Glove had just completed a period of service as His Majesty's Consul-General at Kashga from 1933-36. During the war he served in France, and in 1923 in Wazirista Later, in the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, h had been Joint-Commissioner for Leh, and in 1930 became Political Agent for Di and Chitral. He therefore knows all there is to know about that part of the worl

The Consulate-General at Kashgar is the farthest away of any, and has almo no contact with the outside world. Mrs. Thomson Glover was there with him, an members would recollect having read in the papers two years ago that she wa seriously wounded in an attack on the Consulate during the Tungan rebellio Admiration was felt at the coolness and courage with which Colonel and Mr Thomson Glover carried on through that difficult period until the Provinci Government had been able to restore order. Later it fell to them to receive M Peter Fleming, Mlle. Maillart, and Sir Eric Teichman, who came through Kashga on their way from China to India.

FROM October, 1933, to October, 1936, we were in Kashgar During part of that time a local revolution was in progress and my wife was wounded, and on this slender foundation w were asked to speak about this part of Sinkiang to an audience man of whom know much more than we do. We also received letter from kind friends, pointing out that as we had spent so long i Kashgar we must be out of our senses; accepting this as correct, whe we emerged from Kashgar we treated ourselves to a round-the-worl ticket, with the result that Kashgar has rapidly become a dim memory and we are liable to mention incidents which we have read in book as matters which came within our own experience.

The country, its people, and politics have been frequently describe by travellers, archæologists, big-game hunters and others. Recentl Peter Fleming and Mlle. Maillart have written of the country whic they passed through on their journey from Peking to India via little known paths, and only last July Sir Eric Teichman, a distinguishe official from China, in a lecture before members of this Society, gav a careful and comprehensive account of recent happenings. Dr. Sve Hedin, in his *Flight of the Big Horse*, has recounted the events tha

happened in the north of the Province. I fear what I have to say is somewhat trivial.

The Government of India and the authorities in England during the nineteenth century evinced much interest in the countries lying beyond the northern barriers of India. Competition with Tsarist Russia led to the Pamir boundary commission in the 70's and two trade missions from India in the time of Yakub Beg; the last one, under Forsyth, led to the strengthening of the trade relations between India and what is now known as Sinkiang.

As regards my own interest in Central Asia—it dates back a good many years—at an age when I was emerging from tales of G. A. Henty and R. M. Ballantyne, my mother gave me a newly published book by Captain Younghusband, who had just completed a very remarkable journey overland from China to India. From that time the name "Central Asia" cast a spell and lighted a desire to know something of the countries which lay beyond the frontiers of India.

This interest never disappeared; at Clifton lectures and Sunday evening readings frequently had as their subject the travels and work of Englishmen who had penetrated into Central Asia.

Before the war, when shooting in Ladakh, I became acquainted with the name Macartney as I travelled to Leh with a Colonel Wood, who had been shooting in the Tian Shan and knew Macartney well. After the war, when British Joint Commissioner for Leh, I reached the top of the Kara Koram Pass, the Tibetan frontier, and in Leh had to deal with trade cases which involved meeting traders and pony carriers from Yarkand and Khotan. From the Malakand I reached Chitral, and in the upper reaches of the Swat River explored some of the unknown Kohistan leading to Gilgit; but still Central Asia eluded me.

However, in August, 1933, having just completed two years in the Khyber, I received orders to proceed to Kashgar. At that time the local rebellion was in progress; it was directed against Urumchi rather than Nanking.

We rapidly packed, and within a fortnight had our possessions at Srinagar, ready for the caravan of sixty ponies which were to carry our belongings and our stores for the next nine months. We also took our own riding ponies and saddles. We had a through caravan, owned by a Turki of Artush, and we followed the normal route through Gilgit and the beautiful valleys of Hunza and Nagar, where we made the acquaintance of these two polo-playing patriarchal rulers.

I have mentioned that a local rebellion was in progress, and I will here say a few words on the situation for those who have not had the opportunity to follow in detail recent events.

Sinkiang, or the New Province, is one of China's outlying dominions, adjoining Russia, Afghanistan, India, Tibet, Mongolia, and the Chinese Province of Kansu.

The capital of the Province, Urumchi, also known as Tihwa, lies north of the Tian Shan, and Kashgar, 1,000 miles to the west, is the most important town in the southern portion of the Province.

In reality Sinkiang resembled two Provinces. At Urumchi the governor, though connected by land line and radio with Pekin and Nanking, was in practice very autonomous, the officials were Chinese, Tungans, settlers from Russia, Mongols, Kazaks and Kirghiz, as well as Turkis. Chinese and Russian were spoken by most people, as well as Turki. Trade moved towards China and Russia or Tibet.

Kashgar was also connected by telegraph and radio with Urumchi. The population were nearly all Mohammedans, speaking Turki, though the officials, as before, were Chinese. Trade was carried on in the south, not only with Russia and Tibet, but also with India, and little trade came direct from China.

The contrast between the two portions of the Province was borne in on us when, in the autumn of 1935, we travelled by motor to meet Sir Eric Teichman in Urumchi.

One more distinctive feature of Sinkiang was what may be called the time-lag in its development owing to its remote position and the policy of its strong Chinese officials. Up to 1933 the people were really unaware that China had ceased to be ruled by an Emperor, and had become a republic some twenty-one years earlier. In official correspondence the new titles of officials were perhaps changed, but in conversation old titles were for the most part retained. There was no Nationalist spirit abroad as in other parts of China, though it is true that among the Moslems was an undercurrent of Mohammedan feeling, and a blind craving for schools and education. In a few cases, after some persecution, Mohammedans had sought knowledge abroad in Russia or centres like Turkey, Arabia, India, or Egypt.

It is not to be wondered at if the local politics of the north differed from those of the south.

When Yang, the strong governor at Urumchi, died suddenly in 1928, the situation in the north changed, as the new governor embarked on a rule of oppression and his greed exceeded the recognized limits.

At any rate, in 1931 the oppression of his officials caused an outbreak in the Hami district, which was hardly suppressed with the aid of the Russian settlers. The south, who were still liberally governed, remained unaffected, but early in 1933 the trouble in the north broke out again. This time, however, it spread to the south, where it assumed a fanatical Moslem form. Many Chinese officials and soldiers were massacred, and between Yarkand and Khotan some ten or eleven Hindus were killed and their property looted.

The same fanatical wave endangered the Swedish missionaries in Yarkand, and it was through the intervention of two of the British Indian trade representatives that their lives were spared by the (Khotan) leader Shah Mansur. The British representatives temporized, and sent off urgent messengers to Shah Mansur's elder brother, who forbade further acts of violence against the Mission.

When we reached Sinkiang in October, 1933, the Mohammedans and their Tungan allies had fallen out. The Tungan leader in the south, Ma Chang Tsang, and the former civil commissioner, Ma Chao Wu, also a Tungan of Yunnan, were besieged in Kashgar New City. The remnants of the Chinese elsewhere had either been killed or forcibly converted to Mohammedanism.

Groups of Turkis from Khotan, Yarkand, Kashgar, Artush, and Turfan struggled with Kirghiz adventurers for supreme power, so that the siege operations suffered accordingly.

On crossing the frontier, we found that with a Kirghiz leader in the ascendant in Kashgar, the Persian-speaking Tajiks of Tashkurghan had been driven from the best grazing grounds by Kirghiz.

As we emerged from the hills into the plains, we met the first troops of the Khotan Amirs guarding the exit to the plains, armed only with wooden rifles and a hunting golden eagle.

Half a stage further on authority changed hands, and the Kashgar faction was represented by a single soldier armed with an ancient rifle. In Yengi Hissar a one-horse chaise conveyed my wife, with an escort of outriders, to a breakfast at the empty mission house.

In the early stages of this conflict it was religious enthusiasm and sheer numbers which had overwhelmed the Chinese.

Everywhere the demand was for arms and munitions of war, so as we approached Kashgar the siege operations against the New City were suspended for the day, and the Moslem leaders came out with their followers to greet us with ceremony and courtesy. It was a gay gathering, the uniforms varied from the ordinary Turki garments to

troops of men with local cloth dyed bright orange, bottle-green, wine-colour, or blue. They also carried standards of green and blue with Moslem emblems, and cracked trumpets gave forth a salute.

One leader, hoping to gain credit, slipped from the gathering and came on a mile or so. This was repeated by others in turn, so that instead of being greeted a mile from the town it was some five miles out that we met the leaders of the moment together with their following.

Alas for their hopes, the reply to the request for arms was as ever, "If the British authorities were approached by Nanking they would consider the matter."

Power in the old city changed hands frequently; rivals were killed, but as each leader assumed office he assured the Consulate of protection, and all did their best to abide by their word.

For the most part, the only danger came from numerous stray bullets, discharged from the city walls by those unaccustomed to handling arms, or who were seized with panic in the watches of the night. On two occasions while going a short way up the river to shoot duck the authority in the city changed hands.

On January 13, 1934, Khoja Niaz Hajji, one of the two principal leaders from the north, entered Kashgar unopposed and assumed supreme command. The New City was besieged more closely. On February 5 it was heard that the Tungans were approaching from the north, and the following day the Tungans entered Kashgar unopposed, and the siege of the New City was raised. Anything up to 10,000 Moslems had faded away before some 800 Tungans and 1,200 unwilling conscripts. The next month the renowned Tungan leader, Ma Chung Ying, arrived with more of his troops. He fought his last action with the provincial troops at Aksu, and maintained an outpost line at Maralbashi, and set about consolidating his position around Kashgar.

However, early in July, as the result of certain negotiations, Ma Chung Ying and a few of his staff left for Soviet Russia, and his troops under his brother-in-law, Ma Hu San, withdrew to Yarkand, and later to Khotan.

For over three weeks Kashgar was without any organized army. Outside the Consulate robbery, murder, and loot took place every night; shots and cries were heard, and one day the lower Consulate garden was entered and some of the sheep were stolen. At last a Chinese Pacification Commissioner, with a couple of hundred Chinese troops and 800 or 900 Moslem troops, reached Kashgar and restored Chinese sovereignty.

More Chinese troops arrived soon afterwards, and with them something of the modern spirit penetrated Sinkiang.

These Chinese troops were some of those who had fought in Manchuria; they had been driven back into Soviet Russia and interned for some time, but were later permitted to enter Sinkiang. A number of officers and men had had up-to-date military training, and they form quite a reasonable military machine. The same could not have been said about the old troops of Sinkiang. A number of officials have also been recruited from these virile Manchurians and their friends in China, and they are replacing the older type of officials.

They lack experience and training in civil matters, but change is abroad, and new ideas are circulating.

The new Military Governor in Urumchi, Shang Shih Tsai, was also a personality. He also came from North China, but did not, as has been represented, come with the other defeated Manchurian elements, but was sent to Urumchi in the normal course of events. A shepherd boy by birth, he studied in a Military School in Japan, and became a first-class officer. Formerly second-in-command of the corps commanded by the brother of the Urumchi Chairman or Governor, Chin Shu Jen, when we were in Urumchi he gave us a very able summary of the situation, and from all accounts, as far as it lies in his power, he is fair and just. The hospitality lavished by him on Sir Eric Teichman and ourselves was overwhelming.

It would be hard to meet a pleasanter companion than General Liu Pin, the military commander at Kashgar, who lived seven miles away in the New City. His men were always well turned out, and, though he was not concerned with civil affairs, he was always helpful and obliging and his hospitality unending. No banquet was complete unless General Liu Pin added to its gaiety with one of his amusing speeches delivered in a parade-ground voice; and during the course of the evening he was invariably inspired by the music to execute a *pas seul*. In the Old City he was ably supported by the Mohammedan General Mahmud of Turfan, who was the ablest leader on the side of the rebels. He might have walked on to the stage without any make-up and taken the part of Henry VIII. Originally a trader, he was a simple and kindly man and a zealous Mohammedan.

The Turkis and their co-religionists have never been regarded as a warlike people. They are good agriculturalists, and wherever the streams from the mountains emerge into the sandy plains of the Tarim basin they have created flourishing oases. In the towns they were

astute business folk. But the events of the rebellion forced them to abandon their traditional peaceful pursuits. The peasant found himself conscripted for one or other of the armies; the merchant with his wealth was compelled to raise and maintain a body of troops. Over and above the service demanded of them, taxes and levies were required by each leader. The farmer-folk had to provide rations for the troops, with a substantial present for the party collecting the rations. The city folk had to provide money for the treasury, uniform and equipment and other requirements in kind. The result was that shops in the towns and cities were closed, agriculture was neglected, trade was nearly at a standstill. Property and loot were buried, and the townsfolk scattered to the rural areas. Nevertheless in some remarkable manner real famine never prevailed.

Through all these events ran a demand for education on the part of the Mohammedans, who, like the people in so many parts of the world, felt that this must be the cure for all evils.

One fact emerged, however, and that was that the Turki was not able to govern himself.

When referring to the main events in the south, the "Tungans" *were mentioned. This term is used in Sinkiang to denote Chinese* Mohammedans. A few live in the northern part of Sinkiang, but the name more often refers to the Tungans of Kansu. They are Chinese in appearance and most virile. Their belief, so far as it goes, is Mohammedanism. The two most important leaders were Ma Chung Ying and his brother-in-law Ma Hu San, who came from one of the hereditary ruling families of Kansu.

The Tungans possess outstanding military qualities; man for man, no troops got the better of them, not even the White Russian troops. They are taller, but they often remind me of Gurkhas, as they were usually laughing and cheerful. Unlike the traditional and present-day Chinese soldier, who, however well-trained, prefers to settle a dispute on paper or by words, the Tungan for choice settles it by fighting.

When the fight is over they nurse no grudge, but again continue on their way smiling.

As soon as they arrived in Kashgar, all the troops went round the city at the double, shouting their war-cry, a truly awe-inspiring sound. At the same time they were learning their way about the rabbit-warren of a city. A week later, on February 14, we saw them in action. They heard of an enemy concentration towards the north of the river, but while they were out the Moslem troops had come in

from the west, and with the help of some of the people of Kashga overpowered the guards left on the Old City gates.

Word soon reached the Tungans, and they came back the five miles with all speed, and proceeded to sweep the invaders out. Bugles blew, officers and colours went ahead, and the men, extended in proper formation, went straight at the enemy. It was during this operation that one of them found a group on the Consulate terrace an irresistible target. One soldier knelt at 500 yards as I watched with the glasses. The first shot cut a branch off a tree. The second hit the wall about two inches to the right of my field-glasses, and the third hit my wife in the lung a short way above her heart. While this was happening, another party at the side gate, alleging that some Andijanis had entered the Consulate, shot through the lock of the door, and on entering the building killed the first two unarmed persons who tried to oppose them. Outside the Consualte another member of the staff was shot and seriously wounded.

By noon we received word from the Tungan commander that the action was over. However, at this point the cruel side of the Tungan came uppermost. The order was given for a general slaughter, and on this and the next day, in a house-to-house visitation, some 2,000 or 3,000 persons were slain, mostly with swords so as to save ammunition. Many of those killed were unarmed old men, as well as women and children. For some unexplained reason, the Consulate remained under fire until ten o'clock next day. Most of the shots came from the city wall, barely 250 yards distant.

In the evening the doctor, on his way to attend my wife, was seriously wounded, and a third person accidentally shot himself in the leg. My wife has good reason to remember both her birthday and the Tungans.

When a fight was over, the Tungans often gave a handful of loot to a beggar. They had some Indian rupee notes, and hearing that they were not current in the country, lighted their cigarettes with them. They were easier for a Western mind to understand. They asked us to get footballs for them and to order tennis rackets from India. Owing to the enterprise of my wife, we were playing polo twice a week, and the Tungan commander said he would like to see the game. He then marched his mounted troops to watch, as he thought it might be a suitable game for them to play.

When Ma Chung Ying came, he again marched some of his picked mounted men down to watch the game.

Ma Chung Ying had been colonel at 16. When we first met him at the age of 23, he was young in appearance, frank and ambitious, and attractive. He seemed well up to the task of controlling the unruly but brave men who served him.

The other miraculous thing was the way the Tungans conscripted people and made them work for them. Some 800 Tungans and 1,200 conscripts caused nearly 10,000 rebel troops to flee from Kashgar. To-day in Khotan there are at the most 2,000 real Tungans, in a foreign and hostile country, but their rifle strength is probably 10,000 or more. Up till a few months ago, one of the chief staff officers was a Chinese, whom they had captured in the operations round Urumchi.

The one thing that the Tungans could not face was bombing from the air.

One day a party called at the Swedish Mission, and while the missionaries were out of the room a Tungan soldier took a watch and a gun. A Tungan who was being treated in the Swedish hospital for a badly smashed leg, hearing this, dragged himself out of bed and detained the offender until a Tungan officer came up and restored the stolen articles.

Near the time of their departure a Tungan soldier, annoyed with a woman who rejected his advances, poured oil over her and set her alight.

In Khotan the Tungan group have held out against advance from Urumchi for over two years. They have always proclaimed abroad their loyalty to the Central Government.

The name of Tungan is used to strike terror into children and grown-ups. They are accused of everything bad, and every ruin in the Province is ascribed to the Tungans. They are not so bad as they are painted. In many cases, a study of the books of travellers, or correspondence prior to the rebellion, will show that some of these ruins already existed before 1933. In other places, retreating Chinese soldiers were responsible for the damage caused.

Ma Chung Ying, in spite of his acquaintance with war, nearly fainted when he went to watch an operation on one of his officers. He then made a generous donation to the hospital. As he was leaving Kashgar, he begged for a portable harmonium from the Mission. When his request was granted, he explained he had only asked for it in order to see whether the Swedish Mission were his true friends or not.

The Tungans are impulsive, generous and cruel, but excellent

fighters. One of their best exploits was the siege and capture of Yengi Hissar. The younger brother of Shah Mansur of Khotan was inside the citadel, and the Tungans attempted to take it.

Shah Mansur came to his brother's aid, but in doing so was killed, and his troops were scattered. The citadel was well built for defence, and the besiegers had only rifles. They persisted with frontal attacks, and attempted to set alight the heavy gates of the city, the walls of which were some 15 to 20 feet thick at the base. Under heavy fire, they persevered, and in three weeks had tunnelled and mined under the walls, and in this way succeeded in taking this very strong position.

The Tungans were the first people to bring motor lorries to Kashgar.

There is a group of people whom I would like specially to mention, and that is the missionaries of different nations who were in Sinkiang. They command the greatest admiration. In the south, the Swedish missionaries in Yarkand and Kashgar tended all combatants during the operations impartially. They were called out to attend the wounded even under fire. They seldom were thanked for their medical aid, and in fact it was jealousy that they had tended the Chinese wounded which caused Shah Mansur to threaten their lives. There were no indigenous hospitals and no trained doctors in the local administration. Their medical supplies, their time and energy were absorbed by the distress around them.

At Kuchar, an isolated town on the road to Urumchi, there was a brave-hearted old Swedish lady of over 70, who had spent many years among the people, teaching them midwifery. She had refused to seek shelter at Kashgar, and when some Tungan soldiers came to remove her horse forcibly, she refused to give up the key of the stable. One of the soldiers placed his rifle against her chest, and would probably have pulled the trigger, but her servant, in a panic, handed over the key. Still undaunted, the lady, Miss Engvahl, slapped the soldier hard in the face. When the revolution was over, she came to Kashgar by herself, along roads still highly dangerous. Travelling back to Sweden after many years' absence, she died in Russia on the way home.

In Urumchi and the surrounding district were several English and American missionaries. They were cut off from all communication with the outside world as well as from Kashgar. They continued attending to the wounded and the sick, and in the course of this two

of them lost their lives. A few scattered members of the German Catholic Mission in the north were doing the same kind of work.

Though a few individuals were grateful, all these missionaries received scanty thanks, but were regarded with suspicion by the rival warring parties.

Later on Mr. Hunter, who is also over 70, and is head of the C.I. Mission there, made his way on horse with one servant, through a still very disturbed country, over the 1,000 miles which separate Kashgar from Urumchi. He did this in order to establish contact with the outer world, and get the passports and papers of the Mission brought up to date. All the missionaries I met in Sinkiang aroused my admiration. They know the people intimately, their languages and customs. They studiously avoided any action which might be regarded as outside the sphere of their Mission work, and they gave themselves unsparingly to the relief of the sick and wounded of all creeds and races.

The other people who excited my admiration were the men who carried the official Consulate mail-bag. They never failed us throughout the disturbances. They were threatened, and often went in danger of their lives. One escort was killed, another courier who had gone to fetch plague vaccine broke his leg while travelling by night, and had to ride thus many days before he could receive medical attention. The cold was extreme, the road rough, and swollen rivers carried away many ponies, but the Consulate mail was always saved.

The question that is invariably asked is: What did the European community at Kashgar consist of? In our own Consulate we had a Vice-Consul and a doctor. There were eight or ten Swedish missionaries, both men and women. At the combined Soviet Consulate and Trade Agency were nearly 80, men, women and children.

It will have been seen that times were not normal. So, with frequent local crises, it was not possible to move about the country freely. To occupy some of our spare time my wife organized polo, a game she had first played in Ladakh, where she rode down to the ground on a yak. We had a few men of Hunza, and orderlies from Leh and Kashgar; there were also the Vice-Consul, doctor and clerks. Nearly all of them caught the infection, and for twelve months in the year we played six chukkers of polo twice a week. One or two of the Soviet Consulate came to play, and some of the Swedish missionaries. The Turkis are natural horsemen, and some of them became good players. Those who came from Hunza, one of the traditional homes

of polo, are trained in hitting a ball from their youth, though most of those with us had not previously ridden, as they could not afford ponies in their own country. A ground was hired, and we did our best to give it a reasonable surface; it was some 180 yards by 70 yards.

The ponies which did best were Afghan or Badakhshan ponies, which certainly had some Arab blood in them, Alai ponies from just across the Russian border, and local ponies crossed with the above. The Mongol type, similar to the pony found in Pekin, with its thick neck and hard mouth, was not suitable. We built our own water-cart, employed some groundsmen to attend to the surface, and when extra labour was required sent down the tennis boys.

The first ground was within ten minutes' ride of the Consulate, and my wife used to surprise the populace, and amuse their children, by trotting off to a game of polo on a young camel. Later on the camel was discarded in favour of the 1918 model Triumph motor-cycle, which had reached Kashgar about 17 years earlier.

In addition to polo we played football twice a week, and while we engaged in tennis or squash racquets with the Swedish Mission or enthusiasts of the Soviet Consulate, the orderlies, servants and saises played basket-ball or tenniquoits, which we had taken with us from India.

Duck and a few snipe were ample excuse for taking out a gun, and in the extreme cold of the winter exercise was one of the best means of getting warm. Further out there were a few pheasant, and a hare or so, and chukor in the foothills.

In the spring and summer there was plenty of bird-life to study, and in the hills there were interesting flowers and butterflies, but our visits to the home of the Kirghiz were brief and limited.

Round Urumchi there was delightful shooting in most English-looking cover; pheasant, hare, and bearded partridge and chukor abounded.

There were Wapiti and other big-game in the Tian Shan, but we had no time to go there, so I felt that I was fortunate in getting two Ovis Poli the day before I left Sinkiang.

River fish led to the doctor making himself a portable boat designed in two sections, which he could carry down to a suitable spot on his carriage. Around Kashgar fish were inclined to be muddy, but we found that in the mountain streams there were several places where a rod would provide amusement. The Kirghiz thought our

methods strange, for a small boy would take a stone, and soon return with a fine fish.

The Consulate garden is naturally attractive. The house is on a cliff, with a broad terrace overlooking rice fields and the Kizil Su River, and looks out on distant hills. There were fine shady poplar trees, on which we found carved the initials of various members of the Macartney family. Under fruit trees, flowers blended with vegetables and paths wandered at will. The collapse of one of the mud terrace walls called for action, so when undertaking the repairs, flowers were separated from vegetables, paths were straightened and made more permanent. And in place of irrigating the beds direct with the deep red muddy waters of the Kizil Su, a settling tank was made and the flowers were watered by hand. I do not know that my predecessors would approve of my changes, but I felt rewarded when a Kirghiz from the hills wandered round and, seeing the green patches of grass (the only ones in Kashgar) and the flowers, remarked, " A place like this is as good to a tired man as food is to a hungry man." There is plenty to do in a garden in Kashgar. One has to discover what flowers or vegetables will thrive on the soil, which is like hard clay after irrigation, but also turns white in a night from the numerous salts which come to the surface after rain, or as the frost melts out of the ground. It was not just a question of beautiful flowers; we experimented with every kind of vegetable to add to the variety which would last through the long winter from October to April, or those which would provide early fresh vegetables in the spring. Kashgar and the rest of the Province is famed for melons and grapes, and justly so. The melons, though large, are delicate in flavour. One early class is a beautiful cool green, the later one flame-orange; both are sweet and juicy. The melons also last through the winter well, and the local people cook them in strips, and serve them like hot pumpkins.

The grapes are green, black, and seedless, and they also make fine raisins.

When the Consulate was attacked in 1934, it was not possible to go abroad with any safety for some time. We dug in the garden and obtained water fit to drink, and we were glad that we had a miniature farm in the Consulate precincts. We had a small flock of sheep (our last year we had 17 lambs); hens and ducks provided eggs. With the latter were several wild ones, reared from eggs. Geese acted as watchmen of the night. Cows were on the premises. Dogs, chukor, and

ram chukor goats and gazelle added variety, and most of them strolled about, while my wife was daily attending to the 50 odd horses which were in the Consulate. We liked having a good supply of water for all purposes, so we kept our own troop of donkeys, and at times "Magpie" and "Jennifer" were among those supplying our requirements.

Our object was to be as self-supporting as possible. From grapes, or from the oleaster fruit, we distilled our own spirits of wine, but the grapes were also used for making wine. The muddy waters of the Kizil Su scarcely made an attractive beverage, so when the season came, grapes were trodden out in the approved fashion by the gardeners, and the resulting juice was placed in a series of large glazed Ali Baba jars, wherein the liquid seethed and bubbled. It was well strained before being bottled some months later. We used mostly white grapes, but added some of the black variety to give flavour and colour. The resulting colour was a pleasing amber, and with soda water added to it, was not unlike a hock wine, and certainly not vinegary like many a *vin ordinaire*. Jam and conserves and pickles and chutneys were made from the fruit and vegetables in the garden. Stores from England or India could only come up about once a year. We tried to look ahead and include all our requirements: not only food, but stationery, and dull articles like medicines, buttons and tapes. We added items such as crackers, holly-decorations, ham, Stilton and other delicacies for Christmas, yet in spite of the order being despatched in February, owing to the fortunes of the rebellion our Christmas fare reached us two weeks too late, so the desire to be self-supporting can be readily understood.

We had to make buildings for our farm. The Consulate itself required to be kept in repair, and with conscription abroad, the only thing to do was to have carpenters, painter, blacksmith and masons permanently employed in the Consulate. Otherwise we found that the mason of yesterday was the soldier of to-day. We even went in for silkworms, and with the eggs from one tiny cardboard box we eventually made over 50 yards of silk cloth.

When we reached Kashgar there was only one motor. A Ford having been presented by the Soviet Representative to the Commissioner, Ma Shao Wu, who maintained for its use a good road between the Old and New Cities, and on to his summer residence at Langar; but it too had taken part in the revolution, and while driving in it Timur, a Turki leader, met his death at the hands of one of his allies. The next

motors were lorries, brought by the Tungans, and nowadays the provincial authorities have a fleet of lorries purchased in Soviet Russia.

Roads, however, hardly exist: on the 1,000 miles from Kashgar to Urumchi one encounters marsh, drifted sand, gravel and rocky gorges, and only spasmodic efforts are made by some of the magistrates The life of a lorry is short, the average time for the distance is three weeks. The best road runs from Urumchi to the Russian border at Chuguchak.

We inherited one of the Ford trucks which Sir Eric Teichman brought overland from Pekin. When motoring to Yarkand in the winter, the car sank through the ice in the centre of the main road into a three-foot stream. On the drifted sand it is often only possible to progress a few yards at a time after strenuous digging, and by spreading out strips of rope-netting and travelling forward on them. No tastefully decorated petrol pumps greet one on the way, nor are there repair shops, and one is by no means certain of meeting a blacksmith, unless one awaits until the following weekly market-day. Motor transport is still a monopoly of the authorities.

There is not much aviation. A few trips were made by a commercial aeroplane from Lanchoow to Urumchi with mail. Aeroplanes bought from or lent by Soviet Russia were largely instrumental in defeating the Tungans in Urumchi district. There is an aviation school in Urumchi. At one time aeroplanes from Russia brought doctors to deal with a plague epidemic; but they encountered bad weather, and only arrived 24 hours ahead of the vaccine from India, which was flown to Gilgit and brought on by runners.

Earlier on I have mentioned Sir Francis Younghusband and Sir George Macartney. They are the founders of our present position in Kashgar. Any traveller visiting Yarkand or Khotan has referred to the Indian traders whom they found in Sinkiang; so when Sir Francis Younghusband made his journey across the continent, Sir George Macartney stayed behind to look after the interests of our traders from India, and right well he built, and on solid foundations, and I feel certain that it is largely due to the influence he had made felt during the many years he spent in Kashgar, that our traders suffered so little during the revolt compared with the local people.

This is all the more remarkable if one considers what a strange country China is. Recently, when in Pekin, some problem arose, and enquiries were made of a man known to have much local knowledge, but the answer which came was, "All that I can say from my 25 years'

experience of this part of China is that the answer is Yes or No." It is truly a country where the mistakes of the novice may well be pardoned.

One may consider what have been the effects of this revolution against the officials of the Province. With the Manchurian troops came new ideas and a breath of modern China, but perhaps China will still not influence the Province as much as might be expected, for I doubt whether the connection between Nanking is closer than it was before. During the disturbances Nanking was preoccupied, and, as mentioned by Sir Eric Teichman and Peter Fleming, the Urumchi authorities turned for aid to Soviet Russia. The authorities in Urumchi have not so far welcomed any proposal to establish postal communication with Nanking by air, and a precarious motor transport service from Suiyan to Hami, when not interrupted by disturbances in other Provinces, brought only a thin trickle of goods from the coast. The provincial authorities have obtained a number of motor vehicles from Russia, and largely due to this, the division of the Province into two parts, centred on Urumchi and Kashgar, has disappeared. The officials at Kashgar have no longer any independent authority, and the Province is being definitely run from Urumchi. From a Consul's point of view, the system appeared over-centralized. The smallest detail was referred to Urumchi and, being in China, delay was not unknown.

The authorities like referring to the Province as "The New New Province." April 12 is the date selected for the celebration of this regeneration in every town and village. Troops, police, Boy Scouts, school children and guilds march to a central spot. Speeches are made, an exhibition is held. There are games and a military display, and more speeches conclude the celebrations. These gatherings, on the whole, resemble those which take place in Soviet Russia at set intervals.

Modern dress of the type worn in Andijan is favoured by the youth and school children; beards and moustaches are clipped or removed. The Church and age receive little attention or respect.

Schools abound everywhere for boys of every creed, but so far the standard of education has not altered much. Mohammedans hold many high posts which they never held before; the Vice-Chairman is a Mohammedan; the chief officials in Hami and Aqsu were also Mohammedans.

It is to be hoped that these pangs of regeneration will soon subside,

and that the age-long trade from India will flow freely as before, under the traditional friendliness which China has manifested towards our country, and which is so apparent to-day in Nanking and Pekin.

The CHAIRMAN : After having heard this extremely interesting lecture on Kashgar, we must feel that the Society has gained a wonderful recruit in Colonel Thomson Glover. I personally have enjoyed the lecture very much. In these days when we hear so much of the Near East, it is very refreshing to listen to a lecture which deals instead with Central Asia and its politics. I know you will wish to join me in thanking Colonel Thomson Glover for coming here and speaking to us to-night.

AN OBO FESTIVAL OF WESTERN SUNIT

By PROFESSOR A. L. POLLARD-URQUHART

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on June 9, 1937, Mr. E. M. Gull in the Chair.

The Chairman said that Mr. Pollard-Urquhart, in addition to being Professor of English Literature in the Tsing Hua University at Peiping, had visited Mongolia on three different occasions. The occasion which he would now talk about occurred in 1935. Sunit is about one hundred miles north of Kalgan. His account of the extremely interesting incident which he then had an opportunity of seeing should make Mongolia live in the minds of the audience.

IN these days the usual way of going to Mongolia is to take the train from Peking to Kalgan, the ancient gate into Mongolia, and from there go by car. From Kalgan the road goes up the great mountain ridge that separates Mongolia from China. This used to be only a track, and it took a car all day to do it, but recently it has been made into an extremely good road, and the ascent can take only two hours. At the top one gets the last glimpse of China, one of the most beautiful views I know.

The straggling town of Chapsar is the last outpost of Chinese settlement, and, from here on, what is left of Inner Mongolia commences. The Chinese villages disappear, the grassy lands are no longer cut up into ugly stripes of Indian corn, but the green carpet seems to stretch unendingly into the valleys and hills of a country that increasingly becomes like the Yorkshire moors. Green for a short-lived summer of three months, and for the rest of the year brown or white with snow. There are no trees to break the view, just the endless stretch of undulating land on which wander herds of camel and horse, and if one is lucky one may see a fleeting deer swiftly crossing the plain, while the air is full of the song of the larks.

Having entered the land of Sunit, for that is the name of this section of Silingol, the traveller should leave his car and go by the surest method—that is, on horseback. It may be slower, but at least one gets there, and you never can tell with a car. There are punctures, mud-holes, and cloudbursts, all of which can delay one from one hour to three weeks. Going further north, the beautiful undulating land gives way to a vast plain that seems endless and uninhabited. The edges of

this plain are like the cliffs of the south coast of England, for it falls abruptly about a hundred feet into what at one time must have been a huge lake or inland sea, but is now a desolate gobi, of a desolation which is too oppressive for it to have any attraction, and if you are in a car there is the continual fear of being caught in a mud-hole.

As one goes through this land one is struck by two things: the scantiness of the population and the signs that at one time there had been a much greater one. Running for miles across the plain there are faint ridges that had once been walls marking the limit of some early Chinese invasion; and in these curious cliffs where the plain falls into a gobi one may find pieces of pottery or perhaps even a dinosaur egg. Not far from the desolate spot known as Pan Chiang, where there is now a telephone station, I have seen ancient millstones lying beside the track, remnants of some former Chinese agricultural population that must have been driven away in haste and violently by nomadic invaders.

The people that inhabit these spaces are the descendants of those Mongols that once conquered the Eastern world under the great Khans. Mr. Lattimore says there are certainly not more than five million Mongols all told in all that vast land of Outer Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, and Manchuria. In the strip of land which may be called Inner Mongolia Proper—that is, from Chinese Turkistan to the borders of Manchukuo—about fifteen miles long and four hundred broad, there cannot be more than a million inhabitants, and what is so tragic is that the population is rapidly decreasing, as if Nature had decided that she no longer had any need of such nomadic tribes.

One of the most noticeable things about all Mongol settlements is the scarcity of children.* A Chinese village swarms with healthy little creatures, but in Mongolia a child is a comparatively rare sight; and it may seem strange that a people who live such a seemingly healthy life should not produce healthy children. But the traveller in Mongolia soon finds that the Mongols, with a few rare exceptions, are not a healthy race. They may be fine, tall people to look at, but one can see that they are ravaged by disease. Consumption and all forms of venereal disease have scourged these people to such an extent that it will be surprising if any survive. Mr. Lattimore says that the spread of this disease is much worse amongst nomadic Mongols, such as those I am describing, than among the agricultural Mongols. As there are no hereditary land possessions, legitimacy has not been considered of such importance, and therefore neither virginity nor chastity are so prized as they are where the family plays such an important part as in agricultural China. With

this a-moral attitude towards life we get the frightful spread of disease. According to statistics, the number of children in these parts is given at one-half per family. It is only by the help of such a person as Dr. Ericksen, with whom I had the privilege of travelling on a medical tour, that these people have a chance of surviving. He is, perhaps, the most respected man in all Inner Mongolia, who is welcomed to any yurt or temple. The lamas do not like the missionaries, and do everything to prevent their work, but Dr. Ericksen is the exception.

The tribe whose land I have been describing is the Silingol League. On the map it is included in what the Chinese call the Chahar province; but it has not yet been mastered by the Chinese and is still ruled by Mongol princes. There is very little water, and the land is too meagre for agriculture, so of all parts of Inner Mongolia we find here more of the old nomadic life and the unspoilt traditions of Mongol society. The Chinese language is hardly spoken at all except by a few officials, and the people live in their settlements of yurts and tents as their forefathers have done for generations past. Their small settlements stand in the boundless plain. One can hardly call them villages, as each settlement belongs to one family, and in theory they are moved when new pastures are to be found. They do not own the land, but pay so much per head for each horse to the local prince.

When approaching a village the stranger must never get off his horse until his host calls off the dogs, otherwise he will be torn to pieces. That is one of the reasons why nobody ever walks, as no pedestrian dares approach within half a mile of a village.

The household economy inside the yurts is of the simplest. Except for a low cupboard or two, there is no furniture, but only felt mats, on which at night they sleep. The stove, which is in the middle of the yurt, burns fuel called argol that is made up of the dried droppings of the cows and camels. The staple food appears to be tea made with milk and butter, with dried millet in it to give it substance. Vermicelli cooked with dried bits of rancid mutton seems to be universally eaten, and I have found it good when hungry. They also eat cream and cheese and mutton, but that is rather extravagant and is usually kept for feasts. One can tell the warmth of one's reception by the make of the tea, which, if it is fresh with cream added, means one is welcome, but if it is the old brew with water added, then one may leave as soon as one likes.

The life is entirely pastoral. Naturally, the young men are magnificent riders and are much more at home on their horses than off, which accounts for their heavy slouching walk, as they wear large

riding-boots. They always approach an encampment at a great speed and leave in the same magnificent style, but I have found that when no show is required they usually ride slowly, for the horses are not very strong, having nothing to eat but the short grass that is green only for about three months.

The trouble with these people is that they take life too easily and do not like to do anything but look after their herds and flocks. With the exception of making the felt for their yurts, everything seems to be done by the Chinese, even to the shearing of the sheep. All over Mongolia one finds Chinese merchants, craftsmen, and workmen, who move from place to place acting as carpenters, masons, tailors, silversmiths, and so on. Even the pictures in the lama temples are painted by Chinese artists who travel from one temple to another painting religious pictures according to the traditional designs.

Many of the Silingol Mongols are magnificent men, tall and fine, and wonderful horsemen; but there is nothing warlike or conquering about them nowadays. A more gentle and friendly people cannot be imagined. That warlike spirit of the past has gone, and something quite different has taken its place. At one time in their history a change came over them, and a society that was organized for war became organized for peace; but I don't believe that change was so difficult to make as one might imagine. I believe that a large number of the young men of Mongolia have always been segregated, and that a country that once segregated them in the camps to prepare them for war, when the great change of spirit came, found it quite natural to change the camps into temples, and the son that in every family once became a soldier now became a priest. In any description of the war camps of nomadic races one finds that the men were brought up according to a very strict code and that women were entirely excluded from their lives, and I imagine, as must have happened in history before, the custom remained but the object altered. At one time every family had to give a son to the army, but after their great conquests and the reaction that set in, and when the Lamaistic faith seems to have had a real hold over them, still a son had to be given, but to the church and not the army. Lamaism is so deeply embedded in the country that for an ordinary traveller it is difficult to say where it begins and where it ends. Officially speaking, all men wearing the queue are laymen. The lama often wears a yellow hat which goes up into a peak, but many of them wear an ordinary Homburg hat, and one meets with them in the villages as well as in the temples. In the settlements they take part in the

ordinary life, though they are not supposed to be married; but then marriage seems a very slight bond amongst the Mongols.

The only buildings one sees are the monasteries, which from a distance seem to shine like fairy palaces against the monotonous background. They are really male cities, the lamas living in small white houses round the temple. Each temple has a guest-house, where every traveller is given food and rest. The large temples are quite magnificent with their many courtyards, their white walls, Chinese roofs, and golden Buddhistic symbols reflecting the brilliant Mongolian sunlight. Although there are so many priests and temples, I do not think that the Mongols are religious. Lamaism plays a very large part in their lives, and so it has become very much a matter of custom and habit with a large amount of superstition; but Mongol Lamaism must be a very different thing from the Tibetan variation, which, from all accounts, is still a religious force. But to denounce Lamaism as a wicked superstition is as foolish as all such denunciations, as, being so deeply embedded in the people, it is most likely a necessary force for their lives. The only feeling one has against the lamas is that they are taking useful people away from other and more important duties, and that the life led by such does not seem to be one that will assist in regenerating a race of people who will soon die out unless some new spirit enters into them.

And that is why the obo ceremony which I am now about to describe is of such interest, for it is so typical of Mongolia in that it is made up of the past and the present of beliefs and Nature worship that must have existed as long as men have inhabited these plains, and over it has grown the veneer of Lamaism that has used the ancient Nature ritual and absorbed it into its own Buddhist ceremonies. Men on their horses gather from all over the countryside to take part in the races and sports which would be pleasing to the spirit enshrined on that spot.

An obo is an altar or heap of stones on the top of a hill, not unlike a cairn in Scotland. Its use is to keep away evil spirits, and at various periods in the year offerings are made before it. The obos that I have seen have been invariably round heaps of stones with a pole rising from the middle, from which are usually fluttering prayers written on pieces of cloth. In places where there are trees, such as in Manchuria and Outer Mongolia, the obos are covered with branches of trees, but in Inner Mongolia, where there are no trees, the obo is merely a heap of stones. Leading to the main obo are smaller heaps of stones on the four sides, and on the big Obo at Sunit there are iron poles bearing the eight Buddhistic symbols. That the obo should be placed on a hill and that

it is a protection from evil spirits is quite natural in a country like Mongolia, which is mostly plain; and anyhow it has always been natural for man to worship the spirit of a hill.

In Mongolia there are two great religious ceremonies—the devil dances and the obo ceremony. The former is much more a church festival, the dances being given by the priests and the audience consisting mostly of women, while the latter is a man's festival and the priests take a much smaller part in it. No women are supposed to be on the hill during the actual ceremony at the obo, although at a smaller gathering I have seen a number of girls. We have in this country a very near equivalent to the obo ceremony, and that is the Highland gathering. The prince surrounded by his followers, the contests of strength in the open air, and the barbaric splendour of some of the dukes and their followers all reminded me of the Atholl gatherings of my childhood, even in this case to the rain that fell all through the earlier part of the proceedings.

The obo ceremony I am about to describe was a particularly magnificent one, as it was expressly given by Prince Te Wang, the leader of West Sunit and the chief prince of the Silingol Mongols.

The Prince is a mixture of the old and the new. A good politician, he knows perfectly well that to be too modern would antagonize his followers; but at the same time he realizes that the only possible way for the Mongols to continue to exist is through introducing some new ideas. He is perfectly aware of the necessity of reform in the Lama Church, and he is doing his best to make the lamas lead a more useful existence, even insisting that those who are not particularly important in the temples should join his army, and in this he has the agreement of the Chief Lama, his cousin. He still wears his hair in a queue, as does also his son; but he drives about in a modern American car. His usual clothes are those of a Chinese gentleman, but for a festival such as this ceremony he wore a magnificent blue silk gown, and for the actual ceremony had over it a short yellow coat in the style of the time of Chien Lung. Modernism has also encroached into his palace at Sunit, for there he has a small arsenal for making rifles and machine-guns, a new barracks for what he calls his modern army, and quite a number of motor lorries and cars; he has also instituted a school for teaching handicraft to young lamas. But at the same time most of his followers are dressed in the old Mongol style, and the general life of the settlement is what it must have been for centuries past. One of the most charming sights is to see the Prince's wife, dressed as a princess, with her silver and

coral ornaments in her hair, go out with her ladies in the evening to milk the cows. Although she and her husband, the Prince, are descendants of the great Khans, yet she is not above milking her cows and tending her flocks, as such an act has a certain religious significance to the Mongols, who live chiefly on milk products.

The dukes and princes of the surrounding country arrived the evening before the ceremony. On arrival they would ride up to the Prince, jump off their horses, and kê-tow to him and his son. How shabby one felt in one's dirty old riding-breeches and cotton shirt compared to these magnificent people in their silk gowns, huge boots, and silver decorations! But that which is strange is usually attractive, and if we foreigners admired their beautiful costumes, they in return admired our rags, constantly feeling the material and showing their appreciation. I am afraid the time is not far distant when they will discard their beautiful robes for our more practical drabness, and, in fact, already most of the Mongols who have come in much contact with foreigners wear riding-breeches and khaki shirt.

That evening the Prince gave a feast to all his guests, the Chinese and foreigners being entertained in the palace with a magnificent Chinese meal of about twenty courses, all of which had been imported from China, for such things do not exist in Mongolia. No Mongol women were allowed to attend, but as a great concession the Prince invited the foreign ladies, who were put at a table by themselves. The most important part of the feast came towards the end, when mares' milk slightly fermented was handed round. This has a certain religious significance, and is not taken without some ceremony. The attendant, before pouring the milk into the bowl, handed each guest a small piece of white cloth as an offering, white in Mongolia being the festive and religious colour, as red is in China. During the drinking of the mares' milk, which is rather pleasant and has a slightly acid taste, the Prince came round to his guests. He assured me that too much horses' milk was not too good for the stomach, but on the other hand it added to one's amorous strength.

While eating and enjoying this excellent feast the Prince's orchestra, led by his chief man of affairs, played Mongol airs on curious string instruments. One I saw was in green leather stamped with gold, with the neck curving into a horse's head. The instrument is single stringed, and the bow is made from the hair of a horse's tail. It has a very full, low tone. What was also interesting about the music was that it was not very Chinese, but had a curious Russian tone; the scale was not the

Chinese five-tone, but had the Western semi-tones. One of the instruments was not unlike a concertina.

The obo ceremony began early next morning.

About four miles north-west of the Prince's palace, rising out of a vast green rolling plain, is the great Obo of Sunit, a most perfectly shaped hill, so perfect in its symmetrical curves that if it were not for its height one would think it was artificial. It is a landmark for miles around; and stretching north for about two hundred miles is the great Tamsin Tal, or plain, that seems to lose itself in the gobis that eventually form the great Gobi itself. In fact, it is the last hill before you reach Outer Mongolia, three hundred miles to the north. Its position and shape must have naturally made it a sacred hill for centuries past. On the summit is the obo.

The most interesting thing about this obo was a figure, placed in front, which was made up of various kinds of armour and weapons ancient and modern. It seemed to have a symbolical significance, as its foundation was a great cloak worn in the past, with a shield in front and a large helmet on the top. Leaning against it were various kinds of arms—two swords in front, two rifles at the side, and behind them bows and arrows—so that in its make-up there is represented Mongolia of the past as well as the present, as if they recognized their past greatness but did not despise modern weapons to help them to a great future

The service was a mixture of Nature worship and Lamaism. Undoubtedly the hill had been worshipped long before Lamaism had been thought of, and the obo itself must be of immense age. What was Lamaistic were the chants of the lamas, who, dressed in their yellow robes, sat at each side of the obo. In front of the obo were placed the carcasses of the sheep that had been killed for the offering. The lamas beat their drums and cymbals, blew on their immense horns and on conch shells, while the crowd stood round and stared and waited for the arrival of the Prince.

At about eight o'clock the Prince and his entourage rode across the plain. Mounted on a white horse, accompanied by his elder son and surrounded by his officers of State, he rode at the head of two rows of soldiers clothed in long gowns and carrying yellow flags in front. As he approached the obo, dukes and retainers came to meet him, bowing down to the ground before him on his horse. He then approached the obo and with his party knelt down on the cushion and made his obeisance. On each side of him were his two sons, the younger one who was only four, being dressed as a young lama, as he had alread

been given to the church and will eventually be the Chief Lama and a man of great importance. The Prince joined in with the chantings with great gusto, the whole performance being extremely cheerful, as religious performances should be.

After the prayers came the blessing of the animals, not for the purpose of sacrifice, but the reverse; for these fortunate animals, after being blessed and branded, were to be returned to their herds, never to be used or killed. The last part of the ceremony consisted in the circling of the obo, when everybody walked round it a number of times, chanting and making obeisance at the front. Amongst those going round were a number of little boys with coloured handkerchiefs tied round their heads and specially decorated coats. These were the little jockeys who were to ride in the race that was to follow shortly. The lama gave his personal blessing to all those who demanded it from him.

After everyone had circled and chanted many times, they descended the hill for the races and games that were to make up the next part of the programme.

A Mongol race is not in the least like the Derby; one does not see the beginning and one is rather vague about the end. The little boys with small pads of felt sewn on their trousers mount the horses bareback and ride off to a point about ten miles away. The race consists of seeing which horse gets back first, and as far as an ordinary spectator is concerned it is not of very great interest. The race is really a trial to see who breeds the best horses, and in that its importance is really economic, for the winning horse is usually sold for a large price; though in a ceremony such as this one he would most likely be given to the Prince, unless it was arranged that one of the Prince's horses should win. All the owners of large herds had entered their horses. I do not know if much betting went on—I could not see any signs of it—but probably there was a good deal.

It naturally took a long time for the race to end, so during this long interval the crowd walked about to show themselves and see their friends and also to partake of the feast that was now being served. At the bottom of the hill was a great camp, where all the dukes, lamas, and important persons had set up their tents, and it was in one of these that we were to have our Mongol feast, which consists of freshly cooked mutton.

The sheep is killed by slitting the stomach and taking out the heart, skinned, and instantly cooked in the open-air stoves. As soon as it is done the carcass is disjointed and served up to the guests in their tents.

Each tent has a whole sheep laid on a huge copper dish with the head facing the chief guest, who takes his knife and cuts a tiny piece from the forehead, offering it to the presiding spirit. The guests sitting round help themselves by cutting off pieces from the limbs with their knives. This is rather a difficult performance if you have any regard for your clothes or if your fingers are at all tender, as the meat is extremely hot and difficult to hold. For a Mongol it is a sign of wealth to have a greasy dress. Eaten this way the mutton is deliciously tender, and no mutton I have since tasted has ever surpassed in flavour and delicacy this real Mongol dish. Mongol wine is also drunk, a curious mixture that looks like water, tastes rather like whisky, and is made, I believe, from milk. It is drunk in large quantities, having none of the potency of Chinese spirit, but makes one rather pleasantly elevated. Each Mongol carries his own bowl and knife, for very good sanitary reasons, as the method of cleaning one's bowl is to lick it and then put it back in the fold of one's gown. Nearly all the Mongols carry a beautiful bowl of wood, which is very much prized; the inside is of silver, and the outside is decorated with carved silver. The knife is also in a carved silver case and hangs at the side.

As the horses had still not arrived, after the feast one walked about to see the crowd and admire the colours of the dresses and the general magnificence of the scene. The Mongol tents on such an occasion are particularly beautiful. They vary in size and decoration according to the rank of the owner, and are decorated with patterns cut out in blue cloth. Wandering between these lines of tents were the crowd of soldiers, lamas, Prince's followers, women, boys, and old men, all dressed in their best.

The followers of the dukes and princes wore the old-fashioned official hats with red tassels and peacock feathers hanging behind. The colours of the silk dresses were varied—blue and olive-green for the laymen, and yellows and reds for the lamas, who had every kind of queer hat sticking on their heads. All of them displayed their silver, beautifully decorated knives hanging at their sides, with their cases for their flints and pipes, while in front hung charms.

The feast being finished, it was about time for the horses to return, and everybody went to see them arrive. As a race it seemed to the uninitiated rather disappointing, for all one could see was a little boy hanging on to a horse, to be followed in a minute or two by another. As each one arrived he was presented by the Prince with a coloured staff. The jockeys were led round on their horses and then lifted off,

and, although they were tough little things, yet they seemed quite worn out, which is not surprising when one thinks they had ridden about twenty miles bareback, without any reins, and with only a little piece of felt sewn on their cotton trousers. On their heads were coloured silk scarves.

The next item on the programme was the archery contest between the Prince, his ministers, and some of the neighbouring dukes. Until quite recently the bow was the chief weapon, and even now to be skilful with the bow and arrow is an important part of a Mongol upbringing. Although it is no longer in use, yet the Prince, who is considered a very good marksman, is mindful of the words of the classics, which lay down that six arts are essential for a good ruler: the rites, music, archery, the direction of the chariot, writing, and calculation. In this ceremony of the obo the rites have been observed, there will be music shortly, the Prince has displayed his skill at the bow, and the horses, which are the chariots of the Mongols, have been ridden. Only writing and calculation could hardly be displayed in the field of sport.

For the Mongols the really interesting part of the day came with the wrestling matches that took place between the champion lamas and the champions of the army. These trials of strength seem to have a certain religious significance, for both the Chief Lama and the Prince watched them in full state, and the Court musicians performed. Two big tents had been erected, in one of which sat the Prince surrounded by all his Mongol friends and officials, and in the other the foreign guests were sheltered from the rays of the sun. The rest sat round in a circle to watch the champions, many of them famous for their strength. In all such displays there is always something which adds a touch of exaggeration, and in this case the physique of the wrestlers was accentuated and enlarged by the leather jackets studded with brass which they wore, and which made their shoulders seem broader than they really were. As well as wearing the leather jacket, they wear specially ornamented trousers and heavy boots, thus making their wrestling bouts very different from anything we call wrestling. In a big display such as this one there were always two or three couples in the arena. From each side of the bottom of the arena the champions came forward, and as they approached the tent of the Prince and Lama they broke into a dance, lifting high their feet, prancing rather like fighting cocks, and calling out fierce cries. They make their obeisance by joining their hands above their heads and bowing. The bout does not last very long, as each seizes his opponent by the arms and tries to throw him on the

ground, kicking him violently on the legs, which fortunately are covered by their heavy boots. To be thrown on the ground is defeat, and the winner then advances before the Chief Lama, who rewards him with a handful of peanuts. On receiving his gift, he throws one in the air and with the rest he returns to his comrades sitting at the far end of the ground. There is one drawback to this performance, and that is its length, as the numbers of wrestlers is large, and as they all have to be eliminated the contest goes on for about three hours.

I have tried my best to give you some idea of an obo ceremony. The one I have described was a particularly magnificent one. I have seen others that were not so lavish, but they have always followed the same routine—the ceremony at the obo itself, and afterwards the arrival of the horses, to be followed by wrestling bouts. But the real beauty of such a festival cannot be appreciated unless one sees it in all its splendour; and how can I make you see the wonderful setting of the perfectly rounded green hill at the end of the huge rolling plain, the gorgeous and colourful clothes worn by the princes and their followers, with the golden grandeur of the lamas? In the twentieth century with its drabness and speed we were able to pass into the seventeenth. The dresses were the same in style as those worn hundreds of years ago; the customs had hardly changed. But there was one great change. I am certain that three hundred years ago it would have been a much greater and finer assembly. The army would have been larger and not merely a handful of troops such as they are now. The soldiers were then a force to be reckoned with. But now this display is melancholy in that it is all that is left of a great and conquering race. These few magnificent horsemen, this handful of fine young men, they are practically all that is left of the great conquerors.

That evening I was talking to a famous Chinese scholar who had been invited by the Prince to attend this festival. To him there was nothing romantic or beautiful about the surroundings. He complained bitterly about the discomfort, looked with horror at what I called the simple pastoral life, and could only see dirt and squalor where I saw beauty and romance. Soon it would all change, he said, for soon there would be a good road, and then the railway would be brought up, and with it industry and all the signs of a superior civilization.

It is true that Japanese railways and roads will soon pass by Sunit, which is just off the main road between Kalgan and Urga, and this independent remnant of a great race will become absorbed into a superior civilization that is, perhaps, bound to invade their open spaces.

If you have passed through Siberia and have noticed the Mongols that you see at the side of the railways, sordid heaps of dirty clothes, you will have some idea of what is in store for this fine people, who seem to crumple up as soon as they touch industrialism. These obo ceremonies are numbered, and already I believe it is impossible for a traveller to go to Sunit, as the Japanese invasion has found its way there. But there are two things in their favour—there is very little water and no rivers, and the winters are long and severe—so perhaps the land will not be worth touching, and they may be allowed to continue as they are, and that is what I hope.

The CHAIRMAN: At the beginning of the lecture I said that I hoped Mr. Urquhart would make Mongolia live for us; and certainly what was almost a chance remark has proved most accurate; for at none of the many lectures on Mongolia that I have attended during the past ten years have I heard a speaker who made the country live more vividly and clearly before his audience.

Miss LINDGREN: I should just like to say that it has been a great pleasure to hear this description of a ceremony which, hundreds of miles away in Northern Manchuria, takes place under, it would seem, much the same conditions.

Women there, too, are not allowed to be present. I was told in North-West Manchuria that under some obos shamans had been buried, and women should not attend, therefore, because their children would be still-born if they did. But in other places, where a shaman had not been buried under the obo, they might be present.

With regard to the riding, Manchurian Mongols are much more brutal, I am afraid: the poor little jockeys have to ride quite bareback; they do not even sew bits of felt to their trousers. Friends whip the horses from behind, and pull the reins, and do other things we should think quite irregular, while if the horse which seems about to win does not already belong to the Prince, he buys it before it comes in.

I am very much indebted to Mr. Pollard-Urquhart for his information about the tea. I used innocently to suppose that if people gave me bad tea, it was because they did not know how to make good tea; now I know better. (Laughter.)

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask one question if it is not introducing too serious a note. Can the lecturer give us any information about the Nationalist movement in Mongolia, and the attitude of the Mongols to the Japanese?

Mr. Pollard-Urquhart: Prince Tê Wang is, I think, not quite certain on which side he wishes to be. The Chinese have done many things to irritate the Mongols, such as promising not to settle in certain areas, and then coming in and driving the Mongols out. Large posters were dropped from aeroplanes by the Japanese, in which they promised complete freedom of religion, by which Buddhism is implied. Modern Chinese are very much against Buddhism. But these posters seemed to convey teaching to the effect that all races should unite under Buddha, and that Buddhist doctrines lay behind all philosophy.

When I made remarks to try them, to the effect that it was a pity that the Japanese were trying to drive out the Mongols, they did not agree. But I believe in the last two years there has been rather strong opposition made to the Japanese invasion.

Mrs. E. M. Gull: I would like to ask whether the ceremony the lecturer has been describing has any connection with the Tsam festival in Urga, which in some ways it seemed to resemble. The Urga festival stands out in my memory as the most beautiful type of ceremony, in regard both to colour and action, that I have ever seen. The proceedings seem to be similar; but it differed from the obo festival in that women were present.

The Lecturer: I am afraid I have not made a study of the subject, and I am not able to say whether there is any similar origin for the two ceremonies.

The Chairman then proposed a vote of thanks both to the lecturer and to Miss Urquhart, who had accompanied him on the journey, and from whose excellent photographs the lecture had been illustrated.

IMPRESSIONS OF A TRIP TO RUSSIA

By CAPTAIN VICTOR CAZALET, M.C., M.P.

Captain Victor Cazalet, M.C., M.P., lectured at Burlington House on Wednesday evening, February 17, on "Impressions of a Trip to Russia."

Mr. E. H. Keeling, M.C., M.P., presiding, said Captain Cazalet was well-known to most of them—to some as a traveller, to others as a great master of games—he got three Blues at Oxford and was four times amateur squash champion—and to still others as a politician. Tonight he was appearing in the rôle of traveller, and there might be some new members present who took the title "Royal Central Asian Society" in its literal sense, and imagined that Captain Cazalet was going to talk about the road to Samarkand. Those who had been a little longer in the Society knew that there was no part of the Eastern Hemisphere—except perhaps Australia—which the Society did not regard as its proper territory. (Laughter.) To them it would be no surprise that Captain Cazalet, although he was in Siberia during the War, was not going to talk about Asiatic Russia, but about his recent visit to European Russia.

PLEASE do not think I am going to deliver, as an authority, a lecture on Russia, or to make a speech dealing with the economic or political aspects of the Soviet system. There are many in this room who know a good deal more about Russia than I shall ever know. What I intend to do is to tell you what I saw, just as somebody might go back to the north from a week-end at Brighton and tell his family what he observed. They may believe what he says to be true or untrue. You must believe if you will that I did see what I say I did and the reference of the Chairman to my squash records will, I hope, show you that my eyesight is fairly good. I will endeavour not to give you my private political prejudices on the subject, but to confine myself strictly to the facts. Of course, one cannot help forming certain impressions, and I recognize only too well that people very often see in countries what they went to see. Some go with smoke glasses, while others go with coloured glasses. I hope I went without any at all, and I did go if you will believe me—anti-Bolshevik as I am, and I have never pretended to be anything else—with as unbiased a view as possible, determined to see for myself certain things and to form my opinions as a result of what I saw. After all, whatever we may think about Communism or Bolshevism, it is quite obvious that in Russia to-day a vast economic experiment is being carried out, and

to any student of economics or human nature it must be one of absorbing interest.

First of all, let me answer this question. People said to me before I went and since I have come back, and it depends very largely on whether they agree with me or not as to the way they ask it: Of course, you only saw what you were allowed to see? My answer to that is: If you can go about as I did freely in two of the big towns, if you can see for yourself how people are dressed, if you can go to the markets as I did and buy the food that is available for them to buy, if you can find out how much they are getting in wages and what these wages mean when translated into food and commodities, if you can see how they live, go to the factories and see the conditions in which they work, go out in a motor-car and see what the roads are like, if you can go in a train from Leningrad or Moscow and down to the Crimea—at any rate you have seen a good many of those factors in the national life of a country which play a large part in the lives of the majority of people. Whatever you may think of what you see, these are the things which affect the social and economic life of the great mass of the people. It is quite true, I did not see the inside of any prison, but I do not believe any tourists who came here would easily see the inside of our prisons, and I really do not think there is much substance to that argument.

May I add this in parenthesis—though I hope it will not sound very patronizing to do so to such a Society—but it is essential to realize that Russia was and still is from our point of view a semi-Oriental country, and strict comparisons between conditions there and here, or in any Western country, are not really helpful in appreciating conditions. The pre-War standard in Russia, from what I saw of it and have been told, was not a very high one, and it is with that pre-War standard that we have to deal to-day rather than with the standards that we know are prevalent in Western countries. To my mind the difficult thing in coming to any conclusions about conditions in Russia is the difficulty of getting oneself with one's Western bourgeois outlook—I make no apology for having it and I think most of us have it—into the atmosphere which prevails in Russia. Let me explain what I mean.

One of the first things I noticed was that there were practically no old people, and that was confirmed by some official statistics I saw given out a few months ago at some big conference in Moscow, where the speaker said that between 50 and 60 per cent.—the figure was

57 per cent.—in Russia to-day had all been born since the Revolution. In other words, if you add to that 57 per cent. all the children up to ten and twelve years of age in 1919 it does mean that nearly 80 per cent. and perhaps more of the people in Russia to-day have never known any other government or system than that of the Soviet régime. What has happened to the old people? The answer is that they simply died out. Conditions were often so hard for them, whether it be war in 1919-20 or in the famine of 1932, that they could not survive; there is no place in the economic life of the country to-day for the old people, and they have just disappeared. It is very rare in Leningrad with its three millions or Moscow with its four millions that you see anybody who looks older than fifty or, at most, sixty years.

Then again, you have to get yourself into the atmosphere of a country in which from our point of view there is no such thing as religion. I can best describe it like this. You might just as well talk to a worker in this country about Confucius or Buddha as talk to the ordinary Russian about God or Christianity. It means just about the same. They probably have not heard of it at all, or if they have, as some interesting foreign, almost historic, object of study. There is no longer any need for any extensive anti-God propaganda. There are certain disused churches which are filled with anti-God propaganda, but when I went to one, there was scarcely anybody in it, and I did not see any great effort along the lines of anti-God propaganda because religion as we know it has been wiped out. To give you a personal experience: I was being shown by my guide, an intelligent woman, one of the picture exhibitions in Moscow. We started with the beautiful ikons, and we came to a picture in which there were three figures. My guide said: "This is interesting; you must look at it for a moment. Do you understand the doctrine of the Trinity?" I was going to say that I did when I remembered that it was the dispute about the "filioque" which separated the Eastern from the Western Church, and has been a bone of contention among theologians for the best part of 1,000 years. So I hesitated because I knew nothing about it, if that was what she meant. She saw my hesitation and said: "I mean, are you a Christian?" Now if somebody says that to you suddenly you feel taken aback, and I said, "Yes, of course I'm a Christian." Perhaps I did not say it with the due courtesy I should have, and I added that everybody in England was Christian, or called himself so, and belonged to some Christian faith—in fact, everybody in Europe outside Russia and Turkey was Christian. She quite ob-

viously thought I was doing a little bit of capitalist or bourgeois propaganda and decided not to encourage me to say any more.

Then again as we understand it, there is no such thing as private property. People have certain very small belongings and a peasant may own his cottage and the little bit of land around. These changes have come in recently, but as we know it, private property does not exist. In this country it is perhaps somewhat alarming how much our lives are governed, influenced and troubled by what we know as private property. What we collect, our homes, our gardens, thousands of little activities which go to make up life for the people of this country are dependent on a little bank balance, accounts in the savings bank or some form of private property. Then again, there are no private shops in Russia; they are all Government shops. It is difficult for us to imagine a great big town with no private shops. Another thing that struck me was that there did not seem to be such a thing as privacy. Everywhere there are hundreds of people and nowhere did there seem to be a possibility, especially in the homes, of that privacy which to us is such a vital part of our lives. There is, of course, no political liberty, but Russia is not the only country in Europe which has that advantage or disadvantage to-day.

Lastly, there is no such thing, or very little—I must use generalalities or it would be necessary to qualify every statement—there is no such thing as class, race or sex distinction. Class distinction, of course, is totally contrary to all Soviet ideas, although slowly but surely there are creeping in, one might say, into the social life of the people, certain distinctions and conditions which remind one forcibly of a bourgeois régime. In the factories, for instance, there are eight different categories of wages, in other words eight different—one hardly likes to call them classes—of wage-earners, varying from seventy to two thousand roubles a month. You cannot go on with that for very long without creating different classes; people become purse-proud, and all those terrible bourgeois instincts of wanting your wife or daughter to look a little better than your neighbour's are, I am afraid, coming back, though they are not very pronounced as yet.

As to sex distinction, you find women doing exactly the same work as men. I remember going into a big steel factory in the south and watching the operations where the ore is melted in a cauldron and poured out in a liquid form into great iron shapes. It is the most dangerous kind of work that the observer can see in a factory. There was one little woman operating this, and I am afraid all my gentle-

manly and chivalrous instincts inclined me to say: "Madam, let me do it." Luckily for the factory, the woman and myself I resisted the impulse. If you look out of your railway train you often see women working on the tracks. There is equal pay and there is no industry in which a woman has not the same right to apply for employment on exactly the same conditions as a man.

Similarly with race. The last night I was in Odessa I went to a cinema, where I saw one of the latest films, supposed to be the most popular in Russia, called "The Circus." The whole point of the film was propaganda, like everything else. In the first act a beautiful prima donna who sings and dances in the circus has a black baby, and all the bourgeois elements, the man with the top hat and the whip, the box-office man, and the bourgeois generally, look down on the woman. Bit by bit they are won over, and in the last scene these bourgeois capitalists stand in a row and pass the black baby from one to another after kissing it. They have overcome their bourgeois prejudice of race. Incidentally, one might add there are no black races in Russia.

So far as travel is concerned, no difficulty whatever was put in my way, in spite of the fact that I had taken part in an expedition to Siberia in 1918-19. Every possible courtesy was extended to me by everybody I met, and I wish to pay a tribute to it. Some of the incidents were rather amusing. When I flew from Berlin to Moscow I thought the authorities who invited me, including Litvinoff, had done something to save me from very minute inspections. It did not save me, and at the landing-places I had everything examined. I can talk very little Russian, just enough to know if my guide is interpreting me rightly or not. They started to open every packet, even the private letters of introduction I had, and I was getting a little annoyed. I had been there nearly twenty minutes when the man started trying to read my books. I noticed, however, that he was reading them upside down. He had even taken a letter of introduction to somebody in Moscow and was reading that also the wrong way up. Then my slight irritation passed away and I recognized that it was an example of Russian bureaucracy which was probably much the same before the War as it is to-day. There was no great discomfort or lack of food. On the other hand, there was no great comfort. There were trains, there was water, there were baths and beds, but nothing very interesting, comfortable or original. There was the same rather dreary repetition of meals in every hotel one stayed in, and as far as the price

for the tourist is concerned, if he goes first-class it is very expensive. It costs three pounds a day, for which you get perhaps almost the value of £1 in Moscow and less elsewhere. However, I have no wish to make any complaint. They do everything they can for you. If you want to go to a theatre or tickets on a special train, every facility and courtesy is extended.

Now a few words about the conditions of the country as I saw it. In this country, which has applied itself to mechanization and heavy industry for the last nine or ten years, I hardly ever saw a motor-car. There are a few ramshackle lorries, but you can go into the Nevsky Prospekt, one of the finest thoroughfares in the world, and your car will be the only one there. When you get outside the towns you realize why, because apart from a few miles of macadamized roads there are no roads such as we understand by roads in the whole country. The railways, I think it is admitted, have extremely badly made tracks. As a tourist you travel in the special trains, which never seem to go more than thirty-five or forty miles an hour, and they bump so much that it is difficult to read in them.

As to housing conditions, I visited several people who live in the larger towns, and from our point of view—and this is confirmed by Sir Walter Citrine and the Socialist members who have been to Russia—their housing conditions are appalling. Sanitary conditions are not known, but that perhaps is not new. In big towns, Leningrad and Moscow, you can count the families on your fingers who have more than one room in which to live. In the new buildings the way in which the material was being put together was simply incredible. One of our Labour members, who had been a bricklayer, said: "This is not bricklaying; it is brickmurder." I heard of one attempt to build a four-storey school in which when they started the fourth storey the rest of the building fell down. Those who know the Socialist working class houses outside Vienna will agree there is nothing in the whole of Russia to hold a candle to them.

On domestic matters, let me say something about internal conditions. I am asked what is the truth about marriage and divorce. Although divorce is very easy and either party can go to an office and get papers after paying a fee, so that the other party may not learn about it until the next morning, the Soviet Government has adopted a plan to curtail divorce that other Governments have also practised to achieve their aims. It has made it very expensive. The first divorce is cheap. The second is more expensive and the third almost prohibitive.

Then again, in recent years they have quite changed their policy in the matter of children not respecting or loving their parents. They encourage family life. A member of the Communist Party to-day takes great care if he is to maintain his position that he is not accused of promiscuity or loose living. I sometimes wonder whether they have at last found out that there is in most human beings a natural tendency for parents to love their children and children to love their parents.

May I take you shopping? It is an interesting but rather lengthy affair. As I have said, there are no private, only Government, shops. In a Government shop nobody is very interested in selling anything, and it has an extraordinary effect. If nobody wants to sell you anything you soon don't want to buy anything. I do not say they are not very polite. They will sell you anything they have to sell, which is unfortunately very little, but if you do select something and want to buy it, it is a long process. I bought some toys in Moscow, and as there was nobody in the shop it was not so difficult. First you select your object and find out its price; you then go to the bureau to pay your money and get a ticket, after which you return to the original counter and collect the article. That is all right if you are the only person in the shop and there are three people who are going to attend to you, but in food shops, which are overcrowded, you have to queue up and you cannot be sure if there will be enough food. To queue up for your tickets and then to queue up again to get the article makes shopping a leisurely affair.

There are other peculiarities. There are no such things as paper bags or jars or anything in which to do things up. You have to take your own paper, and if you buy smetana—*i.e.*, sour cream and so on—you have to take a jam pot or whatever receptacle you like. It is an interesting but lengthy experience, and after a day's work it must be a tiring business.

As to working conditions. I frankly acknowledge there are some things I saw we might imitate here. There seemed to me to be very little unemployment. People contradict that and say that the unemployed are sent out of the towns so you do not see them. The factories at any rate are working full time. They work a seven-hour day, a thing I hope we shall soon have here and everywhere in the world, for five days and then comes a day of rest. Actually, we in this country have one whole day and one half day holiday in one seven-day week. Sir Walter Citrine works it out that the Russian

worker has a ten per cent. advantage in hours of work. If you are sick you get practically full pay. Most people get a fortnight to three weeks or a month's holiday on full pay during the year, and there are rest camps, homes, parks of culture, where they can spend their holidays. They have, of course, to pay for a holiday in the country or at the sea. I saw various places to which certainly you can go and enjoy yourself very easily at a reasonable rate.

Now for the difficult question of the wages they get and whether you can compare it with wages here. You cannot compare a rouble or a shilling on any exchange value. In Moscow an orange costs you four shillings because there you get the official rate of exchange, twenty-five roubles to the pound. If, however, you exchange your money outside the country you get ninety-five to a hundred to the pound, which is something nearer the true value of the rouble. To get some basis of comparison I have taken what a man gets for a day's labour in Russia and what he would get in this country, and then I have tried to see by comparing the results what he can buy in commodities in the two countries. In Russia the average wage worked out while I was there at about six roubles a day for the individual to spend. In this country I am taking it that a man might earn about six shillings a day. If that is the case, we can see what are the relative prices of the commodities which people must buy. These are the comparative prices on that strictly comparable basis. A 4-lb. white bread, I think, costs here ninepence. In Russia that same loaf in September was about three shillings. Milk we know is two shillings a gallon; in Russia it is six shillings. Butter varies here between 1s. 2d. and 1s. 6d. In Russia I was asked twenty-two and a half roubles for a kilo, which works out at more than three days' wages, or about nine shillings a pound. Of meat there are three kinds, and the best is about 5s. a pound. As for boots and clothes, they are unfortunately far more expensive and much scarcer. A pair of boots costs anything between a hundred and fifty and two hundred and fifty roubles, or a month's wages—about eight pound a pair.

How do the people live? It is a question I asked myself all the time. I think it can be answered in this way: what you do not know you do not miss. The great majority of workers in Russia sincerely believe they are better off, more comfortable and freer than any other workers in the world.

Rents are cheap. They are based on ten per cent. of the highest wage paid. All the women work. A married couple where the wife

does not work is the exception, and as she gets the same wages as a man, the weekly wage is doubled. The meals at factories are quite good and reasonably cheap, and lastly, in a state of society in which you have tried to eliminate class distinctions and so on, although there is a change coming, you do not need new clothes to look different from your neighbour. To-day there is a rapidly growing tendency for the reintroduction of some old-fashioned bourgeois habits. Women are having permanent waves and their nails have done to them whatever you do have done to fingers. Stalin has said that every worker in Russia should shave once a day, jazz is encouraged, and a foreign fashion paper is among the most eagerly sought-after papers in the country. I throw out a suggestion again that these characteristics are inherent in human nature and that no economic system nor Government control can eradicate them.

Lastly, may I say a word about the political aspect? Not from the point of view of propaganda, though propaganda is the life and breath of the country. They give it to you all the time everywhere. Stalin's portrait is in every paper, Government radios shout at you in the street, newspapers are entirely controlled, and everywhere pictures of Stalin and Lenin. There are more of Stalin now than of Lenin. It is true they have abolished God and the saints, but something else has been substituted—Lenin and Stalin. In the Lenin museum I visited there was a reverence exhibited that we should at once associate with a church. I read in a paper a description of Stalin which went: "Our Father, Our Sun, from whom we get all our life and strength." That surely is the nearest possible thing to primitive sun-worship. Again, perhaps it is inherent in human nature to want to worship something beyond what the senses can see.

In the treatment of young criminals there is a very good institution outside Moscow where there are 4,000 young people convicted of larceny and petty crimes, with no guards. They work in factories, get wages, are allowed to marry. They run their own discipline and there are no barriers or walls round the settlement. They have forty-eight different football teams, cinema shows and an excellent crèche. I am not a judge of crèches, but it seemed beautifully kept, clean and the children happy. It was in every way a model institution, and the people who took us round, one felt instantly, were people who had studied juvenile crime from every angle. On the other hand, there are still anything from two, three to four million political prisoners slaving their lives out in concentration camps. That has to be put on one

side and what they are doing to solve the problem of juvenile crime on the other.

I feel that I may get on to political ground if I deal any further with that subject, but I would like to say that I happened to be in Moscow on the morning when those first sixteen ex-Bolsheviks were murdered, executed or shot. It made a great impression at the time, not that they deserve sympathy, because they in their turn had murdered enough people to deserve any fate. There was another batch of murders the other day, and I am asked: Who is the real Bolshevik to-day? Is it Stalin who is becoming bourgeois and murdering the real Bolsheviks, or is Stalin the real Bolshevik and all the Trotskyites plotters and allies of Germany and Japan? I believe nobody in this country and very few people in Russia can tell you what is the truth. Many people speculate.

It is worth remembering that no foreigner ever sees a Russian or has a heart to heart talk with them except, of course, with officials. No Englishman or American I saw ever was able to do so. Any Russian you meet more than once is either an agent provocateur of the Government or he disappears as a result of seeing you too often, and no foreigner would be so rash as to invite a Russian to his house. There are two schools of thought. It has been put to me that Stalin represents the school that says: "We do not want to foment world revolution by creating disturbances in other countries. Our line is to concentrate on Russia and make it such a wonderful land of comfort and freedom for the workers that other countries will turn and say: 'This is the solution of our problem.'" The old-fashioned Bolshevik, Trotskyite or whatever you call him, says: "We are in for world revolution," and would employ subversive elements in other countries to achieve this end. There may be some truth in this theory. Personally I think the answer is a simpler one. It is one lot of people in office, wanting to remain there and to get rid of anyone who may want to turn them out.

My final word is this. To me—going I admit with a bourgeois mind—Russia gave the impression of one vast slum, drabness and dreariness. I went in the height of summer. There were no gardens or flowers, nothing in the shops to buy, no variation or contrast, just a dead, dreary level. Never a decent suit of clothes, never a decent pair of boots. If you happened to land, as I did, from Berlin, where the standard of life is fair though not comparable with here or Paris or New York, and go into the streets of Moscow and see everybody

looking dreary in drab clothes, it has a most depressing effect. Whether, as many believe, a new world is being born, is hard to answer, and I have to confess that if there were an absolutely secret vote of the people of Russia to-day, I believe eighty or ninety per cent. of them would vote for the existing régime. So far as content means anything, they are content with the existing state of affairs. For twenty years they have been an isolated nation. They know and read nothing of what happens anywhere else, except what the Government thinks good for them.

On me it has a terrible effect of depression. Good operas are carried on; there are some excellent theatres for the few who get in; some cinemas, but nothing like what you would get in a good suburban centre here. The hand of Government propaganda is everywhere all the time, and, of course, it percolates throughout the country. There is such an atmosphere that it is impossible to penetrate through it and find out what people are really thinking. I came to the conclusion, after my trip to Russia, perhaps the same conclusion as I have come to after various other trips, that while there are many disadvantages in our system and many things we deplore and wish to see improved, yet for my part I think there are very definite advantages in being English and living even in London.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Milnes Gaskell said that as Russia was such an enormous country it would be interesting to know where the lecturer travelled. He himself spent ten weeks in Russia. Soon after his arrival in Moscow he would have been prepared to lecture in the Albert Hall, but at the end of the ten weeks it seemed hopeless to speak at all. The first question people asked him was: "It is much more cultured where you come from, isn't it?" If one went along in a lorry, they said: "Your roads are better than ours." There was an element of apology, but a feeling of optimism, as much as to say, "Ours will be better than yours in twenty years' time."

He thought six roubles a day was a fairly liberal estimate. One had to take away so many little forfeitures for the unions, etc. One Russian told him he paid a quarter of his wages to help his noble comrades in Spain. He did not know much about Spain or where it was. Apparently about one month's pay a year was subscribed to the State loan. If this was taken from the small allowance, unless

husband and wife were both working, there was little left for a holiday when it came. Many had a month off for the holiday, but could not afford to take the children with them to the Crimea or some other bathing resort. As regards shopping, people who had come back from Russia told misleading tales. Articles might be exhibited and marked "for sale," but if you tried to buy, for instance, a fur coat it was not for sale. You put your name down, and you might procure the coat a year later, and then have to buy the buttons from a different shop. The average tourist, unless he went into the shops, gathered a wrong idea. Iodine, for example, could not be bought without a medical voucher.

The speaker added that he was in Russia also during the first trials. It was difficult to extract any idea, but he had Russian friends, and the opinion he gathered was that owing to the new Constitution, which gave a certain amount of latitude, though not very much, there was to be a general clean up before it came into operation, so that there would be no dangers, especially in areas like the Ukraine and other places where there were separate nationalities, because these nationalist movements still existed, and the Ogpu—or police as they were now called—had had a round-up.

Captain CAZALET said these observations almost entirely agreed with his own impression. His calculation of six roubles a day was made after considering the forced loan and other items. He took a low wage here and one rather above the average there to be sure that he was fair. Moscow, Leningrad and the Crimea, which he had visited, ought to be show places. He hoped they were not the best, and that everywhere else was better. He wished people in Russia were very much better off, but he thought the fact was that in the country places things were very much worse.

Mrs. BRAHAM said that if Russian propaganda was obvious, so was our own. We had become used to it. We had portraits of the King and Queen in our shops, while our history books and even geography books were full of our glorious Empire. There was some excuse for Russian laudation of Lenin and Stalin. It was very blatant to us because it was new, and we were quite used to praise of our Royal Family. The lecturer had agreed that Russia could not be compared with European countries. Her own parents lived in pre-War Russia in a dug-out with no roof over their heads. They would now be proud to take their share in building up a new Russia, a country of 170,000,000 people, of whom perhaps ninety per cent. were illiterate.

One had to consider them very differently from a country like ours, where ninety-nine or a hundred per cent. were literate.

Captain CAZALET said he had no quarrel with these remarks except to say that while we had propaganda here, he could get up and say it was absolutely wrong. He could say anything he liked and so could anyone else on any platform in this country. If one called attention to differences of opinion with the existing régime in Russia it was a dangerous proceeding. His whole point was that unless one was free to differ, civilization to him was not worth having. He did not want to get into politics, but they had been at this thing for twenty years with absolute power of life and death in the richest country in the world, and they had in 1932 such a famine as the world had never known. They refused to allow any Press correspondent to go to the south, they denied there was any such thing as a famine, and five to ten million people died. You went to a door and there was nobody to answer. Was any system worth while if, as Mr. Bernard Shaw had said, it was necessary to liquidate five to ten million culaks because they did not happen to agree with the policy?

Major SAYERS asked if the lecturer could say anything about the Russian Army and Air Force.

Captain CAZALET said he went to the Air Show with some very competent air people and met a general who had spent months with the Russian Army in manœuvres. He thought their Air Force and Army were pretty efficient and absolutely competent to give a satisfactory reply to anyone who attacked them. Their aeroplanes were pretty good and their parachute jumpers a national feature. He saw 200 jump at a time, followed by twenty-five young ladies jumping from one aeroplane. Parachuting was a great stunt in Russia. In the public parks there was a high tower and anybody could go and practise. They had to queue up to do it, it was so popular. They had done some magnificent flights and endurance tests, and so forth. As to the Army, they were the best fed, most contented and best looked after people in the country. There was no nonsense about Socialist ideas or officers from the ranks. Officers lived separately. They were chosen from the schools as picked pupils, educated separately from the men, and they had reverted to the old titles of captain, colonel and so on. Everybody in Russia, as in Germany, was inspired with the idea of wanting to do something for the Fatherland. Internationalism had gone by the board. It was Russia. "We must do something for our glorious country." The lecturer went to a

shooting club, which had been a church, and downstairs there were two miniature rifle ranges. There were 41,000 members between the ages of ten and thirteen. He competed with one unsuccessfully, but was not entirely disgraced. He went to another outdoor club, where there were boys and girls together, and to another where they shot with real rifles and bullets. Everybody in Russia wanted competition. Human nature was the same thing everywhere. They saw women shooting with men and competing. It was obvious that there was a real spirit of enthusiasm which had gripped the population. It was foolish to deny it and he hoped it would be emulated in this country.

Mr. T. E. HAMMOND asked if there was any interest in athletics.

Captain CAZALET replied that there was, though not quite in our form. A tourist could speak to anybody and if one joined in their games they were delighted. The guide invited him to take part and nobody took very much notice, though they were all pleased. He thought there would be a great recrudescence of athletics. In Leningrad there were only eight tennis courts for the public as a whole, and they had not cottoned on to it yet. There was tremendous enthusiasm and he thought when they got the games idea they would take to it tremendously.

The CHAIRMAN said they had had a delightful evening. Captain Cazalet had spoken of himself as a sort of tourist or week-end visitor to Russia, but they had listened to less convincing discourses from people who had lived for twenty years in a country. It was interesting to learn that Russian women of to-day, although they had never heard of Eve, were following her example in trying to dress a little better than their neighbours.

Captain Cazalet had spoken of the way in which Russia was bureaucrat-ridden. He (the Chairman) was once fortunate enough to get the better of a Russian bureaucrat. He went to Russia with a passport-visa which was valid for only ten days. As he had arrived on the afternoon of September 1, he thought he could stay until the afternoon of September 11. But on the tenth a policeman arrived and told him his time was up. No lesson in arithmetic would convince him, and the argument continued until Mr. Keeling was able to point out that the one and only train of the day had left.

THE BROKEN LINK BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA

By CAPTAIN F. KINGDON WARD

FORTY years ago Yunnan was called optimistically the link between India and China. In that distant epoch, at the close of the nineteenth century, the building of a railway from Burma into Western China was seriously considered, and Major (now General) H. R. Davies surveyed a possible route from Lashio, the terminus of the railway in the Northern Shan States, to Tali-fu. This was to counteract the advantage the French had obtained in Yunnan by building the Red River Railway from the seaport of Hanoi in Tong-king to Yunnan-fu, the provincial capital. The feelings and views of the Chinese themselves were hardly considered at all in those smash-and-grab days. It was blandly assumed that if Britain could find the capital, China would grant the concession. Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, the capital was not forthcoming and the scheme was dropped. The South African War, and the rise to power of the Liberal Party, who had other preoccupations, diverted interest for the time being from spheres of influence in China.

Time showed that Yunnan was at any rate the weakest link in the chain between India and China. But there are signs of revival; and with Burma at last granted a separation from her unhappy marriage with India, it is of some interest to see whether she will now make eyes at China.

To-day, in spite of high freights, the French railway is thriving; while nothing the Indian Government has done—and it has done practically nothing—would seem to stimulate Sino-Burmese trade. Yunnan, never more than a lukewarm ally of the Central Government, whether installed at Peking or Nanking, has always had adhesions with the southern provinces, with Canton and Tong-king rather than with the country north of the Yang-tze. To-day foreign goods pour into Yunnan by the French railway and penetrate even so far west as Yung-ch'ang and T'eng-yueh, close to the Burmese frontier. Nor is it difficult to see the reason for this.

The Yunnan railway has under present conditions certainly an

enormous advantage. In the first place, Yunnan-fu is the capital, the natural distributing centre of a province covering an area of 70,000 square miles, with a population of twelve or fifteen million people. It is in direct communication with a seaport; and although it is situated not in the centre, but well to the east of the province, that also is an advantage, since it is in that direction that the rich lands of China lie.

In the second place, owing to the peculiar arrangement of the mountain ranges and rivers, it is much easier to traverse Yunnan from north to south than from east to west. Trade naturally flows north and south. But the most powerful factor in favour of the Yunnan railway is that in spite of revolution, civil war, brigandage, and other confusion, goods can by this means still be brought directly into the province. No other route is so safe, so prompt, or so certain. Along the Burmese border to the hazards already mentioned must always be added the possible hostility of the hill tribes, over whom neither the Burmese nor Chinese Government has control. The Yunnan Government has therefore concerned itself less and less with the mountainous country to the west of Tali-fu, and endeavoured to strengthen itself in the east.

In the capital both French and Chinese have been powerful enough to maintain the railway. And although it was never extended northwards from Yunnan-fu, as it should logically have been, to Sui-fu, the head of navigation on the Yang-tze, it remains a powerful magnet to draw trade towards itself and out to sea through French territory.

All that the British can oppose to the French railway is the Burma railway with its termini at Lashio and Myitkyina. The Lashio route, which was originally surveyed for the railway, is little used. The country is difficult, sparsely populated, and unhealthy. The passage of the Salween River is difficult. From Lashio to the first notable Chinese city is fifteen days' march. It is the smugglers' route.

Myitkyina has the disadvantage that, although only a week's march from T'eng-yueh, the most important city in Western Yunnan, the broad Irrawaddy has to be crossed at the outset, the Burma railway ending on the west bank of the river. Moreover, there is a range of high hills between Myitkyina and T'eng-yueh. Nevertheless this remains a most promising route for a motor road.

There are two other caravan routes from Burma into Western Yunnan, that via Bhamo and that via Keng Tung, in the Southern Shan States. Bhamo, though not on the railway, is connected with it by steamer. It is the time-honoured and easiest route into Yunnan, but

is liable to interruption when the country is disturbed. In spite of having been used for over half a century, it has not been developed as it might have been, and as was once believed it would. No motor road connects Bhamo with T'eny-yueh yet, though the distance is only 130 miles. It would be done without undue difficulty, and it is surprising the opportunity has been so long neglected. At this stage it is probably not worth doing, for the Chinese have themselves taken the initiative and are developing motor roads on their own account.

The remaining route leaves the Burma railway at Thazi, eighty miles south of Mandalay. It is a motor road which, passing through Taung-gyi, reaches Keng Tung, 420 miles from the railway and only three marches from the Yunnan frontier. Under present conditions none of the routes mentioned can be used during the rainy season: that is, for six months in the year. Here again the French railway has an immense advantage; for though sometimes breached by the flooded Red River, it is quickly repaired.

Imports into Yunnan then go chiefly by the French railway, though there is a considerable import of cotton yarn through Bhamo. In the export trade Burma fares better. Orpiment, mined near Talifu, is exported via Bhamo, and tea from Puerh-fu via Keng Tung. On the whole, however, the traffic is all one way. Cotton yarn goes in from Bhamo, but the mules mostly return empty. Tea comes down from Puerh-fu, but the mules and lorries go back empty. Traffic ebbs or flows; there is no regular tide, as on the railway.

But if trade between Burma and Yunnan languishes, everything is being done to encourage the flow eastwards. Communications are rapidly being improved within the province, and motor roads are being pushed out from the capital to draw the trade towards the railway. It is possible now to motor from Yunnan-fu to Tali-fu in three days, as against thirteen days by mule. Big roads are being built from the south. Presently all the trade of Yunnan will be drawn off eastwards and southwards.

Nor will it be long before the attention of the Chinese is drawn to the possibility of flying in this country of great distances. There is a landing-ground at Yunnan-fu, where planes are already seen. Landing-grounds are being surveyed elsewhere.

The enterprise of the Chinese is astonishing. Coupled with their irresistible momentum, it is capable of anything. Take the Puerh-fu tea trade, for example. At first sight it seems surprising that tea from Yunnan destined for Tibet should go via Rangoon and Calcutta. Yet

it does so, and in such bulk that at present there are not enough lorries on the Keng Tung road to carry it all.

Twelve years ago there was no tea trade here. Friction between Tibetans and Chinese had interfered with the Szechuan tea trade; contracts could not be fulfilled. Internal troubles in Szechuan, where Communist armies were operating, stifled the trade still more. But the Tibetans must have tea, and the Chinese must trade. The great tea caravan route from Yachou via Tatsienlu and Batang to Chamdo being closed, the industry pined, only to revive elsewhere. It illustrates the great Buddhist principle: all life is one. The scene is transformed to Yunnan, where round Puerh-fu tea grows wild. In a very short space of time brick tea was being manufactured and sent down to Rangoon. A great impetus was given to the budding industry by the completion of the motor road to Keng Tung. Even so the journey is formidable. It is seven mule stages from Mong Hai, where the tea is manufactured into bricks, to Keng Tung. Thence the tea bricks, packed into baskets, go by motor lorry, 420 miles to Thazi, on the Burma railway, and so by train to Rangoon, distant 300 miles. From Rangoon the tea is shipped to Calcutta, where it is again put on the train for Kalimpong, whence yak carry it over the Himalaya to Tibet. At cut rates the freight on a pound of tea landed on Kalimpong is about sixpence, and the profit on a pound of tea sold in Tibet at a "popular price" can hardly exceed one penny. Nevertheless, about a quarter of a million pounds of tea leave Yunnan yearly.

But Burma does not get all the trade which passes through Keng Tung. Much of it goes to Siam. Keng Tung is indeed well situated where four empires meet—China, Burma, French Indo-China, and Siam. There is no trade with French Indo-China; Burma and Laos are indeed rivals for the favour of Yunnan and Siam, and there Keng Tung has the advantage. The French province of Haut Mekong has no such outlet as the Keng Tung-Siam road with a railway at each end of it, ending in a seaport. At the present time great quantities of lead are being exported from Keng Tung to Siam. Here again the Chinese are to the fore; the lead ingots come from Mong Hai. It is rumoured that there are big lead-silver mines in the same region whence the tea comes; but the silver does not come into Keng Tung, only the lead. The lead is being bought by Japan, though at present the Chinese are not aware of this; and it would seem that much of it is destined to return to the soil of China, taking with it the souls of many thousands of Chinese. These examples show perhaps what might

have been accomplished in the past had communications between Burma and China been more favourably looked upon by the Indian Government. Even now, though Burma exports little to Yunnan, she benefits to a slight extent from the export trade. At least, she picks up the crumbs—neither a very dignified nor a very profitable rôle, but the only one which is left her. Valuable trade will always choose the railway; more and more as feeding trunk roads strike out from the capital. But Bhamo and Keng Tung, especially the latter, can still profit by opportunism such as eventuated in the tea trade of late years and the development of the lead mines.

It is in the highest degree unlikely that new railways will be projected in Yunnan, at least for the present. But if peace were assured it is not impossible that the French railway might be extended northwards. Its logical terminus is on the Yang-tze.

One further point. What effect will an independent Burma have on Yunnan? So far as the trade question is concerned, one may confidently say, none. The Burma Government intends—hopes—to work in the closest touch with the Indian Government as regards foreign policy. And the foreign policy of the Indian Government, which for forty years has been anti-Chinese and against closer relationship with Yunnan, is not going to take a reasonable view of the situation overnight. And so far as the overland trade route to China is concerned, it is too late. Nothing the Indian Government could do now would be of much use. It has locked the back door; and the cat has slipped out through the front one.

But events are often more powerful than men—at least unimaginative men; and the separation of India and Burma may have unlooked-for consequences. It can hardly be denied that Burma cleaves to Yunnan much more easily than it does to India. The separation will strengthen the older ties. Both Chinese and Burmans will combine to bring about a closer association between the two countries, though the Indian element in Burma may be expected to resist. If the Yunnan Government, satisfied with the progress made in eastern Yunnan, and aware that it cannot profitably do anything for the extreme west of the province, beyond the Salween, decides to neglect that distressful country, we may be in for a period of considerable unrest along the frontier. If on the other hand China decides that now is the time to make overtures to Burma, she will probably meet with that success which has so long been denied her. The Indian Government could scarcely have chosen a less apt moment to grant Burma independence.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN KURDISH, 1920-36

By C. J. EDMONDS

KURDISTAN in 'Iraq is divided into three parts, corresponding approximately to three earlier principalities: Badinan, between the national frontiers and the Great Zab, comprising the northern districts of Mosul *liwa*; Soran, between the two Zabs, corresponding to Arbil *liwa*; and Baban, from the Little Zab to the Sirwan (Diyala), including the *liwa* of Sulaimani and part of the *liwa* of Kirkuk. Between the Sirwan and the Iranian boundary the *qadha* of Khanaqin is part of the old pashaliq of Zohab and is also predominantly Kurdish. East of Baban, in Iran, is the province officially called Kurdistan, the old Ardelan with its capital at Senna; north of it and east of Soran, in the province of Azarbaijan, is the district of Mukriyan with headquarters at Sauj Bulaq.

Badinan speaks a distinct dialect of Kurdish, referred to by people as Kirmanji; it has been almost entirely illiterate and inarticulate; it will not concern us further in this paper.

Soran, Baban, Ardelan and Mukriyan, on the other hand, form a single linguistic group in that the dialects there spoken, though varying in different degrees amongst themselves, yet share certain marked characteristics that distinguish them from other groups; the people refer to their language as Kurdi.

Dialects belonging to a third group, designated by the Kurds themselves *macho-macho,* and generally called Gorani,* are spoken by certain tribes along the southern fringe of this block: the Kakai near Tauq, the Zangana near Kifri, the Bajilan near Khanaqin, and in Iran the Goran confederation along or north of the great high road to Kirmanshah. The Hewraman tribes inhabiting the main watershed of the Zagros form a *macho-macho* wedge, running south to north, between Baban and Ardelan.

It is a curious circumstance that, while Mukriyan produced a voluminous literature in Southern Kurdish, the Ardelani men of letters

* It has generally been maintained by European scholars that Gorani is not Kurdish; this opinion will probably have to be revised in the light of the researches of my learned Kurdish friend, Taufiq Wahbi Beg.

at Senna invariably used Gorani for their compositions. Most of the popular poetry current in Baban also was in Gorani until the beginning of the nineteenth century (the Kurds say that the change came with the reign of Aw Rahman Pasha*), when the Sulaimani poets first began to use the local language; the word *goraniy* is to-day still the ordinary word for song (see the Bibliography III. 4 and 5). It is also relevant to note that in the Sulaimani *liwa* the name *Goran* is used to describe villagers with no tribal connection in contradistinction to Kurd, meaning either nomads or villagers of tribal origin, generally Jaf: the corresponding term in Kirkuk is *Miskên,* suggesting "serf," and in Arbil, *Kirmanj.*† It would seem that most of this region was formerly inhabited by a comparatively advanced Gorani-speaking people, that it was overrun by waves of rough Kurdi-speaking nomads who imposed their speech upon this earlier population, and that the tradition of domination and submission is not entirely forgotten between the conquering and the conquered stocks.

Although Mukri, the Doric of Southern Kurdish, has retained a certain prestige as the purest of the dialects, it is the lively and elastic idiom of Sulaimani that has now established itself as the ordinary vehicle of literary expression. This pre-eminence is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the autonomous Baban dynasty, which survived until the middle of the nineteenth century; and in part to the subsequent foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadets from which went on to the academy and the staff college at Constantinople, and so reached a standard of education denied to other Kurds: since 1919, moreover, it has been the language of official correspondence in the region.

The following bibliography‡ is a list (I hope almost complete) of periodicals, pamphlets, and books written (with one exception) in the Southern Kurdish language and published (with two exceptions) in 'Iraq. The exception as to language is the romance of Khurshid of

* See my article, "A Kurdish Lampoonist," in the *Journal,* vol. xxii., 1935, Part I.

† On May 11, 1930, I had occasion to spend the night at the small village of Kelisa on the Little Zab, south-east of Koi Sanjaq. I was told that the villagers were extraordinary people, *Kirmanj* really, but nevertheless very brave and able to resist aggression and to look after themselves.

‡ The Bibliography is based on my own collection. I have to thank Taufiq Wahbi Beg for drawing my attention to five publications which I had missed; to Saiyid Jelal Sa'ib for helping to fill up some of the lacunæ in my collection of periodicals; and to Major W. A. Lyon, Captain C. H. Gowan and Mr. A. J. Chapman for sundry items of information regarding the periodicals.

Khawar (III. 6*) in Gorani; Gorani literature forms an integral and important part of the cultural treasure of the Southern Kurds, and more books in this dialect are likely to issue from the 'Iraqi-Kurdish presses as the collection of the scattered works of the early favourites progresses. The exceptions as regards publication are the *Anthology* of Amin Faizi (II. 1), and the *Blossom of Spring* (IV. 1) by Saiyid Husain Huzni: the first, though published in Constantinople, is the work of a Sulaimani officer and, being composed entirely of selections from the classic poets of that region, forms the best possible introduction to the subject; the second, though published at Aleppo, is the earlier work of the most prolific of the authors represented in the list, and thus appeared to merit inclusion.

On the other hand, I have not given details of half a score or so of school-books (other than grammars, VII, 2, 3, and 10) published for the State educational authorities in 1928 and 1929, nor of some half-dozen laws printed in 1933, since these are for the most part close and unidiomatic translations from the Arabic and thus do not constitute spontaneous manifestations of the Kurdish genius; a notice of these school-books by Professor V. Minorsky will, however, be found in the *Revue des Études Islamiques* of 1931.

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* Having been edited by persons insufficiently acquainted with the dialect the text as published is unfortunately very corrupt.

† For the system of transcription of Kurdish here used see "A Kurdish Lampoonist," footnote at p. 112.

‡ See my article, "A Kurdish Newspaper," in the *Journal*, vol. xii., 1925, Part I. The descriptions "weekly," "monthly," etc., are not to be taken seriously. All Kurdish periodicals have appeared at the most erratic intervals.

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* *Rhuwnakiy* is in fact the successor of *Zar y Kirmanciy*, printed, published and largely written by Saiyid Husain Huznı; under the new Press Law the responsible editor must be named on the title-page and must have the diploma of a "High School," a distinction which the learned and cultured S. Husain does not possess.

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1. *Kitab I Awalamin I Qiraat I Kurdi* (First Kurdish Reading Book). By Muhammad Zaki and Muhammad Bashka. (Latin character.) Baghdad: Government Press, 1920. $7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; 30 pages.

2. *Ehmediy* (Admadi). A rhymed Kurdish-Arabic vocabulary, by Shaikh Marif of Nodê. Ruwandiz: Zar y Kirmanciy publications No. 4, 1926. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; 17 pages.

3. *Muxteser y Serfu Nehw y Kurdiy* (Concise Kurdish Grammar and Syntax). By Sa'id Sidqi. Baghdad: Najah Press, 1928. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; 76 pages.

4. *Elifba y Kurdiy* (Kurdish A.B.C.). By Ahmad i Aziz Agha. Baghdad: Furat Press, 1929. 9 × 6¼ inches; 41 pages.

5. *Destuwr y Zman y Kurdiy* (Rules of the Kurdish Language), Part 1. By Taufiq Wahbi. Baghdad: Haditha Press, 1929. 9¼ × 6½ inches; 114 pages.

6. *The Same*, part 2. In the press.

7. *Perk y Kurdi* (Kurdish Spelling). By Ma'ruf Jiawuk. Baghdad: Najah Press, 1930. 6 × 4 inches; 48 pages.

8. *Xöndewariy Baw* (Modern Reader). Instructions for writing Kurdish in Latin Character. By Taufiq Wahbi. Baghdad: Haditha Press, 1933. 9 × 5¼ inches; 44 pages.

9. *Ferhangok* (Little Lexicon). An English-Kurdish vocabulary in rhyme. By Shakir Fattah. Ruwandiz: Z.K. pub. No. 17, 1934. 8¾ × 5½ inches; 53 pages.

10. *Elf u Bê y Kurdiy* (Kurdish A B C). By Hamid Faraj. Baghdad: Government Press, 1936. 8 × 5¾ inches; 66 pages.

VIII.—MILITARY, TECHNICAL, AND EDUCATIONAL

1. *Te'liym y Taqim* (Platoon Drill). Sulaimani: Government Press, 1922. 8½ × 6½ inches. (Other details lacking, only available copy defective.)

2. *Te'liym y Qet'e* (Squad Drill). Sulaimani: Government Press, 1922. (No details; no copy available.)

3. *Bexêw Kirdin y Kirm y Awriyshim* (The Culture of Silkworms). Translated from the European by Zar y Kirmanciy. Ruwandiz: Zar y Kirmanciy publications, No. 9, 1928. 7¾ × 5½ inches; 15 pages.

4. *Wênegeriy w Kolhiyn* (Photography and Zincography). By Saiyid Husain Mukriyani. Ruwandiz: Z.K. pub. No. 20, 1934. 8¾ × 5½ inches; 95 pages.

5. *Tuwtinekeman* (Our Tobacco). Baghdad: Meriwani Press, 1935. 6½ inches; 40 pages.

6. *Sereta y Ilm y Jmare: Berg y Duwen* (Introduction to Arithmetic), part 2. By Rafiq Hilmi. Baghdad: Fanniya Press, 1936. 8½ × 5½ inches; 65 pages.

IX.—POLITICAL, ETC.

1. *Proghram y Cemiyet y Zanistiy' Kurdan* (Programme of the Kurdish Scientific Society). Sulaimani: Municipal Press, 1926. 7¼ × 5 inches; 6 pages.

2. *Muhasebe y Niyabet* (An Account of Stewardship). By Muhammad Amin Zaki, Ex-Deputy for Sulaimani. Baghdad: Dar-us-Salam Press, 1928. 8¼ × 5½ inches; 31 pages.

3. *Destuwr y Bnagheyi' Yane y Serkewtin* (Fundamental Rules of the Uplift Club). In Arabic and Kurdish. By Ma'ruf Jiyawuk. Baghdad: Sha'b Press, 1930. 6¼ × 4 inches; 13 pages.

4. *Xelhase y Mesele y Kurd* (Summary of the Kurdish Question). Translated by Rafiq Hilmi from *L'Iraq et la Société des Nations*. Mosul: 1934. 8 × 5¾ inches; 32 pages.

REVIEWS

Europe in Arms. By Liddell Hart. Faber and Faber. 12s. 6d.

Captain Liddell Hart dedicates his book to two soldiers—men of imagination. It is most appropriate that such a book should be dedicated first of all to soldiers, and secondly to men of imagination; for never was there a book which appealed more to men who wish to see a little behind the veil of all these rumblings and explosions which are now daily occurrences either in Berlin, Rome, Seville, or far-off Tokio.

The author is well known to a large public as the outstanding military writer of the present day. He will take his place amongst the greatest military historians of all time, for Captain Liddell Hart has broken free from all conventions. He has dissected and found fallacious many strongly held tenets of the military art and he has not scrupled to lay bare the truth as he sees it, even when that truth is unpalatable. What is not so generally known of Liddell Hart is his terrific intellectual honesty. The writer has known him for many years, and whether one liked what he wrote—and he often chastises with scorpions—no one could deny that he applied to all his work an intellectual honesty that is all too rare in these days when unfortunate facts are slurred over.

Europe in Arms opens with a chapter on "The Defence of Freedom." It is a short chapter—a bird's-eye view—but it will repay study. There is much restraint in it, much understanding, and the final summing up is fundamental if this English Freedom of ours is to continue.

To the reader of the ASIAN JOURNAL the chapter on the Mediterranean problem will be one of the most interesting, but lest such a reader be tempted to skim his way through till he comes to that chapter, let him beware, for the scene is being laid in the earlier chapters and the story is not told till the last word is written.

The Mediterranean is an absorbing problem. Captain Liddell Hart deals with it from East to West, and comes to the conclusion that while our Government has apparently decided to "chance it" and hold on, there are many unknown factors which may turn it into a great liability in the event of war.

Possibly, as the author hints, the struggle now being fought out in Spain will clarify the position. A Franco success resulting in Fascist influence extending from Madeira to the Balearics would make our alternative route to India as shaky as is the Mediterranean route. A great Empire can only have been built on just such chances as our Government is now prepared to take. The future may look grim when one regards our shipping open to enemy aerial attack in the narrow waters of the Mediterranean, but, as Captain Liddell Hart points out, the enemy's position is far from satisfactory. For thanks to brave ancestors we have strong strategic posts: Gibraltar,

Malta, Cyprus, and now Palestine, from which modern weapons will allow us to control the southern coasts of Europe.

Throughout the book Captain Liddell Hart harps on the theme "vulnerability." In this very "vulnerability" he sees the saving of Europe from the threatened eclipse of civilization. He points out that everywhere men think of armed forces in the terms of multitudes, whereas strength lies not in numbers but in lack of vulnerability. When the crash does come, there will be such vulnerability created by huge armies that the campaign will come to a standstill almost before it starts. A large army based on man power must be an agreeable target for a modern air force, and if the added power of gas spraying is allowed we may yet see another of those decisive battles of the world in which a very small force easily defeats a great mass.

Captain Liddell Hart therefore pleads for an army small but modern: its officers educated at the University; its men freed from all clogging discipline and irksome restrictions; an army that is mobile in the best sense of the word, both intellectually and physically. He pleads for an air force so strong that no enemy will lightly decide to bomb London, and he asks that we reconsider the question of the capital ship in favour of aircraft carriers and flotilla craft.

You may not like all the conclusions that Captain Liddell Hart comes to in this book, but you cannot fail to be intrigued and interested.

F. A. P.

Letters and Essays on Current Imperial and International Problems, 1935-1936. By Arthur Barriedale Keith, D.C.L., etc.

This book is a compilation of Professor Keith's views over a period of eighteen months upon subjects so far apart as that of "The British Navy and the Free State" and that of "Western Australia and Secession," but which includes at least two problems of special interest to members of The Royal Central Asian Society—viz., the Palestine question and that of the transfer of mandated territories. In part his views amount to no more than the expression of a personal opinion upon the wisdom or unwisdom of this or that political course being taken, but in regard to developments the subject of high controversy and an initial understanding of which depends on questions of fact upon which, however, the Professor has clearly made up his own mind. Being almost wholly in the form of isolated letters to the Press (chiefly *The Spectator* and *The Scotsman*), the result frequently is mere isolated statement for, as no letter to which Professor Keith's contribution replies is ever given, one is never directly seised of the point of controversy but must perforce guess at it. Throughout the book, however, one hears the authoritative voice of an eminent constitutional lawyer even if one feels that it is the advocate who speaks rather than the judge.

Thus in a letter to the Editor of *The Scotsman* (August 3, 1936) the Professor states that the *immediate* cause of the Great War lay with Austria, and "the ultimate cause was the division of Europe into rival blocs; France and Russia with ententes with Britain, and Germany and Austria, with Italy ready to betray her allies if she could obtain her price." Not stopping to consider whether in that regard Germany was more "*bloced* against or blocing," Professor Keith then leaps to this conclusion:

"We are now menaced with repetition of this danger, and to avoid the disaster of a new war I hold the British Government should be prepared, if it can thus secure an effective appeasement in Europe, to transfer the mandates to Germany" (p. 213).

It is beside the point that the mandate Professor Keith had in mind was African, and not the Palestinian. Mandated peoples can scarcely be hostages for purposes of one nation "appeasing" another without reference to the welfare of such people. If Palestine had been under a German mandate, for instance, what would have become of the Arab-Jew question in Palestine? It is, of course, arguable that there would have been no such question—the Jew would have been allowed none and the Arab's might not have been decided in the way best pleasing to Arabs.

It is, however, on this very Palestine problem that Professor Keith writes most convincingly. He points out (p. 110) that the mandate was not a mandate to establish a Jewish National Home—a phrase expanded far beyond what Arthur Balfour could have intended and from the full implications of which, in any event, it is certain he would have retreated if confronted with the present impasse. The truth is that here, as elsewhere, we must look forward, not back. This is the minimum demand of realism. It is idle to hark back to what Balfour said or meant or what British officers promised to Arab leaders. Surprisingly enough, even Professor Keith thinks it necessary to emphasize that the destruction of Turkish dominion was brought about with the assistance of Arabs. Like the deed of Versailles, bound, sealed, and delivered, these things belong to the past.

Jewry is not a nation, nor even a single political creed, but only a race along with other races moulded into citizens of various nationalities throughout the centuries. A national home for the Jews need not, and, indeed, cannot be incompatible with the proven law of a human political society—the supreme power must govern. Jewish national home, Arab national home, Christian national home, which of these has the greatest claim to a permanent footing in Palestine? Against the assembled forces of Islam, extending, it might conceivably be, to the whole desert in revolt until the issue was Orient versus Occident, what percentage of Jews might not be needed in Palestine to give to Balfour's phrase an absolute validity? The Palestine problem is an offshoot of a European problem—the attempt to exalt race into citizenship.

It is in Professor Keith's favour that his views on this subject, which he thinks important enough to record in book form, are not merely legalistic. If he has not focussed the problem he has at least disposed of some cant in the Jewish brief. It would have been still more satisfactory to find that he had found occasion to decant a fair portion of the Arab brief. If there had been no mandate and Palestine had been left unpropped or under the greasable Turkish yoke, by orthodox methods of peaceful penetration the Jews might well have had more and the Arabs less real say in the country than is the case at this moment. Moreover, as I verified in a recent visit to Palestine, the Arab's case is based less on facts than on what he fears may happen in the future. It arises out of the mandate itself and from the very fact that it must be succeeded by some form of self-government. In these days, when one hears much irresponsible talk of England giving up her Colonies, it is interesting to observe that if Palestine had been a British Colony the problem would never have existed as it does to-day.

EDWARD MOUSLEY.

Great Britain and Palestine 1915-1936. The Royal Institute of International Affairs. Information Department Papers, No. 20. Price 2s. 6d. net. (Published in January, 1937.)

This Chatham House publication has in no way fallen behind the high standard of its predecessors and has fully come up to the expectations of those who so eagerly awaited its publication.

Once again the Royal Institute has given us a clear, concise, learned, and unbiassed paper on a subject of world interest and controversy.

The paper covers the whole period adequately in about a hundred pages, and the compilers are to be congratulated on their achievement. Only one who has studied Palestine and her problems can realize the enormous amount of work and knowledge that has been concentrated in this small space. All those who are students of Palestine or the Near East should not fail to read the paper (if they have not already done so). It is a perfect study of the problems of this deplorably difficult little country (about the size of Wales). It is the first book the reviewer has read on the subject which has no prejudice, political propaganda, or other bias; it is purely a straight statement of facts. No attempt is made to draw conclusions, but the last chapter contains some of the more rational and recent suggestions to solve the "Palestine Problem." These suggestions are unfortunately not adequate and would not meet the approval of either the Arabs or the Jews. The "Segregation" or "Cantonization" theory is now very unpopular with both these factions in Palestine. Indeed, it would actually defeat the aspirations of both Arabs and Jews.

It is now the difficult task of the Palestine Royal Commission to arrive at some solution to the problem.

Members of Parliament and those who write to the daily Press on the Palestine Problem would be well advised to study this work and afterwards to place it in their libraries for future reference when occasion arises.

It is hoped that the Royal Institute will publish the findings of the Royal Commission as a supplement to this paper; by doing so they will complete a work which fully covers a definite period in Palestine's history.

The transliteration of some Arabic names is at variance with the method usually adopted. Undoubtedly the system recommended by the Royal Geographical Society is the most convenient and this system should certainly be used by all our learned societies for spelling Arabic names in English.

(In the footnote 2 on page 78 there is a small misprint—"British Shalom" should of course read "Brith Shalom," Brith being the Hebrew for Covenant.)

P. D.

The Future of Palestine. By Colonel S. F. Newcombe, issued in pamphlet form by the Palestine Information Centre, 72, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

In the briefest possible language Colonel Newcombe reviews the present situation in Palestine, dealing with the causes that have led up to it and suggesting a solution. There are probably few people better fitted to express an opinion on this subject, for Colonel Newcombe is a recognized authority, having had considerable experience of Palestine and the neighbouring countries prior to 1914, during the war, and also after the conclusion of hostilities.

It is easy to criticize or pick holes in any scheme that may be evolved for the settlement of this almost insolvable problem, but it is not so easy to suggest an alternative that will work and be found acceptable to both parties. The main points of Colonel Newcombe's arguments and proposals are therefore set forth

without comment, beyond the fact that the restriction of the population to a proportion of 70 per cent. Arabs to 30 per cent. Jews may be exceedingly difficult to maintain in the future if it should happen that the Jewish birthrate increases whilst that of the Arabs falls.

"The solution, to be of permanence, must ultimately be based on the following lines:

1. Restriction of the Jews to Arabs in a definite proportion not exceeding the existing proportion of 30 per cent. Jews to 70 per cent. Arabs.

2. Limit the land held by Jews to an agreed proportion.

3. The Zionist Commission to be a philanthropic migration society with no political powers.

4. No access to Government circles by Zionists unless equal access be given to Arabs.

5. Accept a definition that a National Home (hitherto not defined) has now been accomplished, and a Jewish National Home, proportionate to the absorptive capacity of Palestine, has now been established within the terms of the Balfour Declaration.

As regards the Jews, the following points are fundamental:

British Jews are as British as any other citizen, with equal opportunities granted them by the Reform Bill of 1832; hence no special debt is due to them nor claimed by them. They do not require another nationality in a mandated country nor to divide their loyalty. Their religion is free to their choice.

The same principle applies to American, French, Dutch and Italian Jews; most German Jews of long standing still wish to remain German, were it possible, whatever their political views; most of those in Palestine will return to Germany if the Nazi régime fails.

The Central European Jewish question concerns Polish, Russian and a few German Jews; it is not the direct political concern of Great Britain.

The Zionist Policy is being pushed mainly by a section of Jews, chiefly Central European, or by their sympathizers; those who see no other solution for expatriated Jews; or those lately become nationalized as British, who have not had time to adapt their mental outlook to British ideas and interests.

It should be easier for Zionists to modify their views than for the majority of British and of millions of their Moslem fellow-subjects to modify theirs.

The Balfour Declaration runs: 'His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavour to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine.' Clearly no British Colony or Dominion could be substituted in the wording of such a Declaration. Then why should Palestine? But having incurred some responsibility for Jews, who are almost all Central European, can we take some interest in providing homes for those driven from countries foreign to us and place them in suitable areas, and not confine our efforts to the one small area of Palestine? We have accepted a fair share in Great Britain. Can we invite our Dominions, Colonies and Mandated countries to take a proportion on agreed schemes?

We might alter the Balfour Declaration to say '. . . view with favour the establishment of Jewish settlements in British Dominions, Mandates and Colonies, provided the existing population are agreeable and accept them.'

There are four points we should realize:

1. The promises made to the Sherif of Mecca in the MacMahon letters of 1915 may possibly be read differently by different sides. The promises made with

authority by British officers to Arab officers with Emir Feisal in Arabia in 1917 admit of no difference. These promises entirely precluded any possible idea of a Jewish State in Palestine. These Arab officers and men from Syria and Palestine were fighting for Arab independence against the Turk; Great Britain was helping them to drive off the Turk, not as a conqueror to dictate to Arabs, but as a helper who would assist them to develop their own country on lines similar to those followed in Egypt and the Sudan.

2. The Balfour Declaration created suspicion and alarm, but it was worded gently and at first introduced quietly. The interpretation given to this Declaration by Zionists and accepted by our Government since 1919 is a definite breach of the promises and declarations made to Arabs, high and low, during 1917-18, when their help was needed.

3. A permanent settlement can only be one which Arabs will accept; a dictated settlement can only lead to incessant strife now and in the future, with dangerous repercussions elsewhere and an unfortunate tendency to anti-semitism at home; we cannot continue to send two or more Divisions every year or two to keep the peace in Palestine.

4. We have for over 100 years shown our friendship to the Jews and accepted them as citizens, to our benefit and theirs. We can continue to help them again for our mutual benefit. But no good can come by helping them at the expense and against the will of a weaker nation, nor by dividing their loyalty by creating a new political entity for them.

The following would probably be accepted by the Arabs:

We retain the Mandate for another few years, but prepare the country for a treaty of Allegiance similar to that of 'Iraq.

During that period, to regain our prestige, we should return to the Cromer policy (so successful in Egypt and the Sudan) of developing the country through the local inhabitants for their own welfare.

We must treat the Arabs and Jews as one race in Palestine, and encourage the Jews to become Palestinian and not a separate kingdom in Palestine.

Let them develop their culture and talk Hebrew, if they like, but Arabic is the language of the country and of its neighbouring peoples.

The Jewish people will find that they will be met halfway if they drop their claim to a separate Jewish entity, but of course retaining their religious freedom.

The political ambitions of a section of Jews to create a separate state is against the ideas of most British Jews and against the true interest of the community.

We have no Imperial interest in fostering such a project. Let us drop it.

In ten years' time, or perhaps longer, the problem should be dead; and Palestine become as independent as 'Iraq."

The Syrian Desert By Dr. Christina Grant. Black. 18s.

Ever since the beginning of historical times communications between Europe and Asia have been a matter of vital importance to trade and empire. The wealth and importance of the arid Arabian peninsula has been, and still is, principally due to its geographical situation, lying across the shortest route from Europe to Persia, India and China.

At the present day three alternative routes to India exist—one round the Cape of Good Hope, and two others, both skirting the Arab Peninsula, the first across the Isthmus of Suez and down the Red Sea, the second across the Syrian Desert and down the Persian Gulf. Dr. Grant's book deals with the history of travel,

exploration and trade across the last of these three routes to the East, the Syrian Desert.

Its geographical position across the main Europe to Asia highway has both benefited and injured Arabia. Throughout the ages the Arabs have themselves handled, sometimes more and sometimes less, of the carrying trade. Whole cities have been built and thrived on it: Petra, Palmyra, Aden, Port Said. But it has also led to foreign interference and conquest, for these routes are of vital interest to the world, and cannot be considered as of purely local Arab concern. It is interesting, in this connection, to follow in Dr. Grant's book the alternate prosperity and decline of the Syrian Desert route to the East, according as public security improved or deteriorated in Northern Arabia.

The changes in means of communication throughout the ages and their effects on the use of the three alternative routes—the Cape route, the Suez route, and the Syrian Desert route—is also a fascinating study. In classical times the Red Sea route and the Syrian Desert vied with one another, the hostilities between Rome and Persia assisting the Red Sea route. Then centuries later the Cape route appears as a competitor, further assisted by the invention of steam. The cutting of the Suez Canal seemed to administer the final *coup de grâce* to the Syrian Desert route, which could still only be crossed by camel until the outbreak of the Great War. Then in a few years the camel was replaced by the car convoy, and now by civilian aircraft companies, and unexpectedly the Syrian Desert route has once more snatched the palm of speed from its rivals. It is striking also, in these days of wireless, to read (p. 253) that the Marquis of Wellesley, in 1800, when Governor-General of India in war-time, passed seven months without news from England. Dr. Grant has made use of a long list of authorities and has obviously done a great deal of study on her subject. She has unearthed the diaries of several little-known travellers, making quaint and interesting reading.

It is a pity that she seems less conversant with modern conditions, and here a number of errors are to be found, though none of very great importance. For example, the statement on page 25 that Aqail never became merchants on their own account will evoke surprise. Again, on page 28, Colonel Leachman is said to have been killed at Khan Muktar, instead of Khan Nuqtah. He is stated to have been Chief Political Officer of Northern Mesopotamia, whereas he was at the time only in charge of the Dulaim Liwah. The singular and plurals of the Arabic word for bedouin on page 18 are also rather unfortunate. As Dr. Grant does not know Arabic, it would perhaps have been better if she had not attempted to insert so many Arabic words, sometimes incorrectly.

In spite of such minor inaccuracies, however, Dr. Grant has produced a book which should be read with interest by such as are concerned with Northern Arabia or with commercial and Imperial communications.

The Arabs. By Bertram Thomas. Thornton Butterworth. 21s.

An author who attempts, in three hundred and fifty pages, to write the history of a nation, cannot be expected to indulge in detail or to reveal new subject-matter. But if there is nothing new, profound or startling in Mr. Bertram Thomas' new work, it is nevertheless a remarkable book. The task of the historian who would cover a period of two thousand years must be to draw a bold but true picture of the national characteristics, and trace in broad outline the changes of the ages—a task requiring length of vision and a grasp of essentials. Mr. Thomas has not only succeeded in these respects, but he possesses that calm virtue so rare amongst

historians—a fair and impartial detachment from the feuds and passions which he records.

Commencing with an outline of the state of Arabia in antiquity, he passes to a sympathetic sketch of the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Then follow two stirring chapters on the Arab Muslim conquests from Spain to India. In dealing with the mediæval Arab states and the arts and sciences under Arab civilization, our author shows an insight and a sympathy rarely to be found amongst Europeans. He points out how misleading it is to conceive of the Arab social system as being in the likeness of our own, with a few unpleasant features grafted on. For example, Arab women enjoy less freedom than their European sisters in such matters as mixed dancing or mixed bathing, but, on the contrary, they enjoy the enormous compensating advantage that every woman has the opportunity of marriage and motherhood. Should not his quotation from an English traveller also give us to pause and think? "What struck me even in the decay and poverty was the joyousness of life compared with anything I had seen in Europe. These peoples seemed quite independent of our cares of life, our anxious clutching after wealth, our fear of death. And then their charity! No man in the cities of the Moslem Empire ever died of hunger or exposure at his neighbour's gate."

After tracing the decline of Arab greatness and their eclipse by the Turks in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Mr. Thomas breaks the continuity of his narrative to describe the Arabs of Central Arabia. From one with so great a reputation for desert exploration as he enjoys, this chapter is perhaps disappointing, although he makes a useful point in emphasizing the division of the Arab race into two classes: the warlike and chivalrous tribesman of the central deserts and the nationalistic Europeanized educated classes of Syria, Palestine, or Iraq.

In conclusion, he steers a skilful middle course through the treacherous and shifting shoals of the 1917 Arab rising against the Turks, post-war Arab nationalism, and the Arab-Jew rivalry in Palestine.

After reading so fair and balanced a summary of Arab national history, to criticize details seems almost captious, for Mr. Thomas has undoubtedly achieved his main object of presenting a just, sympathetic, and impartial review of two thousand years of history. It is difficult, however, not to take exception to his remark regarding the Arab conquests of the first years of Islam. "The traditional view that the Arabs were fired by religious zeal . . . is no longer acceptable." It is natural to us all to attribute our own motives to others, and a materialistic and commercial age inclines to the belief that the great movements of history in the past have been inspired by the same ideas as itself—namely, the search for economic expansion. The fact that religion, religion alone and not the desire for wealth, can unite the warring tribes of Central Arabia has been proved again by experience since the first Moslem conquests, notably by the Wahhabis.

Another intriguing line of thought is suggested by Chapter VIII., in which Mr. Thomas remarks that the Arabs were unable to maintain their great Empire for long, and yet that few peoples have left their impress on the world as the Arabs have left theirs. And both these facts for the same reason—the independence and marked individuality of the Arab character. No sooner had the Arabs overrun the world from Spain to India than this quality began to produce two results. The local Arab amirs commenced to assert their independence of the Caliph and to set up separate principalities, thereby breaking up the Empire, but at the same time their marked personalities everywhere turned the subject nations to imitate them. While they failed to maintain a political entity, the greater part of the known world hastened to imitate them, and their religion and social system is still dominant in nearly all the lands which they conquered.

Is Europe, in these days, too insistent on the outward symbols of power—on colouring territory on the map and boasting of the rule she exercises over subject peoples? Perhaps we are grasping too much at the form of Imperial unity alone, whereas a nation can best change the world by the influence of its individuality rather than by political dominion. This is but one of the many fascinating lines of thought which open to the readers of Mr. Thomas' book.

It is unfortunate that, on page 258, so experienced an Arabist should have made the slip of writing "King Ibn Saud." Saud is, of course, the family name of the dynasty, and such an expression is equivalent to saying King Windsor instead of King George. The correct title should be King Abdul Aziz.

J. B. G.

Road through Kurdistan: The Narrative of an Engineer in Iraq. By A. M. Hamilton. With a Foreword by Major-General Rowan-Robinson. Faber and Faber. 12s. 6d.

This book is the story of a great engineering feat told in a lively and interesting manner by Mr. A. M. Hamilton, a young New Zealand engineer, who spent five years working in the Iraq Public Works Department. The first few months were passed in the Middle Euphrates area, and the author gives a very good account of the background, country and customs of the people amongst whom his work was to be carried on. The antiquity and romance of the East is infused into his writing and his mission in Iraq is given that air of adventure which one feels is so essential to a pioneering project.

His work in Kurdistan was to undertake the construction of a road which has since become a new trade link between Iran and Iraq. It was hoped that the construction of the road would bring more peaceful methods of living to the Kurdish tribespeople and enable Government influence to instil law and order. The existing track could only be traversed by mule caravans, and then only with great difficulty, and he was faced with the formidable task of constructing a road through very wild country with a total length in Iraq of over 100 miles. The natural obstacles were very great, consisting of high, craggy mountains cut up by deep, precipitous gorges and swift-flowing rivers. In addition, he was faced with problems of labour, for the majority of men available were coolies quite untrained in the use of any but hand tools; and with difficulties of obtaining, transporting and maintaining the heavy machinery necessary for rock-drilling, etc. In spite of all the difficulties, the work was finally brought to a successful conclusion after several years of arduous labour, but accompanied by great technical triumphs. Mr. Hamilton, no doubt from modesty and to spare the general reader technical details, refrains from describing too fully these engineering achievements, which undoubtedly would have been of great interest to those to whom their full significance is known.

The narrative is told in a very interesting manner and is interspersed with many amusing and unusual anecdotes. These give a clear picture of the life of the country and of his workmen, as also of his own adventures and minor misfortunes, such as those of the hiring of the brigand's horse, of the sacking of the murderers in his camp, and of his pet winch which slapped him in the face and flicked him down the mountain-side.

During the time he spent among them, the author became much attached to the local people, mostly Kurds and Assyrians, and probably his sympathy and understanding helped considerably to establish more peaceful conditions for the period during which the road was under construction. He devotes two chapters

to Anglo-Iraqi-Kurdish and Anglo-Iraqi-Assyrian politics, giving his views from the personal observations he had made while living in close contact with them.

The book is well illustrated by many photographs, and a number of these are striking and very beautiful. Two good maps are given, and these are bound in such a way that they can be read at the same time as the text. A foreword is written by Major-General Rowan-Robinson.

The book is of interest to general readers and to the author's fellow-engineers alike as a narrative of human endeavour and scientific knowledge used advantageously to carry a great undertaking to a successful conclusion.

A. S. C.

Hudud al-Alam, "The Regions of the World." A Persian Geography, 372 A.H to 982 A.D. Translated and explained by V. Minorsky. Printed for the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial, and published by Messrs. Luzac and Co., 1937.

This valuable work by an unknown writer was begun in A.H. 372 (982) and was written for Abdul Harith Muhammad ibn Ahmad, prince of the province of Guzgan, situated in the north-west of the present kingdom of Afghanistan. Our author describes the rulers of this province as being the leading feudatory vassal-princes of the powerful but short-lived Sumanid kingdom, which, seventeen years later, in A.H. 389 (999), was overthrown by Ilak Nasr of Kashgar, who conquered Transoxiana. It does not appear that our author was a traveller, and nowhere does he name his sources, except for Ptolemy. He, indeed, speaks of borrowing information from books, but gives no references to other writers.

The late Professor Barthold translated portions of the work into Russian and wrote an admirable preface to it which Minorsky has translated and reproduced.

The work covers Asia, Eastern Europe, Abyssinia, Nubia, and the Sudan, but in this brief notice I will merely point out a few statements of especial interest, which refer to different parts of Asia. Among these may be noted that in it the Afghanan or Afghans are mentioned as a people. This constitutes the earliest known record of the use of the term. Utbi, the Secretary of Mahmud of Ghazni, who ruled from A.H. 388 (998) to 421 (1030), in his *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, mentions Afghans more than once as soldiers, and on another occasion as being punished, and until now this was the earliest known reference to them. To take other places, his description of Khotan as being situated between two rivers is exact; and Balkh is described "as a large and flourishing city which was formerly the residence of the Sasanian kings."

Kabul he describes as a borough possessing a solid fortress known for its strength. He adds that "the royal power of the Raja of Qinnauj is not complete until he has made a pilgrimage to those idol-temples." In this case the old order has certainly yielded to the new!

To conclude, Minorsky's work, which proves the encyclopædic knowledge of the great Russian scholar, constitutes a valuable book of reference to all who are interested in the geography of the Middle Ages. Incidentally it proves how far geographers in Asia at this period surpassed their brethren in Europe.

"The seer from the West was then in the shade;
The seer from the East was then in the light."

P. M. SYKES.

Lucie Duff Gordon: In England, South Africa and Egypt. By Gordon Waterfield. Pp. 357. Illustrated. London: John Murray. 12s. 6d.

Here is a book—the biography of Lucie Austin, afterwards Lady Duff Gordon—which is full of interest and charm. It should appeal to a wide public, both to those who know the East and to those who do not. It is written in easy and attractive style by a direct descendant, and is compiled mainly from Lady Duff Gordon's two books of letters from South Africa and Egypt, which enjoyed great popularity in mid-Victorian times, and also from unpublished family letters inherited by the author on the death of his mother.

Lucie Austin was brought up under somewhat peculiar circumstances. Her father, John Austin, was the son of a substantial Ipswich corn merchant who apparently lost nearly all his fortune during the years of depression which followed the battle of Waterloo. After a brief career in the army he entered upon a legal career. In 1819 he married Sarah Taylor of Norwich, who sprang from a commercial family of intellectual Unitarians—a sect the members of which have often combined business ability and worldly success with civic virtues and the desire to promote human progress. In 1821 their only child was born.

John Austin was a man of great erudition and full of noble ideals which were in advance of his time. He aspired to be a legal reformer, but owing to ill-health and neurasthenia he gradually lost his employment and fell into a state of melancholia. Fortunately for him and for his daughter he had married a wife who was really one of the most remarkable women of her time. She was endowed with beauty, charm, brains and energy, together with a masterful disposition. Besides possessing an excellent general education she was a fine German scholar. This knowledge enabled her to earn money by translations and thus to supplement her husband's dwindling income through many years of hard married life. It was indeed the irony of fate that, after her husband's unsuccessful career had ended, she should have edited and brought out a new edition of his great work on Jurisprudence which became famous and is still a standard work on the subject. Like her husband, she was an ardent social and legal reformer, and was perpetually in revolt against the injustices of that period. Both of them lived in close touch with many prominent political and literary personalities of the early part of the nineteenth century. The first part of the book contains many interesting sidelights on that period.

Lucie Austin inherited all her mother's good qualities, together with beauty of a striking Napoleonic type, but with a gentler and more tolerant outlook on humanity. After a period of home education, during which she developed in a most precocious manner, she was sent to an English girls' school while her parents were residing at Malta. Her father had been appointed member of a Commission of Enquiry into the government of that island. Chafing under the restraints imposed upon her she was fairly unhappy, as might well be expected. It was at this time that she was suddenly converted from Unitarianism to the Church of England, though, subsequently, her conversion seems to have sat very lightly upon her. In 1840, at the age of eighteen, she made a love match with a young Scottish baronet, Sir Alexander Duff Gordon. Her husband possessed little or no fortune, but occupied a post in the Home Civil Service which provided them with a competency. During the following eight years or so she led a bright and even brilliant life in and around London, fully occupied with social, domestic, charitable, and literary activities when, at the early age of twenty-seven, the dark shadow of disease fell upon her. She developed consumption and her condition became steadily worse until, at the age of forty, she left England, travelling in search of health which she was never able to regain.

Some compensation for this melancholy tragedy, which involved long separations from her husband and children, is to be found in the fact that Lady Duff Gordon, up to the time of her death, was able to lead a most interesting life, to do much good in a charitable manner, and to give the world two most instructive and informative books.

Her first voyage, in 1861, was to South Africa, where she remained for about a year. In spite of physical disabilities she was able to bear a good deal of rough travelling up country, and in her letters she provided an entertaining picture of the habits and life of the various races. It was here, curiously enough, that she first came into contact with the East. At Capetown there dwelt a flourishing community of Malays, the descendants of liberated slaves. Lady Duff Gordon greatly appreciated their dignified courtesy and hospitality, and was at pains to understand their customs and their religion.

Towards the end of 1862 Lady Duff Gordon set out for Egypt, where she resided for the rest of her life. Apart from climatic considerations she was no doubt attracted to the country by the fact that her eldest daughter, Janet, had married a British banker of Alexandria. After a sojourn in Cairo she made her home for 5½ years at Luxor, living alone with one English maid in a large rambling house which had been built upon the columns of an ancient Pharonic temple, and passing part of each year in travelling up and down the Nile in a native boat. Often, for months at a time, she was the only white woman residing in Upper Egypt.

Under the rule of the Khedive Ismail Egypt was then entering upon what may be called a period of progressive degradation. The ever-increasing wastefulness of the Government, coupled with the tyranny and rapacity of the governing class, was literally ruining the hard-working settled peasantry or fellahin by the imposition of excessive taxation and forced labour. In spite of their orderly and obedient character the people were being driven to despair, and a feeling of revolt was in the air, which culminated 17 years later in the rebellion of Arabi Pasha and the subsequent British occupation. It is curious to reflect that Lady Duff Gordon constantly noted in her letters the desire of the people for British intervention. Our feelings, too, about De Lesseps' great achievement in building the Suez Canal may perhaps be slightly changed as we learn from her about the inhuman conditions under which the fellahin were forced to labour during the construction!

Lady Duff Gordon possessed to a remarkable degree the faculty of understanding the point of view and the mentality of the people amongst whom she lived. This power, combined with a fine character, a charitable nature, and considerable skill as an amateur doctor, obtained for her an influence and a moral ascendancy over both the fellahin and the desert Arabs of Upper Egypt as has never been attained by any white woman before or since. Yet, in spite of the curious and isolated situation in which she lived she always retained her mental balance and she never became eccentric like certain other ladies in the East who resided for long periods under similar conditions. In her letters she constantly strove to bring the unhappy state of Egypt before the British public, and she was on the point of setting out for England when death, " the separator of friends," intervened and closed her remarkable life.

The last scene of all, when Lucie Duff Gordon lay all night long in the little cabin of her boat choking to death, while on deck her faithful retainers were gathered together praying beside the dark Nile, is told in simple and moving language.

D. B.-B.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from Within. Edited by J. A. de C. Hamilton, M.C. Pp. xii+367. Map. Faber and Faber, Limited, 1935. 10s. 6d.

This book contains a collection of twenty essays by past and present officials of the Sudan Government on various aspects of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It deals on broad lines with the archæology, history, ethnology, religious beliefs, physical character, economics, education and public health of the country and its peoples. In addition, two essays on the application of devolutionary principles to native administration are interposed. The essays were written primarily for the information of officials on their first joining the Government service, but they will be of value to anyone who is interested in the Sudan or in Arabic civilization. For although there are obvious omissions, the book gives a more complete, if condensed, account of the Sudan and its population than is to be found in any other work, and contains a good deal of matter which cannot easily be found elsewhere.

The essays are competently written by men who know their subject. They touch on so many matters that it is impossible to criticize them in detail in the space of this review, which will therefore be limited to a few of the more general topics which are dealt with in the book.

Sir Harold MacMichael contributes an historical summary down to the conquest of the country in 1821. He points out that there are almost no historical records in existence before that date, with the exception of the monuments and tombs in Nubia, and some fragmentary clues as to what was happening in the central region of the Sudan from the sixteenth century onwards. As regards the Southern Sudan nothing can be known, except what can be deduced from the researches of the anthropologist.

The history of Nubia (the Northern Sudan) is outlined by Mr. F. Addison as follows: The earliest records show the Egyptians sending trading caravans and occasional military expeditions to the Sudan, and to protect the trade route the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom (2000-1600 B.C.) effected a military occupation of the country as far south as Kerma. A second and more extended occupation took place in New Empire Times (1550-1100 B.C.), and this resulted in a complete Egyptianization of the area now included in Halfa and Dongola Districts. During the eighth century B.C. the so-called Ethiopian Dynasty, a dynasty apparently of Libyan origin, arose at Napata in Dongola Province, and this dynasty ruled the country, first from Napata, and then from Meroë in Berber Province, for more than a thousand years. For a short time this dynasty occupied Egypt. Shabaka (712-700 B.C.) not only ruled for a time as far as the shores of the Mediterranean, but sent his troops under Tirhaka to assist King Hezekiah in Palestine against the Assyrians. (See 2 Kings, chap. ix.) In the middle of the sixth century A.D. the Northern Sudan was Christianized from Egypt. A certain priest named Julianus, "inflamed by the pious zeal towards the Nubians," travelled up the Nile and achieved his object so thoroughly that Christianity was accepted by Nubia and remained the official religion, until finally swept away by the Arabs some seven hundred years later.

Sir Harold MacMichael also contributes an authoritative and interesting essay on the Coming of the Arabs to the Sudan. Although Egypt was conquered by the Arabs in 639 A.D. it was not until the latter part of the thirteenth century that the Nubian power crumbled. During the next three centuries swarms of Arabs entered the Northern Sudan from Egypt and occupied the whole of it, except the Red Sea Littoral, spreading out westward as far as Darfur. While there are no records of what happened, the invaders no doubt established themselves partly by fighting and partly by agreements with the native population. There was cer-

tainly inter-marriage. The result was the coalition of Arab and Black (and in the Northern riverain districts Berberine) into a series of groups, each regarding themselves as a tribal unit and claiming to be Arabs, although their justification for the claim varies very widely.

The next event of importance was the conquest of the Northern Sudan by the armies of Mohammed Ali Pasha, the ruler of Egypt in 1819. During the next fifty years Egyptian sovereignty was extended over the Southern Sudan, and in 1874 Darfur was annexed. The administration of the country by the Egyptian officials was inefficient and oppressive. The slave trade was extensively carried on. Between 1873 and 1879 General Gordon held the appointments, first of Governor of the Equatorial Provinces and then of Governor-General of the Sudan, and attempted to introduce reforms, but he was without the personnel or resources to carry them through, and his attempts had little success.

In 1881 Mohammed Ahmed the Mahdi, who claimed a divine mission, proclaimed a religious crusade against the Government. Owing to the general discontent, the revolt spread rapidly and was everywhere successful. In January, 1885, the rebels stormed Khartoum and killed General Gordon, who had been sent out by the British Government to evacuate the Egyptian troops. The British and Egyptian troops withdrew, and during the next thirteen years the Sudan was abandoned to the misrule of the Khalifa Abdullahi, the Mahdi's successor. The population was reduced by warfare and famine to, it is estimated, less than half of their former numbers, and great blocks of agricultural land went out of cultivation.

In 1896 Lord Kitchener, at the head of the Egyptian army, began a campaign to reoccupy the Sudan, and having been reinforced by a strong body of British troops, he in September, 1898, completely broke the power of the Khalifa at the battle of Kerreri.

Culturally and racially the Sudan is not homogeneous, but is divided into two regions, the Northern Sudan from the boundary with Egypt to approximately the eleventh parallel of latitude and the Southern Sudan from that parallel southwards. The inhabitants of the Northern Sudan are almost all Mohammedan in religion, and the great majority speak Arabic and have an Arabic culture and to a varying extent an Arabic origin. As Mr. Nalder writes, though geographically in Africa, the Northern Sudan might also be regarded as culturally a part of Asia. The Southern Sudan is the home of pagan negroids, who are divided into a large number of separate tribes, speaking different languages or dialects. They have not the thick lips of the African negro, and it is supposed that they are the result of an admixture in very remote ages of Hamitic races with negroes.

More detailed information as to the characteristics and ways of life of the inhabitants of Northern Sudan are given in four separate essays describing the nomad Arab camel-breeding tribes, the cattle-owning tribes (Baggara), the Beja tribes of the Red Sea Hinterland and the Arabs and Nubians (Berberines) of the Halfa, Dongola and Berber Districts. Of these essays, the most interesting historically is an excellent essay by Mr. D. Newbold on the Beja Tribes, one branch of which, the Hadendowa, fought with such gallantry against the British army during the fighting round Suakin in the eighties and early nineties of last century. Their history can be traced back at least to the Middle Empire. There is a sriking representation of a Beja tribesman in a tomb chapel at Meir (Upper Egypt) dating about 1900 B.C., showing the great shock of hair and other physical characteristics of the modern Beja. The Northern branch of the tribe fought, often successfully, against the Roman-Egyptian armies in the second, third and fourth centuries A.D., and although subsequently they were for a time at least

partially Christianized, and later converted to Islam, they retain their own language and their old territory and seem to have altered little in race or character.

Having regard to their interest anthropologically, it is regretted that more space could not be given to the pagan peoples of the Southern Sudan, the Shilluk, Dinka, Nuer, Bari and Azande. Mr. E. E. Evans Pritchard, in his brief Ethnological Survey of the Sudan, gives the following general description of them:

> "The Nilotes are tall, long-headed, spindle-shanked, and dark-skinned. They are extremely conservative, proud, reserved, of serious mien, and unsociable with strangers. They despise clothing, and scorn Arabic and European cultures. Their open contempt for foreigners makes it difficult to establish contact with them. . . . They are both pastoral and agricultural, but their interests are mainly centred in their cattle, and they spend about half the year away from their villages, dwelling in camps wherever water and pasturage are abundant. They live on terms of great intimacy with their cattle, which they seldom slaughter. Not only do the cattle provide them with milk and furnish them with fuel, sleeping bags and other useful objects, but they also give them the wherewithal to marry, and are the medium through which they maintain relations with the spirits and with the ghosts of their ancestors."

The contrast between the comparatively cultured and potentially progressive Arabs of the north and the primitive negroids of the south is extreme, and it is obvious that the problems of government amongst the former are entirely different from those amongst the latter.

The physical character of the country is clearly described by Mr. G. W. Grabham, who for many years occupied the position of Government Geologist.

While the essays do not aim at giving any comprehensive account of the policy or work of the Government, certain branches of that work are selected for description. From the early days of the occupation it was apparent that, to improve the economic condition of the country, it was necessary to provide better and cheaper means of transport and to produce crops of sufficient value to bear the cost of transport. Colonel Longman in his essay on the Growth of Sudan Communications gives a historical account of the building of the railways, the establishment of river steamer services, involving the clearing of the sudd on the Upper White Nile, and the construction of Port Sudan. The length of railways now open is 2,000 miles. Mr. MacGregor in his essay on The Nile Waters describes the construction of the Sennar Dam on the Blue Nile and of the Gezira Irrigation Scheme. The book concludes with two essays on Education and on the Medical Services. As regards the northern Sudan the educational system is probably in advance of what is to be found in British Colonies in Africa. In addition to the Koranic schools, some 689 of which received small grants from the Government, there are 87 Government elementary schools and 10 Government intermediate schools. The Gordon College provides secondary education for 400 boys. There are also two technical schools and two training schools for teachers. And there were 22 elementary schools for girls with an attendance of 2,000. Education of a university standard was, at the date of the essay, provided only by the Kitchener School of Medicine, the graduates from which reach a standard which compares favourably with that of other schools in the Middle East and many of whom are now holding responsible positions in the Sudan Medical Service.

In the southern Sudan the education of the negroids is left to the missionary schools with the assistance of grants from the Government. No solution has yet been found of the difficult problem of what is the best form of education for these primitive people.

Dr. Pridie in a short essay on Medical Problems gives details of the principal prevalent diseases and of the medical organization, but hardly does justice to the work of preventive medicine, which has been carried on for many years, or to the great benefits which the hospitals are conferring on the population.

During recent years British administration in the tropics has been the subject of a good deal of depreciatory criticism. No one, however, who knew the Sudan as it was at the time of its conquest by the British and Egyptian armies can have any doubt as to the greatness of the benefits which have been conferred on the country by British rule, assisted by substantial financial grants from Egypt. The book can confidently be recommended to any reader who wishes for information as to the Sudan or its peoples.

E. B. C.

The Bornu Sahara and Sudan. By Sir Richmond Palmer, K.C.M.G. With 79 illustrations and 3 maps. John Murray. Price 42s.

The author of this book, who is now Governor of Cyprus, was for many years the Resident or Administrative Officer in charge of the Province of Bornu, and crowned a distinguished career in Nigeria by becoming the Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces. He can rightly claim, therefore, to speak with authority, more especially as he is an accomplished Arabic scholar and throughout his service devoted much of his leisure to the historical study of the Muslim peoples of Nigeria. His *Sudanese Memoirs* are already well-known.

In his Introduction Sir Richmond points out that the present-day importance of British Bornu is no criterion of the prestige and cultural importance which belonged to the name of Bornu throughout the Sahara and Sudan in bygone days. The name Bornu, he declares, is a variant of the better known appellation of Barbar, and the underlying conception of his book is that "Bornu is a general term for an Eastern group of Iranian Barbars who came into Africa via the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea before the opening of the Christian era, and then gradually spread West to the Atlantic."

In the opening chapter Sir Richmond reminds us that the term Sudan, which comes from an Arabic root meaning swarthy or black, connoted all the regions south of a line from Oman and Hadramaut through Nubia to Lake Chad and the Bight of Benin. From a period as remote as the first Babylonian Empire the Sudanese were gradually penetrated by Egyptian and Eastern influences. The latest of the great waves of influence was due to the Muhammadan religion, which grew and spread from 622 A.D., and the European world has thus naturally for many centuries viewed the Sudan through the spectacles of Islam. But for several centuries before and after the Prophet the prevalent religion of the Southern Sahara was Zoroastrian fire-worship and allied cults brought there by races who developed the Arabian incense trade. The Sudan zone is therefore one of miscegenation.

In the eighth century A.D. the ancestors of the Maghumi dynasty of Kanem and Bornu, a dynasty which ruled those parts of the Sudan from 800-1800 A.D., were a nomad Barbar tribe of Tuareg origin, and it is with the fortunes of this dynasty that the book is mainly concerned. The history of Bornu, says Sir Richmond, is the history of the ruling caste, the Maghumi. These originally

counted descent through their mothers, "but with the spread of Islam patrilineal descent became *de rigueur* and hence it became necessary to invent an Arab pedigree." And so we find the Maghumi claiming descent from Saif ibn Dthi Yazan of the Beni Himyar of the Kuraish—a statement which receives some support from the assertion of El Bekri (1085 A.D.) that there were Ummeyad princes in Kanem, descendants perhaps of cadets of the Ummeyads, who are known to have fled to the Sudan *c.* 750 A.D. "The fact that from the first the Bornu court adopted the Malikite rite in Muslim jurisprudence instead of the Shafi'ite rite of Egypt may suggest that it was from Ummeyad sources that its inspiration came." In the Tarikh-el-Fettach the ancestor of the Songhay is also said to have been a king of Yemen, and Sir Richmond thinks that these legends are consistent with an Ummeyad origin of Bornu kings (Mais) on the paternal side, or were part of a corpus of legend reaching back to the days of Persia and Babylon. He considers that the names in the lists of early Bornu kings are titles—names of Syrian and Egyptian deities such as Arsu, Aman, and Shu. "The legendary eponymous ancestor of the Saifuwa, as the Maghumi are called, only became in Muslim times 'the lion of Yaman,' having originally in all probability been the triple-headed lion-god of Meroe, Arsenuphis or Apezemak." But Sir Richmond also suggests the possibility that the Maghumi of Kanem were in part descendants of the Syrian mercenaries of Psammetichus II., who towards 586 B.C. deserted the Egyptian frontier at Pelusium and settled in the region of Meroe. "On the other hand, the traditions which connect the ruling races of Kanem with the Tuareg connect them equally with the Gezira region of the Sudan, with Meroe, and also with the Makida, or ruling caste of Abyssinia."

All this is rather speculative, and when it is remembered that Sir Richmond Palmer's underlying thesis is that Bornu is a general term for an Eastern group of Iranian Barbars most readers will prefer the non-committal attitude of thinking, as before, that the culture of this part of the world is a very hybrid mixture of primitive Negro and "Hamitic," or Asiatic and Mediterranean elements, overladen with the relatively late Semitic of Islam.

Chapter III. contains a number of Bornu *mahrams*, or grants of privileges accorded by kings of Bornu to certain Muslim teachers and their descendants. These *mahrams* are included because of their bearing on the chronology of the Bornu kings. But they have also an interest of their own. Here is an example purporting to date from the days of Umme Jilmi (1086-1097 A.D.). "I (the king) have made your goods and the goods of your descendants *haram* to the service of God and His Prophet, by reason of the merit of knowledge. Their goods are as swine's flesh and donkey's and monkey's. The chiefs shall not enter their houses, and their portion is for other than that of mere worldlings; of that which is the custom they are free; their only duty is to pray, and marry the Sultan's daughter, and settle disputes relating to women, and pray for the Sultan. He who wickedly and wrongfully despoils them of their goods, may God not bless him and may he not find mercy or anyone to bury him."

In spite of the warning contained in many of these *mahrams* that he who alters their provisions "incurs the penalty of those who innovate," it would seem that many of the *mahrams* have not merely been altered but fabricated *ab initio*. Their learned authors also seem to have used them as a means of keeping the Sultan in his place: "May God fill his (the Sultan's) belly with wisdom, for he does not flaunt his sovereignty in the face of the learned." One of the *mahrams*, in the possession of a certain clan of the Kanembu, purports to be a royal decree granting exemption from military services, fines, and obligations to entertain chiefs, on the ground that one of the ancestors of the clan had

revealed to the king that if he put the skin of a certain snake into water and drank the water he would understand the language of beasts. The king did so, and was rewarded by hearing two black birds carrying on a conversation on the top of a neighbouring tree!

Another document included in this chapter purports to give an account of Ngazargamu, the capital of Bornu *c.* 1658 A.D., but it is mostly a panegyric of a Muslim doctor who became famous for the efficacy of his charms and prayers. The Sultan sought his aid in obtaining 1,000 slaves, so the doctor prayed and straightway the Sultan's mother died, bequeathing to her son not 1,000 slaves but 10,000! There is also an account of the Sultanate of Air, or Asben. Originally, it says, there were no rulers save the sheiks of tribes. Then a Sultan was obtained from the land of the blacks, who ruled with a council. When the Sultan and council were in accord the world was at peace and the land prosperous. But when they were in disagreement the land shook and the produce grew thin. The manuscript proceeds to admit that "past policy and actions are not generally known," a frank confession that folk-memory is short and tradition of little value as history.

In the accompanying documents giving lists of the kings of Air there are many interesting notes by Sir Richmond Palmer. In one of these it is suggested that when Bello of Sokoto (writing during the first half of last century) describes the people of Gobir as being "Kiptawa" in origin, the word does not mean Copts but is more likely to be connected with the Ancient Egyptian Keftiu. But if the religion of Gobir contained Christian elements, as it appears to have done, then it would be quite natural for strict Muslims like Bello to have ascribed to Gobir a Coptic origin. It seems far-fetched also to connect the Tuareg word Inneg, meaning East, with the Ancient Egyptian life-sign "ankh" and with the first part of the Meroitic king-name Ntek-Amen; or to say that the personal name Hirima probably comes from Herum, the old name of Meroe. Elsewhere, Sir Richmond says that Ruma probably=Herum, and suggests (p. 3) that the word Kayi (the ancestors of the Maghumi) is connected with the Meroitic word *qe*=honourable, and that the variant name for Maghumi—viz., Dirku, "appears to be the same word as the Meroitic word *t'rogu*" (p. 9).

Chapter IV. is a translation of the Arabic *diwan* of the Mais, or kings of Bornu, and this *diwan* is one of the most important sources of Sudanese history. It was first made known by Barth. Sir Richmond states (p. 9) that "descent among the Maghumi, as among the Tuareg, passed to a son of the sister of the deceased king." This is very probable, though there is no direct evidence to prove it. For the fact that the names of the kings' mothers are always given in the *diwan* is no evidence of matrilineality, particularly as the mothers appear to belong to a variety of clans and tribes. But if descent was in fact matrilineal then the *diwan* cannot be considered a trustworthy document, as it displays from the outset a patrilineal system of succession. The general unreliability of all these Sudanese documents can be inferred from the fact that except for very recent events they seldom agree with one another, and that all fail when tested by the little contemporary evidence that exists. Sir Richmond himself admits that this is so when he states (on p. 106) that "it is evident that before 1808 A.D. written records of the Bornu kings had become more and more corrupt."

The *diwan* is not a very exciting document, but occasionally provides interesting or amusing remarks. Thus it is said of the Sultan Dunama, who is presumed to have been on the throne during the first half of the twelfth century, that among his noble acts were pilgrimages to the sacred house of God on two occasions. When he was on his way to a third pilgrimage "the people of Misr

opened a sea-cock in his ship, so that the sea drowned him by the command of God."

Chapter V. is a running commentary on the *diwan* by Sir Richmond Palmer, who is able to draw from his extensive knowledge of Arabic and other documents relating to the Sudan and Northern Africa. But many of Sir Richmond's comments are ethnological speculations, based on the most doubtful of all foundations —verbal assonance. Thus it is said (p. 150) that "The Kanuri word *ḳausu*= Sun, must be the same word as *Kish, Kush, or Kash,* a people name from the earliest times"; and (p. 141) that the Kanuri word for spear—viz., *ḳashagar,* "is the Tamashek word for spear, *alagh*, with the prefix *ḳash*, meaning that the word was to the original Maghumi the spear of the Kash (Kush)." The unreality of these connections is evident when it is remembered that *ḳa* (or *ḳö*) is a common Kanuri prefix, and that the Kanuri word for spear is *ḳa-saga* and not *ḳashagar*. Again, it is said (p. 169) that "variant names for Hadad (sky-God), such as Adad and Addu, suggest that the use of Tamashek *Ada* and Bornu *Ata* as meaning (*a*) father, (*b*) king-god, may have come from Asia, if they are not merely equivalents of the title Hati of Abyssinia." But *Ata* (or *Ada*) is a common word for "father" in hundreds of African tribes, and its origin must be hidden away in pre-history. That it also sometimes bears the meaning of king among many African peoples is merely due to the fact that kings are regarded as the fathers of their people. Again (on p. 242) we get the equation "Alo (a lake in Bornu) = Aloa = Yerwa = Herwa = Meroe"—a process of reasoning by which any word can be made to mean anything. On p. 120 it is said that "in the Kano Chronicle the god worshipped by the earliest Barbars of Dâla hill is called Kâgua, and as *ḳaḳu* in Kanuri means a twin, the god may have been the royal *umbilicus*"! On p. 188 there is the statement that "*ḳogu* (eagle) is connected with *ḳoguna* or *ḳoḳuna*, plural *ḳoḳunawa* = *ḳona* (*ḳwon*) = Jukon (*chu ḳwon* = great *ḳwon*) = probably the Meroitic title *ḳhabḳen*." But these words cannot be connected in this way. The name Kona, by which a group of Nigerian Jukun are known, is a common tribal title in Africa, being found in regions as far removed as the Gold Coast and the confines of the Kalahari Desert. And it is fanciful to suggest that the tribal title Jukon = *chu ḳwon*. Jukon is pronounced Jukû and almost certainly means "The men" or "People," like so many other African tribal names. Incidentally, it is impossible for anyone acquainted with the Jukun to accept such statements as that "Harkilla (Arkel) was also in Jukun tradition the king of Rum (Meroe)" (p. 250), or that "the Jukun claim a certain kinship with Songhay, with the Zaghawa and Daju of Fittri" (p. 209). or that "there exists a certain amount of evidence to support the tradition of the Kwararafa (Jukon) themselves that, leaving the Nile valley about 600 A.D., they migrated by slow degrees from the Jebel Kwon (Kordofan) to the Gongila Valley" (p. 256). The Jukun can have no genuine traditions of this kind or any knowledge of the people and regions mentioned. They are an illiterate pagan people who, though displaying features of a culture which extended to ancient Egypt, have few traditions beyond the bogus information imparted by wandering Muslim marabouts.

One of the most interesting passages in the book is the information (presented on pp. 128 ff.) concerning the ritual practice of king-killing in the Hausa States. Much of this information can only be hearsay, as the practice of king-killing, if it ever existed, must have disappeared long ago, when Muhammadanism was first introduced. Nevertheless, the details given fit in well with what we know of the custom in other parts of pagan Nigeria in recent times. On the other hand, the tradition may be partly inspired by analogy and etymology. At Katsina, one

of the Hausa States, there is an official called Kariagiwa, a word which ostensibly means Elephant-Killer. As kings are often saluted as "Bull-elephant" the Kariagiwa is presumed to have been the official king-killer. But it is unlikely that anyone would bear a title which proclaimed him to the whole world as the murderer-elect of his master. Similarly, the suggestion that a certain king of Kano was called Zamnagawa because he had murdered his predecessor is no doubt due to the fact that *zamna* in the Hausa language means "to sit" and *gawa*=corpse. Hence the Kano Chronicle asserts that "he was called Zamnagawa because he killed his predecessor, Sarkin Tsama. He shut the doors of his house for seven days." But even if Zamnagawa did kill Sarkin Tsama it is unlikely that he did so in conformity with a normal custom. For if king-killing were a regular ritual practice Zamnagawa would not have been singled out for special mention. And as elsewhere the practice was secret and sacred, and the reigning king was regarded almost as a god, and one who had no part in death, it is hardly credible that he could have been known by such a ridiculous title as "Sit-beside-the-corpse."

In connection with the subect of kingship Sir Richmond Palmer gives an interesting and little known quotation from Al Muhallebi of Baghdad (903-963 A.D.) regarding the Zaghawa: "Their houses are all of plastered clay, as is also the *kasr* of their king, whom they extol and worship as if he were God most High. They pretend that the king does not eat any ordinary food. For his sustenance he has a secret body of persons, who take food to his compound, so that no one knows where his food comes from. If it so chances that any of his subjects meet the camel which carries the king's food, that man is at once killed. The king drinks with certain chosen companions." It is clear from this account that the tenth century conception of kingship among the Zaghawa did not differ from that of the Jukun at the present time.

Some interesting facts concerning the Sultan Dunama ibn Dabale (1221-1259 A.D.) are recorded by Imam Ahmad, who wrote between 1570 and 1603: "Among the marvellous things which we heard from our elders is that in the possession of the Beni Saif was a certain thing wrapped up and hidden away whereon depended their victory in war. This was called Mune, and no one among the people of Saif ibn Dthi Yazan had dared to open it. It remained in their hands unopened until the time of Sultan Dunama ibn Dabale, who wished to break it open. His people warned him not to do so, because the victory of his predecessors had depended on it and no infidel could withstand them as long as the Mune remained wrapped up and hidden in their possession. They said, "'This has continued up to the time when God set you up as ruler over the Muslims.' He refused to listen to their advice and loosened the woof of their ancient line. It is said that when Dunama opened it, whatever was inside flew away, impelling the chief men of the kingdom to greed for dominion and high rank." In this connection Sir Richmond describes the "Mune," or "Mâni," as "the sacrum which embodied the power of Aman." But there does not seem to be any reason for altering the spelling from Mune to Mâni or, if there were, for connecting Mâni with Aman. A Fellata document found at Maiduguri says that the same Sultan sent a gift of a giraffe to the ruler of Tunis—a gift which caused consternation. The same document also records that it was the Bornu custom to make an annual sacrifice of a virgin to the local river.

Many of the documents reflect the prejudices and superstitions of their Muslim authors. Thus we are told (p. 246) that when Mu' allim al Jarmiya was put to death by a Sultan of Bornu, "his blood gushed out and traced on the ground the profession of Faith." And "when Ali went to war, if he captured less than

4,000 slaves he would give them to his learned men and set out on another expedition." Of the Zerma it is said that "alone he is equal to a thousand men, he who can run hither and thither like a puppy. His patience is like that of a pelican. God is all-powerful—He prevents the eye from seeing the eyelash." Occasionally there are valuable fragments of contemporary evidence, as on p. 224, where there is a transcript of a letter dated 1440 A.D., which was found by the French at Zaglu (Tuwat), written by the Sultan of Bornu to the Murabatin of Tuwat, asking them why they had ceased to come to Bornu and promising them safe conduct if they would renew their visits. Imam Ahmad also provides information on the days of Idris (1582 A.D.), which was written down soon after the events described: "Among the benefits which God . . . conferred on the Sultan was the acquisition of Turkish musketeers and numerous household slaves who became skilled in firing muskets."

For the closing years of the history of Bornu there are also genuine historical documents, contemporary accounts of events written by Bello, son of the Sheikh Othman dan Hodio and contained in the Arabic work entitled "Infaq-ul-Maisuri." The work records the protest of Al Kanemi to the Fulani of Sokoto against the aggressions of the Fulani towards their fellow Muslims of Bornu. "Heathenism," says Al Kanemi, "is far from our thresholds. If indeed prayer and the giving of tithes and the knowledge of God and the fasting in Ramadan and the restoration of mosques—if these are heathenism, what, then, is Islam?" Bello replied that, "if this means that you side with the Hausa chiefs, then we do not care what you say. For their heathenism is proved to us in that they make sacrifice to stones and to large trees." Of Bornu itself Bello writes that "we have heard that their chiefs" (though professing Muslims) "used to ride out to certain places and make sacrifices there; and that they used to pour the blood of sacrifice upon the gates of their cities. It is said that they had great houses with snakes and other reptiles in them, and that they used to offer sacrifices to the snakes; and that they practised ceremonies to their rivers even as the Egyptians did to the river Nile in the time of Jahiliya. They said that if they did not observe their customs, their crops would spoil, and their property be diminished and their strength become weakness." Bornu maintained its independence of the Fulani, but Al Kanemi stripped the old royal family, the Maghumi, of its power. In 1893 Rabeh Zubeir invaded Bornu and the country became Mahdist. In 1894 Bornu was partitioned between Britain, France, and Germany, but Rabeh continued to devastate the country until his defeat and death at the hands of the French in 1900. It is interesting to observe that the present Sheikh of Bornu was installed by the French at Zinder in 1900, but was deposed in the following year. He was reinstated by the British in 1922.

It should be clear from this description of Sir Richmond Palmer's book that it is one for students rather than for general readers. And those students who are interested in this little-known part of Africa will be grateful to him for the mass of valuable data brought together within the compass of this volume. If there appears to be an excess of speculation based on doubtful philology, this is overshadowed by the author's intimate knowledge of the Sudan and of all the literature pertaining thereto. The format of the book is excellent, and the photographs are of quite exceptional interest and artistic merit.

C. K. MEEK.

The Wandering Spirit. A study of Human Migration. By Ragnar Numelin, Ph.D. With a foreword by Dr. Edward Westermarck. London: Macmillan and Co. 1937. 20s.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading: one might believe that it is the question of a ghost that is wandering. The real meaning, however, is the spirit which has moved nations in the past, and even in modern times, to wander from place to place. This is a problem which has engaged the attention of many a scholar, and not a few theories have been set forth trying to explain the reason why nations suddenly changed their abode, leaving their old place and going in search of another. The author has subjected the theories which have hitherto been advanced to a very careful study, and the book is an exhaustive investigation into this fascinating problem.

Starting from the assumed primitive conditions of society deduced from the state of the so-called primitive nations now existing, the society is divided, according to the author, into three sections, the collector, the fisher, and the hunter, out of which afterwards the agricultural and sedentary life develops when the organized society arises. One need not point out that these deductions are hypothetical, but at one time or other society must have formed itself either by clans or tribes and afterwards consolidated into nations of a homogeneous character. Their action afterwards no longer is individual but collective, and wanderings therefore assume the character of mass wanderings. Various motives are examined one after the other in a number of chapters, such as geographical conditions which determine the wanderings, water, earthquakes, geographical directions, pressure towards the sea, etc., magical and religious motives, pilgrimages to holy places. The author gives here a vivid description of the migration of the South American Indians in search of the earthly paradise where people never die, and also religious wanderings of the ancient Egyptians. In one of the chapters modern and ancient colonization and so-called migration of the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans is discussed; tramps and vagabonds are also included here, and Viking expeditions. But these are wanderings of a rather mixed character, each one prompted by entirely different motives. More interesting is the chapter on the Gypsies, the real wandering folk, notwithstanding the fact that a great many are settled already in various parts of Eastern Europe. One chapter is devoted to a psycho-analytical examination of the motives, in which the author does not find any solution. Before reaching the conclusion which the author finds in search after food as being the determining factor and probably exclusively the determining factor, he has introduced into his book chapters on armed expeditions and commercial interests which, however, should not come within the category of mass migration. If the latter is more or less the result of an instinctive impulse which governs the tribe and drives it in search of food or of a better country, the armies are governed by quite a different motive—of conquest and spoil—except when specially settled in various parts as military camps for the purpose of governing the subdued nations. This forced colonization is not the result of the wandering spirit but the result of a deliberate policy of a Government or a State. The commercial interest, again, is not one which causes mass wanderings: it is always carried on individually, maybe that in the long run a larger number is gathered in one place for the same purpose; then it is again not a subconscious spirit of wandering which has brought them thither. The same is the case with pilgrims. They go to the holy places and return like the soldiers. The wanderings are not undertaken in search of food. This conclusion is limited, however, to a more primitive state of society. But there are other factors on which the author has touched in his chapter on commercial

motives—viz., that as soon as society rises out of the primitive state into one consolidated organization, then there are two dominant factors which to a large extent help in the wider dissemination of the masses of people driven by a common desire to obtain greater comfort and ease of life, the love of leisure and greater power.

But in spite of these limitations the book remains a very valuable contribution towards the great problem which has exercised the mind of many a scholar. The author shows a consummate knowledge, and the immense bibliography, which covers 44 pages, does not only show the grasp of the whole material available, but will also serve as a great help and guide to all those who will utilize his book and continue the research into this fascinating problem. Students of sociology and anthropology are placed under a very great debt of gratitude to the author. It must be added, however, the book is so compactly written that it makes no easy reading; it requires very earnest and well deserved study.

M. Gaster.

The Perfect Master. The Life of Shri Meher Baba. By C. B. Purdom. 8¾″ × 5¾″. Pp. 330. London: Williams and Norgate. 1937. 12s. 6d.

This book gives an account of Shri Meher Baba, who was a Persian by birth, though he was born in India and has done most of his work there. The author gives a long and somewhat tedious account of Baba's life, including the most trivial details and many facts which appear irrelevant, and shows how he became a "Master." The writer fails, however, to give a description of the Master's character and personality sufficiently clear to account for his undoubted influence, and the attraction which he exercises over his followers. Baba's own claim to "Christ-Consciousness" within himself is hardly borne out by the examples given of his unreasonable and exacting claims upon his followers, and the author's statement that he "creates difficulties for all who are associated with him." There is little that is Christ-like about the portrait set before us, except for the work done by Baba in establishing educational and medical work, especially for the "Untouchables," and in caring for lepers and the destitute, but this admirable work of charity had hardly been started before it was closed down again by its founder, and little of it, apparently, has been continued.

Mr. Purdom gives us no complete or systematic account of the Master's teaching, and this is the more to be regretted, since what little is included suggests that it might be of considerable interest, though at the same time it does not appear to be new or unfamiliar. It is evidently based on the mystical teaching of the Bhagavad-Gītā, which follows the Way of Purgation through Illumination to the Unitive life. "True knowledge," says Baba, "consists in illumination which finally culminates in union with the ultimate Reality . . . the obstacles to illumination are certain mental tendencies and desires connected with egoism . . . the Soul can see progress only through the gradual suppression of the finite Ego and the transformation into the Divine Ego, the One Infinite Self. . . . The best way of overcoming the Ego and attaining the Divine Consciousness is to develop Love and render selfless service to all humanity in whatever circumstances we may be placed" (pp. 170 ff.). The ultimate aim of the Soul is "Cosmic-Consciousness," when it realizes its oneness with the Divine, and knows that creation is "but the changing shadow of God, the Eternal, Real Existence."

Baba's teaching on the Soul as being something beyond the gross body or the

subtle body (the vehicle of the desires and the vital forces) or the mental body (the intellect), something which is One, Formless, Eternal and Infinite, and his teaching on the Path by which it ceases to identify itself with any of these "bodies" and comes to realize its unity with the Over-Soul, the One, Indivisible Reality, has much in common with Neo-platonism and the doctrines of Ṣūfism from the time of al-Ghazālī onwards.*

Baba's mission, his biographer tells us, is not to be a teacher, nor the founder of a religion—to him "all religions are one"—nor does he seek to establish any organization or society, only a Circle of twelve disciples, for the purpose of "God-realization," but their training "is necessary a secret matter." This book certainly does not reveal the means by which the Baba's followers may be led to attain this high ideal.

The book is well produced and fully indexed.

M. S.

Kemal Ataturk. A Biography. By Hans Froembgen. Translated from the German by Kenneth Kirkness. Jarrolds. 18s.

The author of this book divides his hero's life into three parts, entitled respectively "The Soldier," "The Rebel," and "The Victor." This division corresponds to the stages of Ataturk's career, but the book is scarcely entitled to be called a biography in the ordinary sense of that word. Rather is it a series of short, staccato sentences, written in the style of a lurid novel of a generation ago, in which we are given the actual words supposed to have been uttered by the characters on occasions when their actual sayings could not possibly have been recorded. Two quotations will perhaps indicate the style and character of the book. Here, for example, is a description of French troops entering Constantinople after the War (the date is not given):

> "The massive, unornamented Hagia Sofia loomed ominously above the maze of houses which stretched as far as the harbour.
>
> Turkish sentries—starved, battered creatures in ragged khaki—stood guard at its gates.
>
> The sounds of cheering in Pera were borne to them across the water.
>
> Night cast a black mantle upon Stambul. Pera was ablaze with light. On the windows of the palaces could be seen the shadows of the officers dancing. The latest tunes from Paris could be heard.
>
> Rich Levantines had thrown open their drawing-rooms and had staged balls in the honour of their liberators.
>
> In the harbour all was still. The heavy forms of English battleships lay in the gently moving waves of the Bosporus. Floating side by side, their guns pointed as a silent threat against the Magic City. . . .
>
> On the Galata Bridge stood two Turkish officers, tall, wiry men with the figures of horsemen, who looked over the sides of the bridge at the water below."

And here is an extract from the description of the trial of Colonel Arif Bey:

> "A few seconds, which seemed like an eternity, passed.
>
> Ali nodded encouragingly. The old woman turned slowly back to that

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* *Cf.* al-Ghazālī's *al-Risālat al-haduniyya.*

kind, benevolent old gentleman, the Hanging Judge. Arif's eyes were fixed to her lips, which began slowly to open.

A movement passed through the room as, clearly and distinctly, she answered, 'Yes!' She knew the men.

Arif's eyes bulged in their sockets. He almost shouted: 'Ayesha!'

Questioned again, the old woman repeated: 'Yes.'

Ali beamed. The Public Prosecutor crowed and triumphed.

Arif had collapsed. A momentary faintness had overcome him, but he recovered almost immediately. He regained full self-control and all his former bravado.

To hell with the trial and the court!

He scarcely troubled to listen to the rest of the proceedings.

Ali had already asked whether the worthy old *hanum* could say that the colonel had received these men at night.

'Yes,' Ayesha had replied.

Arif realized that he was finished."

A book written throughout such as is this one in this style might perhaps claim the title of a piece of impressionism, but not that of a biography. Nor is the translator always blameless, as witness, for example, "A numberable company of grousers" (p. 97), and, "The Dervish friars found themselves robbed of their livings" (p. 237).

The book is highly priced at 18s.

Allah Dethroned: A Journey through Modern Turkey. By Lilo Linke. Constable. 15s.

The first half of this book is rather unsatisfying fare: what little meat it contains is of the potted variety, with a guidebook flavour, administered in small doses at the ends of several of the chapters. Indeed, the reader might suspect that here is just another travel book by an "intrepid woman explorer," in the superficial style that is, happily, now being superseded. But he, or she, mistakes. With the chapter on modern Turkish education as she saw it at Malatya in South-Eastern Anatolia, the authoress settles down to her subject, the material and intellectual development of the new Turkey. And absorbing reading she makes of it. The spirit of devotion to progress, symbolized, as it must inevitably be among a people not yet so very far removed from the *harim* and the veil, by the ever-present portrait of the Gazi, Kamal Ataturk, is well portrayed. Modern methods in the schoolroom, fields and orchards, the hygienic reconditioning of factories, mass medical inspections for the control of malaria and trachoma are all being introduced at the general wish, and, noticeably, by less rigid and machine-like methods than under other dictators. People of all classes and professions appear to accept the rapid modernization of their country of their own free will—though often with lack of understanding and with many blunders—rather than in servile obedience.

This spirit of new Turkey and its leaders is aptly illustrated by the inscription written in a child's guide to citizenship which was presented to the traveller by its author, the Director of Education in one of the *vilayets*: "We shall educate our children in a way which makes them capable of using their brains even in unaccustomed circumstances, of taking necessary decisions without waiting for

orders from above, of developing a spirit of enterprise and a desire to overcome all difficulties which may block the way." A country whose children are so educated should attain to greatness. If for that dedication alone and the promise that it holds out, this book is a valuable contribution towards appreciation of the new Turkey. An interesting appendix gives an official translation of the Programme of the Republican People's Party, as accepted by the fourth Grand Congress, May 9, 1935.

In addition to a keen power of observation, there is in some of the author's remarks a neatness of expression that is very engaging. Two Englishmen had arrived at the hotel at Malatya in a broken-down car, towed in by four horses. "They alone seemed completely unconcerned in a general commotion: they were sitting in the largest room of the house, sorting butterflies and plants. 'Hello,' I said as I passed the open door. 'Hello,' they answered, hardly looking up. They were both young, but went about their work with the ageless absorption of all scientists." Again, she writes: "Fortified by the clarity of mind which is the reward of those who have faced their accounts, I strode into the branch office of the Banque Ottomane."

The various people whom she met the authoress describes with sympathetic understanding. Her account of the fatherly pride of the ex-soldier *vali* of Izmir in the progress of his people is delightful. Simple and kindly despite his high position and military reputation, he carried a large bag of sweets on a tour on which the authoress accompanied him. "With an air as if he were handing decorations to distinguished soldiers," he distributed them to the children, policemen, and his chauffeur with a friendly impartiality that won their complete confidence. "He really saw and knew everything and everyone."

D. M.

IN A PERSIAN FOG

Half the World is Isfahan. By Caroline Singer and Cyrus le Roy Baldridge. Oxford University Press. 21s.

This is a very flashy book—flashy writing and pretty pictures, dazzlingly bound and wrapped. The author falls head-first into the great trap which yawns in the path of an Eastward voyager: she chooses a style which shall represent by its individuality an experience of the soul—for every intelligent journey in the East is something of a psychic adventure—and it results, unfortunately, in a great deal of commonplace vulgarity. "Roving clouds merge and unfurl pennants of rain." This is worthy of "The Sheek." And sometimes she is obscure: "Two times out of three—His Majesty's imposing profile wins the wire springs upon which no mattress rests. To the loser goes the mattress—upon boards." Is it really necessary to spin a coin as though it were a millstone, even though the coin is Oriental? Every substantive is harnessed to a monstrous cartload of adjectives, and the adverbs burst into the sentences like hiccoughs in a drunkard's speech. Barracks have to be described as "soldier-filled," and we are wearied by an incessant use of the historic present, one of the most difficult forms to use with effect. The drawings are a little too pretty whenever the subject is feminine and the coloured ones are deplorable. Shall we throw this book into the fire? No.

Beneath the redundance and the silliness there is real talent. Every now and again the author hits on a really apt adjective. Tehran is described as "the land-bound capital," and that simple evocation brings Persia magically close to

the senses again. The Persia of Reza Shah is not a free country, and for a Persian of to-day to be seen much in the company of a European is to court real disasters. The author, aware of this, disguises places and identities. In this she shows great artistry. Sudden appearances and disappearances convey, as no other method than the prescribed one could, the confused experience of modern Asia. And the portraiture is excellent. The late Prince Teymourtash, a figure calumniated in his lifetime, ridiculously calumniated or sentimentally over-praised after his extinction by his Royal master, is here sketched with a sure hand and great power. I knew him slightly, but I know him much better after reading this book. If the whole had been written with commonsense it might have been a classic. Landscapes and great new adventures are never well conveyed to another by mere raving.

CHRISTOPHER SYKES.

Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen. Von Hannes Sköld. Im Auftrage der königlichen Gesellschaft der Geisteswissenschaften zu Lund aus dem Nachlasse herausgegeben. Wörterverzeichnisse von H. Smith. 9⅝″ × 6⅜″. Pp. viii + 319. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1936.

This is a book by a specialist for specialists. Dealing with the group of Iranian languages spoken chiefly in the valleys of the Oxus where it skirts the Pamirs, and of its tributaries, it is primarily of interest to the Iranian Philologists.

This series of related languages, which must have originally developed in effective isolation from the main stream of Iranian, and little subject to alien influences, is spoken by small communities of people settled in the inaccessible recesses of a very difficult mountain-country. With the establishment of the Soviet régime, now in full force, to the north, however, developments may be expected which will eventually lead to the breaking down of this isolation; and once subjected to the impact and the attractions of the outer world, these peoples will lose their individuality. They will become assimilated to the population of the plains of Tajikistan, and their distinctive languages will give place to the less interesting, but more useful, Tajiki Persian which in varying forms serves as a *lingua franca* over a wide area. This process has already begun, and it is very important to philology that as full a record as possible should be obtained of the Pamir languages before they vanish for ever.

For long they were the object of only sporadic and more or less accidental attention, so that until recent years R. B. Shaw (of Kashgar), who published in 1876-7, was the chief authority on Shughni, as he still is on Wakhi and Serikoli. Early in the present century, however, things took a turn for the better and contributions to our knowledge of some of the languages have been made by Hjuler (1912), Gauthiot (1916), Sir Aurel Stein (published by Sir George Grierson, 1920), The Linguistic Survey of India (1921), Morgenstierne (1928), Zarubin (1924-27 and later).

High-water mark was reached in 1928, when the no doubt surprised and gratified inhabitants of the Shughnan region received visits from two linguistic specialists. W. Lenz, a German member of the Russo-German Alai-Pamir Expedition of that year, carried out an independent tour, in the course of which he spent six weeks in the country, during three of which he halted at Oroshor in the Bartang Valley. The first fruits of his researches were published in 1933 under the title: "Pamir-Dialekte I. Materalien zur Kenntniss der Schugni Gruppe." Meanwhile, in the same season the Swedish scholar Hannes Sköld,

with financial assistance from the Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfund Lund, made his way from Osch *via* Pamirski Post and the Shughnan valley Roshan, where he halted for two months. The travellers did not apparently m in their courses, and neither has, I think, taken cognizance of the other in writings.

On this tour Sköld collected material relating to the Shughni group and ghulami, and also to Ishkashmi and Wakhi. The present volume deals in main with the Shughni languages.

Unfortunately Sköld died in 1930 before he had completed it. Its appear now, in its present form, is due to the co-operation of Drs. H. Smith an Jarring under the supervision of Professor G. Morgenstierne. The book mences with an Introduction of 25 pages by Skold, in which he deals briefly several points of interest; among them the question of external influences r sented by the Persian current in Tajikistan, and the similar form spoke Badakhshan. After the Introduction come 104 pages of Shughni, Roshani. Bajui Texts and German translations, followed by comparative lists of 538 v in five languages and dialects of the Shughni group, Yazghulami and Wakhi a list of 78 Shughni and Roshani verbs. Indexes to the words in the va languages are provided, and there is a German Index covering the compar lists and the texts. Finally there is a Glossary of Shughni (Roshani and B words with references to their occurrence in the Texts and in the publ works of Morgenstierne, Zarubin, and Lentz. This Glossary occupies 82 p and contains something like 2,000 entries.

It is obvious that nothing has been left undone to facilitate the utilizatic Sköld's material; it remains only to say that the arrangement is throughout ac ably clear and methodical. The book is a model of its kind. One negative cism may be made. Only one small map is provided, which shows the aut route, but fails to mark the locality of most of the languages dealt with alone of those lying further afield.

In conclusion, it may be noted that while the book is essentially for philolo folklorists also may find subject of interest in the translation of the texts, s which are folktales.

D. L. R. Lorim

Forbidden Road: Kabul to Samarkand. By Rosita Forbes. Ca 8¾″ × 5¾″. 301 pp. 15s.

We may congratulate that experienced traveller, Rosita Forbes, on her in planning her recent journey. She wished to traverse Afghanistan, the l of a warlike, conservative race, devoted to the Monotheistic religion of Is which contrasts violently with the atheistical republics to the north of the O now representing Bokhara the noble, and Samarkand, which she also purp to visit.

Spending a busy day or two in the Peshawar bazaar, where she saw a Til pedlar, a Moslem of Ferghana, a merchant from Bokhara, the Bokharan rema to her, "Peshawar is the market of Central Asia. If you wait here long en you will meet everyone." Leaving this city, the Gate of Afghanistan, in a l the author notes the invisibility produced by the cardboard-brown hills. E thing merges into the general formlessness, and thereby makes the well-ai sniper such a menace to us.

From the Khyber to Kabul the road was a moving string of camels, w

owners were returning from the plains of India to their native uplands. "1 children and kids, lambs, and puppies, were piled high above the humps, i which they looked as if they must immediately fall."

At Kabul the author gives a description, with excellent illustrations, of new city that is being built outside the narrow, picturesque bazaars. Afgh tan, the great stronghold of Islam in Central Asia, she considers constitutes barrier between the Communism of Russia and the millions of India. Under present Government, fair-weather roads, along which run postal lorries, con the various centres with the frontiers. To-day, probably for the first tim history, law and order have been established, so that travellers along t caravan routes are safe. The army is now well paid, well equipped, an number of German officers are training it for modern warfare. But the mili strength of Afghanistan is really based on the splendid fighting qualities of tribesmen of the Eastern provinces. The Tajiks of Herat, on the other hand, peaceful cultivators.

Education for boys and young men is progressing, but the conserva Afghan, voiced by his mullahs, remains opposed to the education of wor and the abolition of the veil. "Hasten slowly" is wise policy in Afghanista fact which is fully realized by the capable Prime Minister, who is the u of the young King.

After paying a flying visit on a postal lorry to Ghazni and Kandahar, Rc Forbes, accompanied by Captain Galloway, started off on a lorry loaded v planks, shovels, ropes, and many spare parts, in addition to bedding, food, fuel, on a somewhat adventurous journey across the ranges to Mazar-i-Sh distant some four hundred miles. This constitutes the "Forbidden Road" to dwellers of Uzbegistan and Tajikistan.

Bamiyan, famous for its important Buddhist remains, was inspected. rampart of red rock climbed sheer to the snow-line. It was porous with c and split by the niches of giant Buddhas. Strange flying formations rose ab the honeycomb town, and the proud colour was slashed with green, rust-bro and indigo." To Captain Galloway we owe some excellent illustrations. Bey Bamian the track runs through a gorge thirty-four miles long, only just w enough in places for a lorry to pass, while the cliffs rise overhead to a g height.

Mazar-i-Sharif, situated in the level valley of the Oxus, contains a beaut mosque in which the tomb of Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad and the four of the Shiah sect, is shown to thousands of pilgrims. Actually he was buriec far-distant Najaf in Iraq.

From ruined Balkh, the traveller crossed the Oxus to Termez, where v extreme difficulty she found a seat among Central Asian peasantry in the t bound for Kagan, the station for Bokhara. Apart from difficulties in find accommodation, food was also very hard to come by, both at Bokhara anc Samarkand. Her views on the new order demand our attention. She consic that Bolshevism has come to stay, and that the young are strongly in favour it. She aptly contrasts the miserable women, covered by the hideous bl garment and a horsehair veil to match, with young girls in shorts, running ro the public gardens. There is no doubt that the women, whom a manager scribed as running to the factory instead of to the judge or the priest, and v regard it as a new heaven and a new earth, are better off, but what about peasants who were robbed of the lands, and the nomads who were starved death? There must be another side to this question.

In any case, Rosita Forbes aptly summarizes the views she heard when

writes: "While India is obsessed with the expedients of nationalism or imperialism, Uzbegistan and Tajikistan think in terms of human development."

From Bokhara, another desperate struggle for a seat in the train brought the author to Samarkand, where the group of the historic buildings in general, and of the tomb of Tamerlane in particular, are in a much worse state of preservation than when I first saw them some forty-five years ago. Soon, I fear, they will all have crumbled into dust.

To conclude, thanks to exceptional pluck, and in spite of famine conditions for the traveller, and the lack of the decencies of life, we owe to Rosita Forbes a well-reasoned personal account of the evolution that is occurring in Central Asia, while she made a good use of her camera. The map I cannot commend; it is not worthy of the excellent book.

P. M. Sykes.

The Road to Oxiana. By Robert Byron. Macmillan and Co. 1937. 10s. 6d.

Robert Byron, the author of this valuable book, has travelled far and wide in Persia and Afghanistan. Indeed, no other traveller, so far as I know, has visited practically all the famous buildings of both countries with such untiring energy and critical appraisement. In this review I propose to deal with his journey across North-Eastern Persia and North-Western Afghanistan, which areas contain the less known but yet outstanding examples of Moslem architecture which he describes. His companion in this journey was Christopher Sykes, who has also travelled far and wide in Persia.

Leaving the British Legation in April, after breakfasting under the famous wisteria, the travellers crossed the pass leading down to the coast of the Caspian Sea in a snowstorm, but suddenly, after quitting the bare, wind-swept plains of the Iranian plateau, "the trees gathered into a glowing forest of bare trunks whose leafy vaults shut out the sky."

They visited the ruins of the royal pleasaunce at Ashraf, where, in 1627, Shah Abbas received the unfortunate English ambassador, Sir Dodmore Cotton, who died shortly afterwards, a victim to the malarious climate.

Their next objective was Asterabad and, moving on from this picturesque city: "Suddenly as a ship leaves an estuary, we came out on to the steppe: a dazzling open sea of green. I never saw that colour before. In other greens, of emerald, jade, or malachite, the harsh green of the Bengal jungle . . . some element of blue or yellow predominates over the others. This was the pure essence of green, indescribable, the colour of life itself." From a distance of twenty miles "a small cream needle stood up against the blue of the mountains, which we knew for the tower of Kabus."

Byron describes this *gumbad* as a tapering cylinder built of long and thin brick which rises to a height of 150 feet. Inside, according to tradition, the body of Kabus was suspended in a glass coffin. In the opinion of the author, the tower ranks with the great buildings of the world.

The travellers next proceeded to Meshed, the Sacred City of Persia, famous for its golden-domed shrine. But, from Byron's point of view, the great mosque of Gohar Shad, wife of famous Shah Rukh, was the chief attraction. Visiting it, disguised as a Persian, he was overwhelmed with its beauty, which he describes in glowing language, beginning with: "The whole quadrangle was a garden of turquoise, pink, dark red and dark blue . . ." He considers it to be the greatest surviving monument of the period. Certainly the famous buildings of Samar-

kand and Bokhara cannot be compared with the exquisite beauty of the mosque built by Gohar Shad.

Byron visited Herat twice and writes lovingly and with characteristic thoroughness about its departed glories. And here again Gohar Shad was the patroness by whose orders the erstwhile superb group of buildings was erected. He also dwells on her tragic fate and undying fame.

The roads in Afghanistan are mainly fair-weather tracks and consequently travelling by car has its drawbacks. For example, crossing the range to the north-east of Herat, the undercarriage was "impaled on a boulder." Two shepherds came by: "We begged them to wait and help us. They said they dared not, owing to the wolves. But one of them, at his own suggestion, lent us his rifle and two remaining bullets, to see us through the night." Truly a Good Samaritan!

From Bala Murghat, with its memories of the Panjdeh Crisis of 1885, the route ran parallel to the Russian frontier—Maimena, Dadkhui and Akcha, names so familiar to British frontier officers of fifty years ago. Of the wayfarers he writes: "Most of them were mounted on horses of a miniature hunter type, as though the Chinese and Arab breeds had met here; with their gay turbans, flowing beards, flowered robes and carpets pulled up behind them, they might have stepped from any Timurid painting."

Balkh, once known as "the Mother of Cities," was surrounded by ruins belonging to the great capital destroyed by Jenghis Khan. Its chief building is a shrine, erected in 1461, to the memory of a Saint of no especial distinction. The body of the building is a brick octagon, surmounted by a fluted dome. A tiled façade and two minarets complete a whole which Byron terms unsubstantial and romantic. He has made a striking illustration of it.

To their bitter disappointment the travellers were not permitted to view the historical Oxus. They therefore crossed the Hindu Kush to Kabul and enjoyed the beauty of the "Towers of Victory" at Ghuzni, the larger of which Byron compared with the Gumbad-i-Kabus.

To conclude, the author has given us an authoritative description of the wonderful monuments he visited, which will make his book a classic. He cannot be said to have seen eye to eye with the local authorities on every occasion, nor are his indiscretions always tactful, although his comments are frequently amusing. The illustrations are excellent and the sketch maps adequate.

P. M. SYKES.

The Ascent of Mount Stalin. By Michael Romm. Translated by Alec Brown. $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$. Pp. xiv+268. Illustrations and maps. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1936.

An enthusiastic secretary has pounced upon me as the most likely "authority." I meekly submit in order to save postage and bother. Unfortunately I happen to be one of the four experts (outside Russia) intimately and actively connected with the peak and its neighbourhood. My outlook is therefore highly specialized—narrow, in plain English—and laid open to the taunt of being prejudiced.

Mount Garmo (now Stalin) was discovered by the late Dr. Deimler and myself: I had always hoped to climb it; our expedition has been garbled; and, worst of all, another mountain which bore my unsullied name owing to the (geographically mistaken) kindness of friends, has been spirited away or painted red. If at least the portrait of the author (frontispiece No. 1) were not like so much salt into the wounds of tortured vanity.

The first ascent of Mt. Stalin (7,495 m.) is a feat which commands respect. Anything above 7,000 m. (22,000 feet) is what the hunters of big game call a good head. It is a pity that we do not get the story first-hand from Gorbunov (frontispiece No. 2), but from the "writer-up" attached to the staff.

The expedition here described bears witness to that unbounded pioneering spirit for which we must admire the Russians whether we will or not. It is an unsophisticated spirit regardless of the consequences. It explains the whole problem of the U.S.S.R. A still untechnical people strives to realise the state as a gigantic piece of engineering.

A good machine is a structure in which every part, from the tiniest screw upwards, has received as much painstaking attention as the whole, and which therefore reflects the patient and intelligent collaboration of the workers. An engine turned out in the West corresponds to the mighty human machine called industry built up in the course of centuries. We can rely upon the nuts and bolts because we can rely upon the community of workers. Machine and man have educated each other.

Not so in Russia, where all construction transcending handicraft reminds one of an old Ford held together by bits of string, as in the case of travellers coming home after six months in the desert.

The other side of the picture is the sad shrinkage of adventurous enterprise with us. We find it more and more difficult to cast ourselves adrift from the leviathan of Western civilization. Empire-building has become a task of civil engineering, and equipment our everlasting bugbear. Thus, for instance, the time is near when improvement of the map will be impossible without a hundredweight of photogrammetric apparatus. The true adventurer cannot hope to return with anything better than a well-written thriller of failures, accidents and lucky escapes. The mechanism of the commonwealth reaps tangible results only by stretching out its tentacles of steel.

True, the Russians lugged a trainload of men and material into the highest Pamirs. But then the Tajikistan-Complex-Expedition of 297 collaborators formed part of the Five-Years' Plan and thus had the unlimited resources of the nation behind it, so that nobody need ever worry about a possible lack of funds or labour. The activities on the Fedchenko glacier and Mount Stalin represented only a section of this gigantic undertaking under the capable leadership of Nicolai Petrovitch Gorbunov.

Among other things they built a big meteorological observatory in the heart of the glaciers at a height of 4,300 m. Pardonable enthusiasm imagines it to be the highest in the world. I only just happen to remember the one on Misti (6,100 m.).

Double refraction of the facts seems to have caused a slight double distortion, for both author and translator lack the most elementary knowledge for a tale of travel and mountaineering. We notice a very poor bump of locality coupled with much inaccuracy of statement, terminology and nomenclature. I am not speaking pedantically about scientific accuracy, but of the common decencies of geographical writing. On page 112 my bunch is supposed to have christened the Fedchenko glacier, which was first seen and named by Oshanin in 1881, or nearly 60 years ago.

Romm's account of the German activities (Rickmers and Co., 1913 and 1928) is so hazy that it would take me pages to clear it up, that is to say if I could make out what he means. Is it necessary to describe the mists rising from the landscape of a clouded topographical intellect? All one has to do is to look at Finsterwalder's wonderful map, which tells a long story of hard work in

nguage terse and clear. It also explains automatically our earlier reports and otographs.

One might imagine that the translator was lingering in some Russian prison thout access to English books. How otherwise explain a system of transcription olved from the inner consciousness. The results are weird: Kirghizian, ızbekian, Tadjikian; Amou-Daria, Kara-Koul, Mourghab, Mouk-Sou; Harm arm), Horog (Khorog); Piandzh, Khodzhent (Panj, etc.); Duchambe (Du-ambe), Kzyl-Sou (Kizil-su).

The author gives us so many intimate and interesting details about modern velopment in and around the Pamirs—political, social, engineering—that we gret the suspicion of inaccuracy which he has aroused in us.

In spite of the drawbacks old Centralasians will find the book informative, ggestive and entertaining owing to Romm's gift of the gab. He can tell a ely story of men among the mountains. The translator does full justice to the ırnalist. I cannot make up my mind, however, whether the pictures are bad artistic. Some are quite impressive, others mere blobs.

As an "expert" I damn with faint praise. As a reader I praise with faint mns.

W. R. R.

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he Twentieth Century in the Far East. By P. H. B. Kent. 6″ × 9″. Pp. 390. Arnold and Co. 1937. 16s.

The Twentieth Century in the Far East—it needs a bold man to set out to kle so vast a subject, but the author of the book with this title proves that he s had not only the necessary courage, but also the industry and the knowledge Eastern affairs needed to carry the work to a successful conclusion. Of course, he says in his Preface, there are "gaps which to some will seem serious," but disarms criticism on this head by explaining that he does not pretend to ovide a continuous history, but rather to take his readers by a series of leaps m one outstanding landmark to another, "as it were, by a chain of telegraph sts carrying the thread of the story."

One is tempted to carry this simile a little further in order to illustrate the ncipal deficiency in the book. A line of telegraph poles gives one a clear ırse to follow; but it is one which is straight and narrow, and he who travels ng it sees little of what lies in the country stretching on either side. So, too, . Kent's book holds one to a somewhat circumscribed track, consisting mainly the relation of facts, and one is seldom asked to explore the deeper psychological ects of the situations with which the author is dealing. Their interpretation, ne readers will feel, is given a little too much from a purely Western, one may en say Anglo-Saxon, standpoint, which allows for hardly sufficient recognition the often profoundly different outlook and standards of the Oriental races. is shows itself in the treatment of such questions as the Shanghai incident of ıy 30, 1925, when Chinese students lost their lives in the attack on the Louza lice station in the International Settlement. The story is given in Chapter XV th irreproachable fairness to all parties concerned, yet of the peculiarities of the inese mentality which caused them to see the affair through such different eyes m those of the foreigner there is, one would venture to say, too little indica-n. Yet in making this criticism it may be that one is asking too much. w many writers on international questions have the capacity of "getting der the skin" of the people of other nations and at the same time of preserving

the sober and balanced judgment which characterizes Mr. Kent's book? Nor should one give the impression that the book is lacking in human feeling, which is far from being the case. Perhaps one can best sum it up in a word which its author will assuredly not resent—it is very essentially "English."

The book is notable among other books of its kind for its high level of accuracy in regard to ascertainable facts. It has the further merit of being composed at first-hand by one who has lived through the events on the spot and who has fairly obviously relied mainly on material which he has collected himself through the years—not to mention the records supplied by a very retentive memory—and is far less dependent than the majority of historical writers on other people's compilations.

Mr. Kent deals in turn with China's foreign relations from the "Boxer" Protocol of 1911 onwards, the growth of her nationalist movement and the foreign contribution to her economic and cultural development (in the chapter on this subject he ignores the limitation of his title and carries one back to the events of the nineteenth century). Then he turns to Japan, tells the story of her emergence into the ranks of the "Western" nations and gives a full and admirably balanced account of her expansion on to the continent of Asia and of the conflict with China and Russia which this expansion involved. He concludes with an appreciation of China's position in 1936 (the book is in all respects very well up to date), followed by a short exposé of his views on the outlook for the future.

The immediate problem in Far Eastern affairs—namely, that of Sino-Japanese relations—consists in the author's view largely in a conflict between China's need to raise living standards by developing and using her own natural resources, and Japan's requirement that she should solve Japanese needs by putting her raw materials at Japanese disposal. "The struggle, then, between China and Japan will," he says, "be for economic domination of this vital region"—referring to North China, where industrial raw materials are chiefly concentrated. This view of the situation may be true in the long run, but as a short-term view it cannot altogether be reconciled with that other school of thought—which has had the eminent support of Sir Arthur Salter and Dr. Rajchman of the League of Nations—that China should not be aiming at the sort of industrialization which requires the use of large mineral resources, but should at present concentrate on the improvement of agriculture. If she does this, the conflict on which Mr. Kent lays so much emphasis may at least be postponed for several decades.

One of the later chapters of the book bears the title "Pan-Asianism," and the importance which it has for the author is shown by another passage where he suggests that the future of the world in our time can be expressed—or could be, at all events, two years ago—"in terms of the resultant of three opposing forces: Communism, Pan-Asianism, and the world leadership of Europe." Yet the meaning which he gives to the word is curiously restricted. So far from implying a movement among the races of Asia to form themselves into an entity, opposed perhaps to Europe and America, Pan-Asianism is identified by Mr. Kent with what is commonly—though, as he rightly observes, inadequately—described as Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Eastern Asia. It is perhaps mainly a question of terms, but it is surely true that there exists in Japan a Pan-Asiatic movement, in the truer sense of the term—a movement primarily aimed at the cultural and religious *rapprochement* of Asiatic peoples—which is quite a different thing from Japan's notorious claim to be arbiter in the affairs of Eastern Asia and to be recognized as solely responsible for "the maintenance of peace."

G. E. Hubbard.

Prince Ito. By Kengi Hamada. 232 pp. London: George Allen and Unwin, Limited. 7s. 6d.

The career of Prince Ito presents one of the most remarkable and romantic rises to fame in modern times. Born in 1841, he was the son of a poor farmer who claimed kinship with the great Choshu clan. In the annals of old Japan the members of this clan were famed for their sagacity. In his youth he became involved in the great quarrel between the Royalists and the Shogunate which ended in the abolition of the latter and the opening of Japan to the modern world. Paradoxically, young Ito strongly supported the Court party in their attempts to force the Shogun to abandon treaty-making with the foreign governments and, on one occasion, he actually helped to burn down the newly-established British Legation! Realizing, however, the superior material strength possessed by the foreigners he suddenly resolved to visit Europe in order to learn foreign methods, and he spent six months studying in London. This visit proved to be the turning point in his life and converted him into an apostle of modernization and progress.

From this time forward he embarked on a career of almost unbroken success, although at times he did not hesitate to oppose popular opinion when necessary. The mere recital of the works which he accomplished, the offices which he filled, and the missions which he carried out, is almost bewildering. More than any other Japanese, he personified the rise of modern Japan. As the Lord Mayor of London said in a welcoming speech delivered at the beginning of the year 1902, which is quoted in this book, "The incidents of that career do not only represent the achievements of a great character, of a wonderful brain, an indomitable will and public spirit, but they have carried with them from year to year the destinies of an Empire which, it is hardly too much to say, has been created in a few decades." The publication of this book comes at an opportune moment to remind us of the guiding principles laid down by the greatest of Japanese Liberal statesmen at a time when Japan is engaged in a period of expansion on the mainland of Asia, the outcome of which none can foretell.

The career of Prince Ito was so multifarious that it is quite impossible to examine it in detail. Broadly speaking, it may be said that his life was made up of four careers rolled into one—administrator, politician, diplomat, and proconsul.

As an administrator, his first great deed was to effect the abolition of feudalism and the readjustment of Japanese society. Then, after a course of intensive foreign study, he founded the financial system of Japan, while as Minister of Public Works he established all kinds of public improvements and guided the nation on the pathway of technical progress. Turning to questions of jurisprudence he presided over the reforms carried out in the judicial system, played an important rôle in the abolition of extra-territoriality and, finally, controlled the drafting of the new constitution and the inauguration of parliamentary government in Japan.

Mr. Hamada clearly shows that Prince Ito's career as a political leader certainly represents the least successful part of his life. During the four periods in which he filled the office of Prime Minister he was constantly involved in violent party quarrels. In spite of his great prestige he was unable to control the political system which he had created. His most notable political act was to found the Seyukai party—the first genuine political party in Japan—basing his political platform on principles of patriotism, moderation, and the reform of electoral abuses.

Prince Ito started his diplomatic career at an early age when, as a young man, he was called upon to intervene in the quarrel between the four foreign nations

and his own Choshu clan. The noblest act in his diplomatic career is contained in the unofficial mission which he undertook at St. Petersburg towards the end of the year 1901. Taking advantage of the great international reputation which he had acquired as a statesman, he strove to bring about a friendly understanding between Russia and Japan in the Far East and thus to avert the calamity of war. This attempt was frustrated by the uncompromising spirit displayed by both parties. He was on a diplomatic mission in Manchuria, the object of which was to settle the disputes which had arisen about railway construction when, on his arrival at Harbin station on October 21, 1909, he was struck down by a Korean assassin.

It is natural that the Korean question should occupy a prominent place in this biography. Mr. Hamada has no difficulty in proving that Prince Ito's attitude towards the Korean nation was far more generous and tolerant than that adopted by other prominent Japanese statesmen. For some time he strove to maintain the independence of Korea and, with this object in view, he brought about the war with China which destroyed China's claim to suzerainty. Thereafter, he tried to ensure a measure of Home Rule for Korea within the Japanese Empire. The two factors which brought about the downfall of the Korean dynasty and the extinction of Korean independence were—firstly, the ruthless determination of the Japanese Government to prevent any foreign nation from obtaining a foothold in Korea; secondly, the supineness of the Korean ruler, together with the weakness and corruption of the Korean administration and their intrigues with Russia. On December 31, 1905, at the age of 64, Prince Ito became the first Resident-General of Korea, and it fell to his lot to accept the abdication of the monarch and to inaugurate the Japanese Protectorate.

During three strenuous years he tried at all times to cover the strong hand of Japan with a velvet glove and to associate the Koreans with the necessary reforms and the reorganization of the Government, but only with partial success. There is a curious hard core of nationalism in the Korean character which neither Prince Ito nor subsequent Japanese administrators have been able to dissolve. However, the great work which he started in Korea has eventually borne fruit.

Literary critics are informing us in the Press that the reading public is growing tired of ponderous and turgid biographies. In this respect Mr. Hamada's work is greatly to be commended, as he has presented a clear and comprehensive life of the great man within the compass of 232 pages. The book is written in a strangely impersonal manner. Beyond learning that Prince Ito, throughout his life, was the gayest of gay Lotharios, we can gather no information whatever as to his personal habits, his friends, his tastes, and his foibles. His wife is only once mentioned by name. Similarly, no attempt is made to portray the curious feudal Japan in which Prince Ito was born and which disappeared largely through his efforts. In short, the book lacks the personal touch and is devoid of all local colour. This is certainly a defect from the point of view of the general reader, though it does not detract from the historical value of the work.

According to a bibliographical note the book has been compiled from Japanese sources supplemented by information obtained from various American publications. It is natural that the point of view adopted should be extremely pro-Japanese. Making due allowance for this, it may be said the general tone running throughout is reasonable and moderate.

D. B-B.

Chinese Art and Buddhism. By Laurence Binyon. Annual Lecture on Aspects of Art. Henrietta Hertz, President of the British Academy, 1936. Price 2s. 6d. net.

A lecture by Mr. Binyon on Chinese Art is always welcome, not only because of his wide knowledge of the subject, but also because Mr. Binyon is a poet, and Chinese art, at any rate in its pictorial phases, is the most poetic art the world has produced.

The lecture discusses two questions, one the capacity of plastic and pictorial art to present spiritual conceptions, the other, how far the art of a race can assimilate the aims and ideals implicit in the art of another race.

Mr. Binyon shows how the Buddhist sculpture of China was influenced by that of India. In the Tong period particularly the influence of the Gupta style was very strong. But in China the sculptor was only an artisan, and therefore his work was never of very high quality. Unfortunately, practically all the great painting of the Tong period has perished; the only paintings which have survived are those from Tun-huang, on the western frontier. They are in purely Chinese style, and are the work of provincial artists, and few are of fine workmanship. They represent scenes from the Buddha legend, the Great Bodhisattvas, and Paradises. The idea of the latter was familiar to the Chinese through Taoist beliefs.

The Buddhist inspiration illustrated by these paintings and by the Indian sculpture seems to have become exhausted by the thirteenth century. But a quite different influence was introduced by the Zen Buddhism, and has continued to recent times. It has a strong affinity to Toism, and claims to go back behind all doctrine, ritual, and ceremonies, to the experience of enlightenment. The art inspired by it is concerned with landscapes, flowers, and figures, any casual incident, often a humorous one. In the Zen painting Buddhism found at last a purely Chinese expression.

The Indian Civil Service. By Sir Edward Blunt, K.C.I.E., O.B.E. $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. Faber and Faber. 1937. 8s. 6d.

To the Indian Civil Service Great Britain owes the Indian Empire. The foundations were laid by Clive and Hastings; their successors in the Civil Service expanded and developed it up to the Mutiny of 1857. John Lawrence and his colleagues in the Service were the chief agents in preserving it through that crisis: while during the subsequent eighty years the I.C.S. has built up a system of administration based on a synthesis of the best in the East and the West, which has won the admiration even of our enemies.

Sir Edward Blunt, a distinguished member of the Service, who in his long official career has filled many posts, and filled them all with credit, tells in this book, briefly but lucidly and vividly, how and why the Service has carried out that great achievement, and what difficulties it will have to face in the future.

The book appears at an opportune time. As Lord Hailey, whose splendid administrative record has added lustre to the Service, writes in a Foreword: "To-day the candidate for the Service knows that he will have to face altered conditions, under a constitution which will place him in a new relation to Indian Ministers, and he will meet some who will tell him that he will go out to share in the last agonies of a dying service, and in the exequies of a lost dominion."

That pessimism has, rightly or wrongly, been steadily growing, mainly owing to the hostility of an influential section of the Indian politicians who, since the

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, have been gaining wider control of the administration. It was the cause of the premature retirement in 1922-23 of many score of the best men in the I.C.S. and the Indian police, who saw no means of adapting themselves to the altered conditions and threw in their hands. Happily for India, the measures taken on the Lee Report and other factors arrested that tendency, and the stream of recruitment again began to flow.

The prospect of the immense changes made by the Act of 1935—transfers of responsibility for nearly the whole field of administration from the British Parliament to elected Indian legislatures—aroused serious anxiety as to whether there would be any scope for the British I.C.S. man under the new dispensation.

A cynical friend of the writer of this review remarked to him that the title of a work such as this should be "The Rise, Decline and Fall of the I.C.S.," and at the annual dinner of the Service a few years ago, when the Secretary of State for India was the guest, some of those present facetiously greeted him, "Ave Cæsar, morituri te salutamus." Happily, as Sir Edward Blunt points out, the Service which has weathered so many storms has survived this last trial, owing mainly to the safeguards in the new Act which make the Governor directly responsible for the protection of the British recruited services in such matters as posting, promotion, transfer, pay, pensions, etc. Recruitment of British candidates, which had seriously fallen off while the India Bill was under consideration, has again become brisk, and the Secretary of State has wisely supplemented competition—which was no longer yielding the best results—by a system of selections from among candidates whose intellectual capacity is established by their having taken a good Honours degree in one of the Universities, while their physical fitness and aptitude for dealing with men are tested by the different boards before whom they appear. Anyone who reads Sir Edward Blunt's Chapter XV., "The Civilian and the People," must agree with the late Viceroy, the Marquis of Willingdon, that "the I.C.S. is still the finest administrative service in the Empire," and that it still affords scope for not only judicial and administrative capacity, but for every hobby of the sportsman, the naturalist, botanist, ethnologist, and archæologist in his leisure hours.

No doubt the Service will be severely tried in the conflict which seems inevitable—unless the Congress leaders, who have a majority in six of the eleven provinces, adopt wiser counsels—between the subversive forces professedly working to oust the British Raj and the British-Indian Government, whose main duty is to maintain internal and external security and thus give scope to the many beneficent forces which to-day are working for the peace, progress and prosperity of the Indian peoples. In that campaign the I.C.S. is destined to play a part as essential, if not as prominent, as in the past. It will be more difficult because the British element in the Civil Service will be reduced to half the strength—viz., 700 men—for 350 millions of people; while it disappears entirely from all the allied services: public works, forestry, irrigation, education, agriculture, etc., among whom the I.C.S. man found so many co-workers and friends in his solitary district life. Hence he must look forward to long periods of isolation from his "ain folk."

But apart from that isolation the amenities of life in India are much greater now than in the past, and the emoluments of the average man are certainly not less, though the prizes may be fewer.

All who wish well to the fine old I.C.S. and to India will agree with Sir Edward Blunt's conclusion: "In future quality must make up for quantity. If the biggest experiment in constitution-making that even the British Parliament has ever attempted is to succeed, then Britain must send to India the best men she has got."

This book, which every candidate should study, will be a potent influence in encouraging recruits to come forward, and those of us who attended the annual dinner of the Service on June 10 had the satisfaction of hearing from the late Viceroy, Lord Halifax, that the number of British candidates this year for the competition and nomination exceeds 300, a figure which recalls the palmy days when the I.C.S. was looked on as the premier Service.

M. F. O'Dwyer.

The East India Company's Arsenals and Manufactories. By Brig.-General M. A. Young, C.I.E., C.B.E. 9″×6″. Pp. xi+235. Clarendon Press. 1937. 12s. 6d.

Few men are qualified as is General Young to discuss the manufactured issue of munitions in India. By nature an enthusiast, he had, during his twenty-eight years' service with the Indian Ordnance, unique opportunities for using his gifts of organization in both the manufacture and distribution sides of providing lethal stores and equipment for the army.

The glamour and clash of arms, and the responsibilities of leadership and tactics, have always tended to obscure the more material machinery of armaments. In the old days there was some reason for such a tendency, especially in India, where battles continued to be won by the amazing bravery and vitality of Thomas Atkins, often worse armed than his less virile opponents. The men thirsted for these fights as much as for their rum rations, and little troubles like inferior muskets and smaller cannon served only to add to the zest of the final bayonet rush. So much so, that a tradition grew up in leadership that the soldier must never be denied his frontal charge, and that such devices as mines and bombs and flank attacks were not quite cricket.

The reviewer, in his studies of Company actions, has often been amazed at the primitive comprehension of munition matters in Company days. Gunpowder was always going up in every Presidency, with or without its keepers, and everyone knew it and expected it. They knew, too, that victory went as often as not to that side which could keep its powder dry. Yet the story is one long category of regrettable incidents, both material and financial.

Young speaks of powder being manufactured in Masulipatam in 1610. It took about three hundred years to build up a fool-proof system to prevent accidents. Not till 1910 was gunpowder at last made in cubes and prisms of standard weight, with graphite exterior, rubber bags, in wooden barrels with copper hoops, stored right away from anything else. But by 1910 the era of gunpowder had given way to its far more manageable successor, cordite, and science had so far advanced that since Jutland we do not hear much about cordite going off at the wrong time.

It is easy to be wise after the event, but if we could have put back the clock, or, in other words, General Young, into any Presidency in any decade from 1650 to 1850, and given him his 1918 personality and administrative powers in any one of them, it is difficult to imagine that his organizing work would not have forced into existence some lasting fool-proof system which might cumulatively have saved the Company millions in money, and thousands in lives. But then, would he have been able to retain in his transubstantiation those qualities of scruple and trained thought belonging to another age?

As one peruses these pages, one is impressed with the intense study of old records which they must have involved. The reviewer's sources for such research have been mainly from old fort records in India, and fragmentary at that, so that

it is not hard to realize the magnitude of this task of weaving these odd records into a comprehensive and readable whole. The tragedy is that these results appeal to such a limited circle; a few interested in Company records as such, and a few, very few, more who can enthuse over munitions history.

The author rightly inveighs against Forbes' *History of the Army Ordnance Services*, published about 1926, stating that in India "munitions were bought from the British Board of Ordnance"! It would have been better if this writer had omitted his chapter on India from the scope of his work, as most of it is misleading. While England evolved a Master-General of Ordnance Branch in close touch with the Treasury as a sort of less peccable nucleus for sporadic campaigns, India had self-contained Presidencies, usually fighting most of the time, where the gunners, often, like General Archdale Wilson of Delhi, were Ordnance officers as well, and saw to it that their weapons met their—then comparatively simple—needs. They imported most of their guns and rifles till the end of the eighteenth century, when local resources were sufficiently developed to replace a proportion of imports. Rifling later proved to be beyond Indian resources for a while, and although a comprehensive system of manufacture of equipment dealt with the major part of the army's needs, it is not really till Kitchener's reforms after the South African War that India came to what we should now term modern munition factories.

It is only since the Great War that the paramount importance of the Peninsula being self-contained in war, coupled with the rapid development of Indian industry, has had adequate results. In 1924 India was producing 95 per cent. by *bulk* of her armies' equipment, and this percentage has now risen. A few items, like range-finders, and some tools and colours, continue to be imported, though if it were not for the need to foster new industries it would be cheaper to import more. A reserve of imported stores has to be held in case of interrupted communications, but as a whole the difficulty is now in a fair way to solution.

General Young describes military administration under the Company, and then specializes on Ordnance officers of those days and their efforts in the three Presidencies. He continues with the three efforts at making powder, followed by India's Ordnance, gun founding, and gun-carriages.

Twenty pages are devoted to gun-carriages in Bengal, in which especially the writer has himself spent his life. After a few pages on timber in Bengal, still a terribly controversial issue, he touches on gun-carriages in Madras and Bombay, and then describes the manufacture of ammunition, saddlery and accoutrements, small arms, and miscellaneous stores in Company days.

The appendices contain names of officers and a bibliography of well over a hundred volumes, which will be of value to future students.

A work of this sort must necessarily rely largely on individuals, who stand out from the records for their skill, futility, or any other cause. General Young has been so far successful in holding the interest by his selection that even Billoc's uninstructed reader can hope to while away the odd moments. William Hickey's uncensored revelations have earned a wide popularity, with which these chapters might, for the lighter reader, find competition difficult. Nevertheless the style is easy and readable, and the lighter touches—*e.g.*, the quartermaster-sergeant who set alight to the magazine, including himself, to avoid court-martial—redeem these researches from the academic. They amount to a serious contribution to Empire history which will probably be better appreciated in the next century than in our own.

C. M. ROUTH.

The Land of Milk and Honey. By Toyohiko Kagawa. 5¼″×7½″. Pp. 28 Hodder and Stoughton. 1937. 3s. 6d.

Phulmat of the Hills. By Verrier Elwin. 7⅝″×5¼″. Pp. 300. John Murra 1937. 7s. 6d.

In every corner of the earth the problems of the village, the outlook of tl countryman, and the remedies or palliatives for his afflictions are fundamental the same. They differ in degree and in relative proportions rather than in kin and those who know the peasant in Asia, Africa, or Eastern Europe will recogniz his features in any picture drawn by one who has lived at close quarters wit him.

There is thus a resemblance of tone and colour, a parallelism of thought, i the accounts given by Kagawa of the struggling Japanese farmer and by Elwin c the shy Gond hillsman. An economic level grievously but by no means incredibl low, a social tangle of ancient beliefs which are losing cohesion as the sharp edg of modern scepticism cuts through them, and a general helplessness and apath in face of overwhelmingly superior forces, are characteristic of every rural popul tion which, as in the remoter districts of Japan and the more backward tribes c India, clings to old landmarks while the flood rises to sweep them away. Kagaw describes again, as formerly in *A Grain of Wheat*, the poverty of Japanese hil villages, the cruel fate of peasant girls sold to urban employers, and the pettine and quarrels of the men and women who remain behind. His remedies are two co-operative organization for relief of material evils, Christianity for the soul; an he urges and argues for these two faiths, explicitly in the case of co-operation, b inference rather where the religious question is in issue, with an intensity an persistence which may impair the artistic value of his writing but can scarcel fail to carry conviction. For every trouble a co-operative cure is proposed: th afforestation of hillsides, the sale of silkworm cocoons, the provision of credi the maintenance of a rural hospital, and a hundred other things; all of which, t it remembered, have been achieved in one Japanese village or another—sometim in thousands of villages—but have not yet reached those lonely and lovely hil and valleys which Kagawa believes to stand in the greatest need. The story, fu of propaganda and fire, is consequently crude in its composition. The translatio into (American) English includes colloquialisms which are absurd in the mout of a Japanese peasant. Nevertheless it is readable and stimulating because of i close touch with reality; nor is a detailed knowledge of co-operation demande of the readers.

Phulmat, on the other hand, is true art, a *genre* study. As Kagawa has move among Japanese peasants, so Elwin has lived side by side with the Gonds, studyin their intimate customs and learning their secret beliefs, laughing at horseplay an sympathizing with distress, until he has only to reflect his own mind upon th paper and the story is told. A charming story: a human picture in its natur setting of thatched huts and deep forest: a puzzle for administrators and a mir for the anthropologist. There is no pointed moral, and no crudity of writin Yet the moral is there for those who can see. Co-operation is not suggested, an the Gond of the hills may still be unready for co-operative work. (But why shoul he be unready? The Central African and the Bhil will show him the way Christianity certainly, but a gentle Christianity which will start outward from th Gond mind; and, above all, medicine and understanding doctors and nurses o the spot. Leprosy is the central theme of this book, and the author has give evidence enough, by his work among Gond lepers, of his genuine affection fo those who suffer. *Phulmat* is a book for every man and woman who knows th

real village in India or in any other country in the world. It is full of tragedy and of the technically "obscene": but so is life.

C. F. STRICKLAND.

The Struggle for the Pacific. By Gregory Bienstock. G. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

This book contains much useful information on a subject which all are agreed is of the first importance, though all may not be so confident in their prophetic powers as to lay down with the author that the great historical events of the next hundred years will take place in the Pacific region. The book is divided into three chapters, headed respectively: "The Pacific World in the Making," "Rivalries in the Pacific," and "War and Strategy." There is some overlapping, difficult to avoid, in the arrangement.

In the first chapter are martialled facts and figures illustrating the great increase of trade in the Pacific during the last fifty years or so; and this increase is well explained by the improvement of communications by sea, land and air, and by Chinese emigration both on the Continent and overseas. The growth of population in Japan is compared with that in other countries and the differences between the Chinese and Japanese as emigrants pointed out. In this connection more attention might have been called to the distaste of the Japanese for manual labour either in very hot or very cold climates—a distaste not shared by the more adaptable Chinese. Perhaps the most interesting and original part of Chapter I. is the description of the colonization of Asia by the White races and the comparison drawn with the analogous colonization of the American Continent.

Chapter II., after tracing the early repercussions of Asiatic affairs on Europe, analyzes the counter-effects of Portuguese, Dutch, and British action on Asia. The tribute paid to the genius of the Portuguese is well-merited and all too rare in English books. It will come as a revelation to many to learn that the Monroe Doctrine owed its birth to the Anglo-American resolve to check that Russian expansion on the Pacific coast of America which only ended with the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867.

The growth of British influence in the Pacific region is well explained; and it is fortunate that a saying of Disraeli's, pertinently quoted on page 118, was not forgotten by his successors. Anglo-French rivalry soon followed the friendship of the Crimean War and lasted till the present century. There followed the Russian drive which was the direct cause of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. This brings us to the entry on the scene of the United States and the policy of the "Open Door," which is depicted as a form of Imperialism more refined and modern than, but not essentially different from, the cruder annexationist policy of those Powers weaker than the United States in finance and industry. The author's point of view is illustrated by the statement that the conflict in policy between Japan and the United States may be described as one between a progressive highly-developed capitalism and a relatively young and backward capitalism. An interesting and suggestive chapter ends by indicating the limits which Russia, Japan, Great Britain, and the United States respectively will not see overstepped without resorting to war.

The last chapter, dismissing improbable though not impossible wars, deals with potential conflicts between Japan and Russia, Japan and the United States, or a combination of both. The morale, man-power and material resources of these countries are examined; and stress is rightly laid on the fact that the out-

come of wars depends on men. It is difficult to appraise the future morale of any country in a hypothetical war; and the estimate of the author, though reasonable and balanced, will be received with caution. His conclusion that a war between the Powers named would probably be long, exhausting, and indecisive will be generally accepted.

In a book of this scope there are some curious omissions. For instance, the League of Nations is never once mentioned. Now whatever some of us may think of the League, there is no denying that its existence has influenced profoundly events in the Far East since the War. Without the League the Anglo-Japanese Alliance would almost certainly have been renewed; and the whole of British policy in China has been based on the League since 1920. Mr. Bienstock must know this better even than the reviewer; and his failure to mention it is, presumably, to be ascribed to his outlook on events in general. He seems to be of that school which holds that the actions of peoples and governments are directed solely by the desire for material profit; and this, no doubt, explains his references to "ruling classes," and "capitalism" when it would have been simpler to have named the governments or the countries themselves without qualification. Many of those with long foreign experience will consider that the heart is often stronger than the head; and that desire to dominate and colour prejudice are forces to be taken into account.

There are a few inaccuracies. Baron (now Count) Makino is not the head of Satsuma (p. 17), Prince Shimadzu is. Incidentally the antagonism between this clan and that of Choshu is much exaggerated. There are not ten million new recruits on the Japanese labour market annually (p. 70). There may be one million. Baron Shidehara, at one time Minister for Foreign Affairs, is not a General (p. 82). There are also some new composite words distasteful to the old-fashioned. "Geo-political" appears constantly without adding to the clarity of the narrative.

Mr. Bienstock makes a good point in emphasizing the ephemeral nature of international friendships and enmities; and his book is provided with a good bibliography and indexes.

F. O. L.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE GOAT STANDARD

June 11, 1937.

To the Acting Secretary, Royal Central Asian Society,
77, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

DEAR SIR,

Thank you very much for your letter of yesterday's date, and for the loan of a current copy of the Society's Journal.

In the press, when desiring to peruse the Journal, my attention was arrested by the reference to goats. Having known and lived in Mexico many years, my curiosity to read the essay mentioned was aroused, for Mexico, a country as large as Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal put together, relies much on the goat for meat, drink, and raiment.

Mexico produces 5 million goats a year, and from what I have seen and know I am entirely with the goat.

The breeding and keeping of goats in England is growing fast each year, and a visit to the Dairy Show any autumn is a revelation to the uninitiated. At this show in 1935 for the first time—and I was there—goat's milk was offered free to anyone who cared to drink a glass.

It is quite correct that a goat will nibble bark and eat much that other animals will not touch. I was very much amused once in Mexico in seeing a goat eating an old pair of trousers discarded by some passing miner on his donkey over the vast plain of Northern Mexico. I tried him with orange peel, which he relished.

Yours faithfully,
R. H. T. DRUMMOND.

NOTICES

The Rowanduz and Tehran-Trebizond Routes

is reported that the Rowanduz route is not used for commerce, but her as a means for keeping the Kurdish tribes under control. The rsians have recently signed an Agreement by which the Tabriz-ebizond route will become more important, and it is thought that is will be still more the case when the projected Tehran-Tabriz railly is constructed. The road from Trebizond to Tehran is now lieved to be completed.

Owing to the fact that there were some mistakes in the setting up the type of Bishop Lea's review of the book *The Spirit of Zen*, prints have been made, and contributors desirous of obtaining a rrected copy should apply to the Editor of the Journal.

NEW MEMBERS

The following new Members have joined the Society since the end of March, 1937:

H. E. Ali Muhammad Khan.
Colonel C. Beddington.
Dr. Alfred Bonne.
T. E. R Cairns, Esq.
D. W. Cameron, Esq.
Lieut.-Colonel J. I. Chrystall, M.C.
Captain J. A. Clarke.
The Hon. Sir Hal Colebatch, C.M.G.
Admiral Sir Frederic Dreyer, K.C.B.
Major Geoffrey Fielden.
J. W. Hampton, Esq.
J. Hanbury-Tracy, Esq.
Rev. H. Heras.
D. F. Kessler, Esq.
B. H. Le Riolet Lermitte, Esq.
A. D. Leroy-Acton, Esq., M.B.E.
Mrs. A. P. Macdermid.
Al Sayyid M. S. Nasha'at.
Major E. W. Northfield.
Major H. A. Pollock.
Count Byron de Prorok.
H. E. Richardson, Esq.
Captain J. E. B. Seager.
Lieut.-Colonel E. Dorman Smith, M.C.
Colonel J. Thomson-Glover, C.B.E.
Mrs. H. G. Warre.

OBITUARY

The Council very much regret to report the deaths of two valued Members of the Society, Colonel F. R. Gascoigne and Sir Alexander Stow, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1936.

Expenditure

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d
To *Office Expenses:*						
Salaries and National Insurance	489	1	3			
Rent	160	0	0			
Telephone	13	8	4			
Stationery and Printing	46	3	2			
Postage	54	7	8			
Office cleaning	30	5	8			
Audit fee	5	5	0			
Bank charges	7	12	3			
Lighting and heating	13	18	6			
Sundries...	27	14	1			
Repairs	0	0	0			
				847	15	11
,, *Journal:*						
Printing	559	14	9			
Postage	73	3	2			
Reporting	25	15	9			
Maps	1	5	0			
				659	18	8
,, *Lectures:*						
Lecturers' fees	10	10	0			
Lecture halls	70	7	6			
Lecture expenses	46	14	3			
Lantern	13	13	0			
Lantern slides	24	13	7			
Reporting	0	0	0			
Printing	22	3	0			
				188	1	4
,, *Annual Dinner*				162	17	2
,, *China Luncheon Expenses*				2	19	6
,, *Library*				10	14	1
,, *Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure*				19	14	6
				£1,892	1	2

Income

	£	s.	d.
By *Subscriptions received*	1,681	18	10
,, *Journal Subscriptions and Sales*	70	16	11
,, *Interest Received*	24	1	10
,, *Annual Dinner*	150	15	0
,, *Dinner Club* (Contribution to expenses)...	14	8	7
	£1,892	1	2

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

BALANCE SHEET AT DECEMBER 31, 1936.

LIABILITIES.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Creditors:						
Subscriptions in advance	25	0	0			
Sundry	175	18	5			
				200	18	5
Life Subscription Fund as at January 1, 1936 ...				148	15	0
Lawrence Medal Fund:						
Balance as at January 1, 1936	135	16	0			
Add: Further subscriptions	31	8	6			
	167	4	6			
Less: Expenditure to date	105	8	6			
				61	16	0
Income and Expenditure Account:						
Balance January 1, 1936	151	6	5			
Add: Balance, being Excess of Income over Expenditure for year to date	19	14	6			
				171	0	11
				£582	10	4

ASSETS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cash:						
In hand and at Bank	81	14	2			
On deposit with the Abbey Road Building Society	120	0	0			
Post Office Savings Bank	4	18	8			
				206	12	10
Investments (held against Life Subscription Fund):						
£100 3½ per cent War Loan at cost	100	0	0			
£231 18s. 10d. 2½ per cent. Consolidated Stock at cost	175	17	6			
				275	17	6
Society Premises Account:						
Balance as at January 1, 1936				100	0	0
				£582	10	4

PERSIA FUND.

	£	s.	d	£	s.	d.
Accumulated Fund:						
Balance January 1, 1936	376	15	3			
Add: Interest on Investments (less Income tax)	12	11	7			
Deposit Interest	1	6	8			
	390	13	6			
Less: Subscription to Gertrude Bell Memorial Fund	10	0	0			
				380	13	6
				£380	13	6

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investments.						
£467 8s. 3d. 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan at cost				331	17	3
Cash on deposit with Halifax Building Society				48	16	3
				£380	13	6

I report that I have examined the above balance sheet, dated December 31, 1936, of the Royal Central Asian Society with the books and vouchers, and have obtained all the information and explanations I have required. In my opinion such balance sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs at December 31, 1936, according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

HAROLD J. JONES, F.C.A.
(Williams, Dyson, Jones and Co., Chartered Accountants.)

22, BASINGHALL STREET, E.C. 2,
June 7, 1937.

Journal of the
Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXIV OCTOBER, 1937 PART IV

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PUBLISHED BY
THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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M. N. KENNEDY.

NOTICES

MEMBERS who have not paid their subscription for 1937 are asked to do so as soon as possible. The amount is £1.

Members are asked to notify the Office of any change of address, and to send a postcard if they do not receive their lecture cards and notices while home on leave.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

The following lectures have been arranged:

September 29. Mr. Gould, "A Visit to Lhasa," with coloured cinema.

October 6. Miss Cable on "The New 'New Dominion.'"

October 20. Mr. Roger Hollis, "The Conflict in China."

November 3. Major Ainger on "The Conflict in the Mind of Japan."

November 9. Sir Aurel Stein. November 24. Miss Ella Maillart. January 19. Captain Henning Haslund, "The Mongols."

NOMINATION FORM.

....

....

....

(Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address)

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, *we recommend* $\frac{\textit{him}}{\textit{her}}$ *for membership.*

Proposed...

Seconded...

$\frac{\textit{His}}{\textit{Her}}$ *connection with Asia is:*

EIGHTEEN MONTHS IN SOUTH-EASTERN TIBET

By RONALD KAULBACK

ANNIVERSARY LECTURE ON JUNE 23, 1937, SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Ronald Kaulback has recently returned from his second journey to South-Eastern Tibet. In 1932 he accompanied Captain Kingdon Ward, the botanist and explorer, and when for political reasons Captain Kingdon Ward could take him no farther, he brought himself and his small party safely back from beyond Chutong to Fort Hertz and Burma over the Diphuk La Pass, a pass crossed hitherto only by two Europeans; it was no small feat for a traveller only twenty-four years old on his first journey to Asia. Two years ago he returned to that crumpled corner of the earth's surface to continue his explorations, and it is on that journey he is speaking to-night.

I SHOULD like to express my sincere thanks to the President and Council of the Royal Central Asian Society for the honour they have done me in inviting me to give the Anniversary Lecture to-night. It is one of the greatest compliments that has ever been paid me, and I am deeply grateful.

The main objects of this journey were three in number.

In the first place, we wanted to explore the upper part of the Salween River, if possible as far west as the source, and any of the main tributaries we could manage in the time. We wanted to explore the range south of the Ngagong Chu to satisfy ourselves that it could not be part of a possible continuation of the Great Himalaya Range, which is generally accepted to finish at the bend of the Tsangpo (or Brahmaputra). And we wanted to do as much as we could of the Salween-Brahmaputra watershed. In our spare moments we were collecting reptiles, insects, and flowers for the Natural History Museum, and we had hoped to have been able to collect small birds and mammals as well; but, except in Zayul, the religious ban on hunting is even more strictly enforced in Kham (the great province comprising nearly the whole of the eastern half of Tibet) than it is in the centre of the country, and so that was out of the question.

Besides myself, our party consisted of John Hanbury-Tracy, who was recorder, entomologist and botanist, and in charge of the com-

missariat (such as it was), and three native servants. The first of these was Lewa, the famous Everest Sirdar, who climbed Mount Kamet with Smythe. He was in charge of the baggage and coolies, and was perfectly magnificent. As cook we had Nyima Dorje, and Nyima Töndrup as spare man. These two were also Everest porters, and had been on many of the big Himalayan expeditions. Altogether we were extraordinarily lucky in our servants, and it was very largely due to their faithful work that we were able to carry out as much of our original plan as we did.

We left Myitkyina, the railhead in Upper Burma, on April 12, 1935, with sixty-five loads of baggage, and marched north for fifty days, almost the whole time through dense forest, to Shika, in South-Eastern Tibet. Shika is a miserable little place, with six or seven pinewood huts and a banana tree, but during the winter it is the district centre for tax-collection, and the Dzongpön, or Governor, was still in residence when we arrived. It was delightful to find that he was an old friend of mine whom I had first met in 1933 when I was with Kingdon Ward, and he gave us a great welcome. When I had last known him, Tibetan etiquette had been a very great mystery to me, and I had always had a shrewd suspicion that by continually putting my foot in it, I was showing up as a rather superior coolie perhaps, but certainly no more. Back in England again this weighed on my mind, and by earnest study I remedied matters, so that by 1935 I was able to pass muster in Tibetan society as one who had been at least comparatively well brought up, I think. The result was that Kharndempa, this Governor, blossomed out in the most amazing way, and was always calling, or inviting us round. This happy state of affairs was due entirely to Sir Charles Bell, who has given such a perfect account of Tibetan manners in one of his many books, *The People of Tibet*, and I owe him a great debt of gratitude for it.

After spending ten very pleasant days in Shika, we continued north to Sangachö Dzong en route for Shugden Gompa. The easterly route, up the Zayul River, had been done by Colonel Bailey in 1911, and that up the Rong Tö Chu and over the Ata Kang La by A-K. in 1880 and by Kingdon Ward in 1933, so the only new way left to us was via Lepa, a route which was valuable as enabling us wholly to change the lines of the mountains shown there on previously existing maps. I had visited Lepa myself in 1933, but had not had time to go any further along the road to Sangachö Dzong then. Between Shika and Sangachö Dzong there are three passes. The Lepa La (13,700), the Duk La

Pada Sumdo
Neksho Biru
Chamda G.
Thamtsa La
Shar La
Dege
Dere
Michen La
Bumthang G.
Sating
Idashi
Do La
Pangar G.
Chamdo
Shopando
Pembar Gompa
Lhatse
Tekhar La
Lho Dzong
Tungla La
Shari Dzong
Po Yigrong
Yuru G.
Dzongra
Wa
Chumdo
Bumgye La
Dzikar
Thenthok G.
Showa
Cho Dzong
Deu La
Trashitse Dz.
Jepa
Dashing G.
Sum Dzong
Trakye La
Ma La
Sitrukha
Osethang
Shugden Gompa
Tsangpo
Cotsong
Juk La
Pasho
Sangacho Dz.
Purtsang
Medrong
Ata
Duk La
Loma
Tsangpo
Lepa
Traba
Shika
Dibang
Diphuk La
Dening
Sadiya
Brahmaputra
Dibrugarh
Fort Hertz
Miles
0
20
40
60
80
100

(13,900), and the La Sar (14,900). All these are closed by snow for more than six months of the year, and we were the first party to cross any of them in 1935.

The first five marches from Shika were in the Rong Tö Valley and very comfortable, with a good path running through pine forest almost the whole time, but once we turned east towards the Lepa La, all this changed. The path was wretched and made worse by continual pouring rain (the monsoon being well under way), and when we actually crossed the Lepa La on June 22 the weather was so bad that visibility was nil, and any survey work quite impossible. In fact, we had to wait in Lepa (four thousand feet below the pass) for eleven dismal days to be able to bring on the map at all.

However, by July 4 all was well, and we pushed on towards Sangachö Dzong, with our baggage on dzo, which are half-bred yaks and ordinary cattle. The first three days were through thick forest, but we were climbing steadily, and on the fourth march we were above the tree-line at last and came to the second longest glacier east of the Tsangpo. This glacier is seven and a half miles long by about 2,000 yards across. The path runs along the lateral moraine for one and a half miles and then crosses the ice and climbs steeply up to the Duk La, and so down to the camp. Even on the moraine, which is composed of huge limestone boulders, we had no difficulty at all with the baggage animals, and, where we crossed over, the ice was very smooth. The coolies said that never before in the history of man had a caravan been able to get along the moraine without spending at least one day in making a path by rolling stones out of the way and filling up gaps. The following day we had a very steep climb of 3,000 feet up to the La Sar, a narrow pass on a knife-edged ridge, and there we had a little trouble as the top was still completely blocked by a cornice of hard snow. I thought at first we were stuck, but presently the coolies sent word to say that we were clearly the favoured of the gods by reason of the ease with which our caravan had crossed the glacier, and that if we gave the word, therefore, they would advance in faith. Inspired by this, we told them to attack the cornice with knives and an ancient ice-axe, and after an hour's hard work the greater part of it fell away and crashed down into the valley beyond with a roar, leaving a narrow space through which we were able to lower the animals and baggage.

We reached Sangachö Dzong late that evening, and put up in the Dzong or Fort. It is a strikingly picturesque place, with the white-

walled, red-roofed monastery and fort built right on the crest of a narrow ridge 800 feet above the floor of the valley, and with a magnificent view. Unfortunately it is almost impossible to take a satisfactory picture of it. One of the most delightful characters we met on the whole of this journey was the Abbot of the monastery there, who, except in his corpulence, was a very near approach to Kim's Lama.

We now followed Colonel Bailey's route to Shugden Gompa, two long marches to the north-west, over one pass, the Dzo La. Shugden Gompa is remarkable in this part of Tibet for the number of shrines in the neighbourhood of the monastery, each containing the bones of a holy man.

In order to carry out Aim No. 2 of this journey—namely, to explore the range immediately south of the Ngagong Chu—we had to separate at Shugden Gompa. We decided that Hanbury-Tracy should take Nyima Töndrup and go down the Ngagong Chu itself as far as Dashing, doing as much work north of that river as he could manage in four or five weeks. I was going round via the Ata Kang La, Purtsang, the Kangri Karpo La, Shingke Gompa, and the Chindru La to join him again at Dashing, so that between us we could gain a pretty good knowledge of the piece of country lying between our two routes.

Hanbury-Tracy pushed off on July 24, and three days later I left Shugden Gompa myself for the Ata Kang La. We crossed this pass of 15,100 feet in bright sunshine, but hardly had we turned down the glacier to the right than a dense mist swept up the valley and blotted everything out for minutes at a time. The ice was very much crevassed, and we were scarcely able to move except during those short periods when the mist lifted enough to let us see where we were. The glacier is only some four hundred yards wide, but we took nearly an hour to cross it, and were all heartily glad when we reached solid rock again.

Once over this glacier, however, and as far as Purtsang, the path was quite good, but there is no regular route over the Kangri Karpo La, as almost the only people who ever cross this pass are a few hunters or pilgrims, and no one had been over at all in 1934.

Climbing very slowly, the path ran mostly through thick forest with a dense undergrowth full of ticks, and we often had to wade along the bank of the river to get round a cliff. It took us eleven days to reach the pass, during which we seldom managed more than five miles in a day, and once only two and a half. We had good weather on the way up, but when we actually crossed the path it was a filthy day with rain and mist, and visibility was very bad.

The Kangri Karpo La is not a high pass (15,461), but the approach to it from both sides is very steep and difficult for coolies. It is nominally open from the end of June to the beginning of September, but even in this period is sometimes made impassable by storms.

On the west side we ran into great numbers of leeches for two days, always a depressing event, but once past Shingke Gompa these, like the ticks, were a thing of the past, and life improved in consequence. There remained only one more pass before Dashing, where I was to meet Hanbury-Tracy. This was the Chindru La (14,388) on the only mule-track between the districts of Pemakö (south of the pass) and Pome (to the north). The north side of the Chindru La is very steep indeed, so much so that this pass also is open for only three months in the year, because with snow it is impossible to get either up or down it.

After a long march, we reached Dashing about midnight on September 12 to find that Hanbury-Tracy was already waiting for us, having done an excellent piece of work in exploring the Ngagong Chu east of Dashing, and much of the country north of it. I left him for another seven days, going down the river as far as Shöwa in order to join up with Morshead's work of 1911, and then returned to Dashing to pick him up.

The country of Poyü in which we now were, and which consists of the districts of Pemakö, Pome and Potö, had been, in practice, more or less independent until 1931, under its own ruler at Shöwa. In that year, however, the Lhasa Government extended their administration over it after three months of severe fighting, and there are still a few military garrisons in the country to keep order.

We now had a straight run north to the Salween, past Chumdo, and up the Potö Chu to the Tungla La, which marks the northern boundary of Poyü; then down to Gya Lam (the great road which runs from Lhasa to Batang, and so to Pekin); along it as far as Shopando, and up to the Salween a few miles beyond. We should have reached Chumdo on October 2, two days after leaving Dashing, but, as it happened, about a hundred yards of the path was carried away by a landslide just before we arrived, and we had to spend a day in repairing it.

After a week in Chumdo we pushed on towards the China Road up a narrow valley containing several small monasteries, most of them strongly built on the top of small hills. For the first three and a half days the valley is thickly wooded, but the whole of the fourth day's march up to the Tungla La is over barren screes of slate and limestone

with hardly even a tuft of grass to be seen. This pass is 17,282 feet high, on the Salween-Brahmaputra watershed, and two days after crossing it we reached the China Road and turned east along it to Shopando, a town of a hundred and forty houses with a monastery of sixty monks. Kishen Singh (better known as A-K.) and Pereira had both passed through Shopando, the one in 1880 and the other in 1925, so that it was already a well-known place.

Our boots were nearly worn out by this time, and we were beginning to rely on Tibetan ones, although in my case there was always considerable difficulty over making these. The Tibetans could not believe that my feet were really as big as they are, and, under the impression that it was an optical illusion, persisted in making boots for me at least an inch too short. Everyone took the greatest interest in the matter though, and the Governor of Chumdo very kindly had a magnificent pair made for me as a present, decorated with brocade and gold embroidery. I hadn't the heart to tell him that these also were hopeless, and, by putting them on in his honour whenever we went to see him, I suffered agonies. I know now just what it must have been like to be a Chinese woman of the old school. But after four failures, I was at last able to get comfortably fitted and all was well. Tibetan feet do not seem to grow bigger than about size seven, even on tall men, and mine were regarded with awe.

We were now only ten miles from the Salween, and on October 21 we had our first glimpse of it from the top of a low pass of 12,700 feet. The valley was full of mist and there was a heavy drizzle falling, but to us, who had been thinking and dreaming of the Salween for seven months, that outwardly depressing view was the finest sight we had ever seen. The river is about seventy yards wide here, flowing slowly, and very deep. The next day we crossed to the left bank by means of a primitive ferry (with a crew of two women and a man), which had to make sixteen trips back and forth to take us and our baggage over. The maximum load was three boxes, and the ferry was poled up-stream in the shallows and then paddled energetically across while the current carried it down to somewhere near the landing-place.

Our plan now was to keep close to the Salween and push steadily on westwards towards the source, and this worked out very well on the whole, although once or twice we had to leave the river for a few days, owing to lack of a path, and rejoin it further up. For most of the way, though, there is a good road. We had very few difficulties of any kind, and those mostly caused by bad weather.

The monasteries in the Upper Salween Valley are mostly of between one hundred and three hundred monks, which is large for South-Eastern Tibet, but it was now November and they were empty of all but the very aged. The rest of the monks were on leave in their own villages helping with the threshing, which has to be finished before the winter starts in real earnest. Between the middle of December and March there is no grazing above 12,000 feet, and the straw, kept on racks in the fields out of reach of the animals, is then used as fodder for the ponies and yaks.

Ever since Shopando we had heard that the Salween divided into two streams somewhere to the west, and so from Chamda Gompa we crossed over one pass of 16,000 feet and went down to this big tributary, the Ge Chu, to make quite certain that it was not by any chance the main stream, and in any case to explore as much of its course as possible. Between the beginning of December, 1935, and the end of January, 1936, we did the Salween up to Nakshö Biru, and the Ge Chu from its confluence with the main river up to where the path turns north to the Thamtsa La. During these seven weeks, however, work was inclined to be difficult. The Ge Chu Valley is particularly open, and both there and in that of the Salween during the winter a bitter wind sweeps down from the west. At every station in the wind we now had to build a fire of yak-dung or brushwood to thaw our hands. The rule was ten minutes' thaw to five of work, and this, with the shortage of daylight, made travel appallingly slow and difficult.

When we arrived in Nakshö Biru at the end of January, however, this particular tribulation was lifted from us. Largely as a protection against the cold, Hanbury-Tracy had grown a magnificent beard, and this unfortunately gave rise to a rumour that he was a Russian. Accordingly, the Governor at Nakshö Biru asked us very politely if we would mind remaining there until he could hear from Lhasa that we really were highly respectable characters as our papers showed. In this part of Tibet travel in winter is very slow, and it was almost three months before word came back that we were English and were to be given every assistance on our way.

Nakshö Biru is at 13,200 feet, and the air is extremely dry, so that evaporation takes place very quickly. As a result of this, snow does not lie for more than a few days at a time, even in mid-winter. It does not melt, but simply disappears. Except when snow is actually on the ground, for four days out of five an intermittent dust-storm blows down the valley, driven by a high gusty wind, and making life rather

unpleasant. I am certain that this dust is the main, if not the only cause, of the ophthalmia which is so prevalent in that part of the Salween Valley.

There was not very much to do during our long wait, but we were fairly comfortable living in a large but decrepit house about a quarter of a mile from the monastery.

We stretched a piece of cotton cloth on the window of our room to let in light and still keep out some of the dust, but so much filtered through that it was hopeless to work on any maps or papers. They became quite black in a very short time.

Except for this dust and the food, which was very monotonous (yak-meat and turnips mostly), our chief preoccupation in Nakshö Biru was to get enough exercise to keep us from growing too fat. With this laudable end in view we used to climb about high up on the sides of the valley. Hanbury-Tracy preferred the north side and I the south, and after a little while we came to look on these as our respective properties, and would sometimes invite the other for a walk on our own land, to point out the glories of the estate. I took to having a sunbath during my walks, carefully choosing some secluded spot where I could be unseen. At least, I had hoped I was invisible, but one day I called in at a small hut for a drink of milk, and the woman there asked me curiously why it was that day after day I climbed to the top of the valley and stripped naked. It had baffled her, she said, though she had had an idea that it might be a religious ceremony.

For various reasons, most, but not all, connected with the three months we had wasted in Nakshö Biru, we decided not to push on any further up the valley towards the source, but to turn east again and concentrate on the Salween below where we had first struck it, and on the Salween-Brahmaputra watershed as far to the south as we could manage. Incidentally, we were able before the end of this journey to clear up a certain amount of controversy regarding the proper Tibetan name of the Salween, which has been spelt by Europeans in various different ways for years. The real name is Gyamo Ngo Chu,* or the Blue River of China, and called so with some reason, for in the winter and before it freezes the water is a glorious, dark, clear blue in colour, although in the spring and summer it looks more like milk chocolate.

From Nakshö Biru, the first part of our return route was over the Shar La to the Ge Chu; down this river to Sating; over several passes

* རྒྱ་མོ་རྔོ་ཆུ་

to the China Road; along this as far as Lho Dzong; and then south to Shari Dzong.

On April 12, 1936, we crossed the Salween at Nakshö Biru by a fine bridge. It took us a long time to get really started, as nearly everyone we knew in the neighbourhood (and by this time there were many) had taken up positions along the path with farewell offerings of barley-beer and fried cakes. In fact, we only managed five miles on the first day, but after that we were able to make good speed again. We reached the China Road on April 24, and five more marches brought us to Lho Dzong (the Scuth Fort), which had been visited by A-K. in 1880. Here we were held up once more for about six weeks. The new Governor of the district was still on his way from Lhasa, and his clerk, who was temporarily in command, had no authority to provide transport either for us or for anyone else. At least that was what he said, but the fact is that he was terrified of taking any responsibility whatever, and was only praying for the day when his Deputy Governorship should come to an end, and he could sink into obscurity again. There was a certain amount of work to be done in the vicinity, however, and, as it was now early summer and both flowers and insects were abundant, collecting made great strides.

You will remember from the map that the Salween is only a few miles east of Lho Dzong. It had been our intention to continue along the China Road as far as the river, and then turn south beyond the left bank, where there is an important road. As luck would have it, though, serious frontier-skirmishing had broken out near the Chinese-Tibetan border between the Tibetans and bodies of Chinese Communist bandits (who were estimated at from fifteen hundred to forty thousand), and this fighting ruined that plan. When the Governor arrived he asked us very particularly not to go that way, because with large numbers of troops wandering about the country we were just as likely to be pillaged by them as by the bandits, and in that case he would be severely blamed.

Accordingly, when we left Lho Dzong on June 20, we turned south to Shari Dzong along the route A-K. had used when heading back to Lhasa on that great three-and-a-half-years' journey of his.

The country was now very lovely. There were masses of yellow kingcups and buttercups; white and dark blue anemones; here and there patches of blue dwarf irises and mauve primulas; white rhododendrons on six-foot bushes, and purple ones not fifteen inches high, dog roses and sweet-smelling shrubs; butterflies flitting about, and away to the south the snowy mountains running down into Zayul.

We reached Shari Dzong on June 24. In the centre and west o Tibet the word Dzong indicates a fort built on a steep hill and over looking a valley. In the east, however, Dzong has lost this meanin; and now implies only that the place is, or was, a district headquarter of some sort. As a rule there isn't even a suggestion of a fort at all ii this part of the county, although Lho Dzong and Sangachö Dzong ar exceptions to this rule.

The Salween is only six miles by road from Shari Dzong, and w had hoped to have been able eventually to go straight down the rive from here after finishing a certain amount of work we had to do to th west. However, that scheme too was off, because the only path was o the opposite side of the river (here a hundred yards wide and runnin; strongly), and the rope bridge had just broken, after ten years of har use. There was no other way of crossing, a raft being out of th question in that current, so from Shari Dzong we first went to Wa and then, returning, crossed the Phokar La into the Dü Chu Valley and so round over the Deu La to Trashitze Dzong. From there w made a short trip back to Wa to finish that road; another to Shugde Gompa to join up with our previous route; and then down the Lin; Chu to Dzikar whence we reached the Salween again at Jepa.

By this time we were so short of presents to give to local officials fo valuable services rendered that we were reduced, among other thing: to our last precious bottle of Eno's Fruit Salt, which, oddly enough gave unlimited joy to the recipient, and caused him nearly as mucl excitement as having his photograph taken.

We left Shari Dzong finally on July 2 by a good path and strucl west towards the Dü Chu, which we reached a couple of days late after crossing the difficult Phokar La, a very steep pass of 17,240 fee We were altogether eleven days in the Dü Chu Valley, exploring th river throughout its entire length, and surveying another stretch of th Salween-Brahmaputra watershed, and then, on July 15, we crossed th Deu La (16,770 feet) and reached Trashitze Dzong.

A-K. and Kingdon Ward had both reached Trashitze Dzong fror Shugden Gompa, and when we turned east down the arid, barre valley of the Ling Chu on our way to the Salween again, we followe in Kingdon Ward's footsteps for the first three days. We were no down to 10,000 feet, and the valley was terribly hot. Apart from a littl thorn scrub and a few stunted fir trees high up on the sides, practicall nothing grows there at all, except immediately round the villages, whe the terraced fields are constantly irrigated and produce good crops c

wheat, barley, turnips, and peas. There were also apricots, mulberries, and walnuts in the villages, and as many chickens and eggs as we wanted, which provided a very welcome change of diet.

We reached the Salween again at Jepa on August 25. The river here is about a hundred and twenty yards wide with a current of ten knots, and at a height of 8,600 feet. The valley was almost too hot to breathe in, and there were even grapes in Jepa, and very good ones too.

We crossed to the left bank of the river here, with our baggage and ponies, by a rope bridge of plaited yak-hide (fifty hides to the bridge). The ponies are so used to being taken across these bridges that they do not even kick, but landing them is a tricky business, and needs a lot of help. We had nearly the whole of Jepa to give us a hand at this crossing, and even so, with only thirty loads and eight ponies it took three hours of hard work. There was also a fair number of sightseers who took things very easily indeed, and who gave well-meant but conflicting advice from various comfortable positions on the bank.

From Jepa we went to Thenthok Gompa to join up with King's route of 1932; then back to the Salween, via the Ma La, at Sitrukha, and so down to Osethang, which is on the main road between Sangachö Dzong and Chamdo, the capital of Kham. We followed this, past the camping ground of Gotsong to within sight of Sangachö Dzong, and then turned down the Zayul River back to Shika.

As the crow flies, Thenthok Gompa is only about six miles east of the Salween, but it is up on the plateau which forms the watershed between the Salween and the Mekong, so that while the Salween flows in this neighbourhood at 8,600 feet, the river on which Thenthok stands is no less than 12,900 feet up.

By the road we took from Thethok Gompa, Sitrukha is three days' march. For the first day and a half the path was very good indeed, but for the remainder it was inclined to be bad, and it included a few stretches where even the sure-footed Tibetan ponies had to be carefully led along. Up at Thenthok there had been plenty of grass and bushes, but as we dropped down to the Salween once more the country became more and more of a desert. The whole place was very deeply eroded and the air was like the blast from a furnace. The yaks in our caravan suffered very considerably from the heat, and this was the last stage on which we took yaks at all. Between Sitrukha and Shika we had mostly ponies, with some dzo and a few coolies.

I stopped in Sitrukha for ten days, while Hanbury-Tracy returned

up the river to Jepa to fill in all we had to leave out by going round via Thenthok Gompa, and then on September 23 we crossed to the right bank by another rope bridge of leather which was very aged and uncomfortably thin in parts.

Once we had crossed over, we were on King's route again, but only as far as Osethang (three days below Sitrukha), as from there his road continued along the river, while ours climbed out of the Salween basin into that of the Brahmaputra. On September 28 we crossed the watershed by a low pass of 15,400 feet, and reached the camping ground called Gotsong that evening. We spent the next ten days there in a shelter of pine branches, owing to dense mist on the mountains which made work impossible, but with a fire in our hut we were quite comfortable. In fact, the only drawback was that the wood we were burning threw such showers of sparks that, by the time we left, our bedding and clothes were full of holes.

By now winter was coming on again, and the snow was down to 14,000 feet. Our work was very nearly over. After leaving Gotsong we spent ten days in going up to Shugden Gompa by a new route and in exploring a road north from there to Dzikar, where we had been in July. On September 23 we passed about two miles east of Sangachö Dzong, perched up on its ridge like a watch-tower overlooking the valley, and then to vary the route back we turned down the Zayul River in Colonel Bailey's tracks.

The Zayul River runs in a narrow valley with steep sides, thickly forested with pines for the most part, but the going was good and we had no trouble about getting along. Further north the houses had all been of stones cemented together with mud, and with flat roofs made of puddled clay, but in Zayul, where we now were, they are not unlike Swiss châlets, exclusively built of pinewood, and with sloping roofs. This is not only on account of the very heavy rainfall in this part of the country, but because there is so much forest that it is far simpler to use wood for building rather than anything else, and it is quite impossible to make a flat wooden roof watertight with only a knife and an adze. Not being able to use their roofs for threshing, as is generally done elsewhere in Tibet, the Zayuli has to make a balcony in front of his house instead.

We had a long wait in Shika from November 1 till 20, arranging for Zayuli coolies to take us right through the Mishmi Hills for seventeen days to Dening (a small outpost forty-seven miles from Sadiya), where we could arrange for motor transport to take us the

rest of the way. It was important for us to engage Zayulis for the entire journey, even though it took us so long to find men who were willing to go as far as Dening, because it is always difficult to collect Mishmis as coolies, and it would have been very annoying to have been held up indefinitely somewhere in the Lohit Valley without either food or porters.

South of Shika there is a good footpath for the first four days, and a very bad one for the rest of the way through the Mishmi Hills. As no provisions can be obtained there, the coolies had to carry all their own food as well as our baggage, making a total of almost a hundred pounds weight apiece. This is an enormous load in difficult country such as we were then in, and it showed remarkable powers of endurance on their part that only two of the coolies had to give up, both having fallen down cliffs and hurt themselves. Luckily we were able to engage two Mishmis to take their places, and in any case they were not badly injured.

So, after a journey of twenty-one months, during which we had covered rather less than three thousand miles, we arrived at Dening on December 6, 1936, to be met there by Mr. Walker, the Assistant Political Officer, and Captain Bond, the Assistant Commandant, who very kindly motored us the following day to Sadiya. The source of the great river still remains to be found, and some day I hope it may be my good fortune once again to find myself in Tibet on the road to the Blue River of China.

Sir Charles Bell: I think we have been extraordinarily lucky this evening. Mr. Kaulback has made a very fine journey indeed, not a matter of two or three months. He was no less than eighteen months travelling in Tibet.

He has covered a great deal of country, and a great deal of new country, and in the short time at his disposal he has explained to us very graphically the exploration that he was able to do; he has also illustrated it by some very fine and clear photographs.

I was especially interested to hear what he said about Tibetan etiquette, and I would, if I may, take this opportunity of urging other travellers in Tibet to follow Mr. Kaulback's extremely sensible example of studying it before they go. Because etiquette to the Tibetan is not simply a matter of etiquette as it might be to us; it is much more important, as Mr. Kaulback was quick to find out. If a person infringes etiquette seriously, they dismiss him as one of whom they say,

"He knows not the way nor the custom," and it does put him in an inferior position. So I would urge all for their own interest to study it, and also in so doing they will not let their country down.

Another matter in which I venture to sympathize with Mr. Kaulback is in the question of boots. I have had the same difficulty, and I think many people who have been in Tibet must have had it. The first time you are almost certain to get your boots too small, the reason being that in Tibet it is fashionable to have your boots as small as possible. The Tibetan, too, is pretty tough, and he is able to stand boots a bit too small for him. I usually had to get them made two or three times. The last time I was there, two or three years ago, Colonel Harnett of the Indian Medical Service from Calcutta was with me, and his feet were larger than mine. On our way back in November it was cold, and so we thought we would get a pair each, but we had not much time. The Abbot of the large monastery at Gyan-tse arrived with the local bootmaker and several soles of boots, because the Tibetan builds up his boot from the sole.

I picked the biggest sole and said, "I want my boots the length of one barley grain longer than that sole." Colonel Harnett said he wanted his two barley grains longer. But when the boots came they were all very much too small, and even Harnett's I could not get into. His left boot cracked my heel, and his right crushed my toes. The Tibetans have small feet, as Mr. Kaulback has told us, and the same applies to the people in the Eastern Himalaya.

In 1904, while the Tibet Expedition was in progress under Sir Francis Younghusband, I had to make a pioneering expedition to try to find a way for a road from India to Tibet. We had to go over snow—we were travelling in April—for about three days, snow without cessation. To get boots for the porters it was necessary to wire to the authorities in Cawnpore. I asked for fives, sixes, and sevens. When the boots arrived I found they were nines, tens, and elevens. So the porters had a rough time going through the snow, and when it lessened somewhat, they travelled the rest of the way with their boots slung over their shoulders.

Just a word about Mr. Kaulback's sun-bath. It was brave of him on that cold mountainside. He said the people thought it was a religious ceremony. I agree. They probably did, because the fact is that in Tibet, when there is any spectacle the people do not understand, they infer that it must be a religious ceremony. Religion to them is the most important thing in the world, and so they jump to that conclusion.

I expect they took it for the religious practice that they call internal heat. To accomplish this they sit in the snow or other cold place with only a thin cotton robe round them or else just in their birthday suits. So probably they thought Mr. Kaulback was practising this exercise, or perhaps a British variety of it.

Well, our lecturer is to be heartily congratulated on an adventurous and instructive exploration among those Eastern Tibetans, who physically are the finest of all the Tibetans. They and the people of Kong-po, which is a province about a week's journey south-east of Lhasa, are reckoned to be the bravest in time of war; but according to the criticism of other Tibetans, they have one disability, and that is that they are not steadfast. They do not stick to the same thing; they become bored and want a change. In Tibet they have a saying that a man who is steadfast has a long tail. That is just a phrase for saying that he is a steadfast man. So of the Eastern Tibetan they say, although he is a good man to have in a tight corner, he is like a monkey without a tail. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: If nobody desires to ask the lecturer any questions, we have only one thing left to do, and that is to pass him a very hearty vote of thanks. I, although I actually set foot in Tibet a great many more years ago than I like to remember, am entirely incompetent to make any useful commentary on the subject of Mr. Kaulback's lecture.

But I think I am competent to judge of an interesting lecture and of a skilful photographer. I have listened to a great many lectures here, all of them distinguished, but it is not everyone who has the gift he has, of presenting facts with so much interest. Even when sometimes one hears somebody who is extremely erudite as a lecturer, one has bored moments. I can only say that this evening the moments flashed by, and I have seldom been more interested and delighted than with the wonderful slides he got.

We do pass you the heartiest vote of thanks, Mr. Kaulback, and sincerely wish you may get back to Tibet—it does not sound very hospitable—as soon as possible.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Report of a Special General Meeting, held on Wednesday, June 23, 1937, at the Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W., at 8.15 p.m., the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O., in the Chair.

The Chairman called on Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes to read the Hon. Secretaries' Report.

We, the Honorary Secretaries, beg to report that upon the occasion of the Coronation of His Gracious Majesty King George VI, the Society presented a loyal address, which was duly acknowledged and has been entered in the Golden Book.

Since this year marks the termination of the Chairmanship of Sir Horace Rumbold, whom we may congratulate on the completion of an arduous and difficult task in Palestine, and having been elected an Honorary Vice-President of the Society by the unanimous vote of the Council, it is of interest to note the marked progress of the Society during this period of three years, as proved by the gratifying increase in numbers from 1,470 to over 1,700.

On May 25 the Society held a reception in honour of the visit to England of H.H. the Amir Abdullah of Transjordan, when Major Glubb lectured on "Arab Civilization and its Contacts with Neighbouring Countries." Some four hundred members and guests were present, including H.H. the Sultan of Lahej in the Northern Aden Hinterland.

To conclude, the lease of the Society's offices terminates in September, 1938. We require larger premises, if only to house our Library, and shall certainly have to pay a considerably higher rent. We look to members who value the Society to increase its tiny capital by gifts of money or by legacies. The wives of some members have joined the Society, and if this good example were largely followed our difficulties would be materially lessened. It is encouraging to notice an increasing proportion of young men among the new members, because it is to them that a Society such as this must look to replenish its stores of vitality and knowledge.

P. M. Sykes.
E. M. Gull.

The Chairman: Before asking the members of the audience to propose and second respectively the adoption of this Report, I wish to

thank Sir Percy Sykes for the words he said about myself. I have been very proud to be associated with such a live Society as this, and my only regret is that owing to circumstances over which I have no control, I have been absent really for ten months from the Society.

The Adoption of the Report was proposed by Mr. Keeling, seconded by Mr. King, and carried.

Hon. Treasurer's Report.

Sir Edward Penton, K.B.E.: I do not think I need keep you very long over the accounts. They have been circulated, and you will find that at any rate my impression of them is that we do a very great deal of work on very little money.

There is one thing I would like to call your attention to. It a little reminds me of those wonderful navigators who can go at full steam into any harbour with a foot of water below their keels. We have come out this year with a balance of £19. There was not very much more last year. There never is very much more, and it does want some skilful steering.

As I have another proposition to put before you, I will leave the accounts in case anybody wants to ask any questions.

The accounts were adopted.

Additions to Rules.

Sir Edward Penton: I made that remark about working very fine because sometimes one goes on working fine and hits the bottom.

We have a certain amount of cash invested. Nobody here, I am sure, would wish to touch that. The Council have discussed the question of its margin very carefully, most particularly in view of what Sir Percy has told you to-night, that we have got to find new premises.

Undoubtedly we have been lucky. The old Grosvenor Street premises have been very suitable; they were originally in very close association with the Royal Asiatic Society. But the house is coming down, and we are faced with the need for looking for something adequate. It need not be extravagant, but I think you would all wish that it should be not too repulsive to people who are coming from overseas and wanting to look at the library; and, again, we want to house the library decently.

Beyond that we do want to house our staff decently. All of you who read the Journal and all of us on the Council know the immense

amount of work that is done on that Journal. When you read it, when you realize its standard, when you realize its authority, you know it is the best publication on the subject that is now existent. Therefore if you are going to work people like that, and if you are going to get that work out of them, you have to have decent housing.

We have come to the conclusion that we really want about another £90 a year to get new premises or to get the kind of premises that we shall want.

We have also come to the conclusion—and we are submitting this to you for your decision this evening—that the simplest way of doing it would be to ask new members to pay an entrance fee. After all, the subscription itself, £1, is not exorbitant. It has not even the demerit of the extra shilling, which is so usual in clubs; it is not even reckoned in guineas. If you pay it in cash, it is only pulling a note out of your pocket. We do not think it would be any deterrent to new members to be told that they were going to be asked for an extra pound for their first year.

If we get that, and the flow of members still continues—and there is no reason to suppose that the flow of members is not going to continue—the interest in this part of the world is as great as ever, the work of the Society, I submit, is as good as ever, linking the two up, the Society is wanted as much as ever. The entrance fee will carry us through.

Therefore, sir, I would like to propose in the terms of the resolution:

> To add to Rule 2 the following words :"There shall be an Entrance Subscription of £1, payable on election to the Society."

I want to add that it will start from October 1, 1937.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Sir PERCY SYKES: Rule 5, as at present worded, runs:

> "The Council may recommend for election at the Anniversary Meeting as Honorary Members persons distinguished for their services in, or their knowledge of, the countries of Asia in which the Members of the Society are interested. Such Honorary Members shall never exceed ten in number,* nor shall more than two be elected in any one year. Such Members shall have all the privileges of Ordinary Members."

The Society has grown, and therefore the number of Honorary Members has grown, and we are proposing as follows:

To add to Rule 5 the following words: *At the point marked * to insert "Except as hereinafter provided," and at the end of the present Rule to add:*

"In addition the Council shall have power to recommend for election at the Anniversary Meeting as Special Honorary Members Princes of foreign Royal Houses, and other distinguished foreigners who have visited the Society and shown their interest in the advancement of the studies which the Society exists to promote."

That is laid before the Society.

Mr. KING seconded the motion, which was carried.

Sir PERCY SYKES: I have pleasure to move:

"That in recognition of her services to the Society, Miss M. N. Kennedy be accorded as an exceptional measure the privileges of Honorary Membership, and that her name be included among the Honorary Members."

This was seconded and carried.

Election of Honorary Members.

Sir PERCY SYKES proposed the election of Mrs. Lawrence as an Honorary Member.

Sir EDWARD PENTON seconded, and it was carried.

Election of Council.

Sir PERCY SYKES read the list of names put forward by the Council as Honorary Officers and Members of the Council.

"The Chairman, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., retires, and the Council propose Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., as Chairman for the ensuing session.

Air Chief Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham and Sir Nigel Davidson retire in accordance with Rule 16, and the two vacancies are filled by Sir Ronald Storrs and Mr. G. M. Lees.

Air Vice-Marshal N. D. MacEwen and Major C. S. Jarvis are nominated to fill the vacancies on the Council."

Their election was proposed by Colonel Newcombe, seconded by Admiral the Earl of Cork and Orrery, and carried.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I leave the Chair, I would like to pay a tribute to the devotion shown by your Hon. Secretaries and Hon. Treasurer in the matters of the Royal Central Asian Society, and to the attention with which, as is well known to you, Miss Kennedy and

Miss Wingate carry on the work. That attention and that devotion made the task of the Chairman not only very pleasant, but very easy.

PRESENTATION OF THE LAWRENCE MEMORIAL MEDAL BY THE PRESIDENT

Lord LLOYD: At this Anniversary Meeting my first task is to present to Sir Charles Bell the Lawrence Memorial Medal which the Society has awarded him.

I think it may interest some of you here if I recapitulate what were the objects for which the Medal was founded. There were no precise terms fixed for the award, but generally speaking it was bestowed on individuals who were either actually still in the field of work, or who had recently retired from it. And it was especially the intention of the Medal to recognize the work done in administrative areas by special officers, by people who were in charge, like the last recipient, Major Glubb, of desert areas or local levies. It was to encourage and commemorate the work of writers, pioneers of trade routes, of explorers, archæologists and anthropologists—in fact, people who might be following in the East the same kind of career and attainments for which the founder was justly famous.

The Medal, as you know, was designed by Mr. Eric Kennington, and our first award was made to Major Glubb, about whom I need say nothing because both his personality and his achievements are very well known to all members of the Central Asian.

This year the Council has made the second award to Sir Charles Bell, whom we are proud to welcome here this evening. (Applause.) I am not going to read the catalogue, which is in my hands, of all Sir Charles Bell's achievements. It would take too long, nor would he wish it. But he is well known to us all as one of the greatest authorities living, if not the greatest authority, on Tibet. He is a distinguished member of that great service, the Indian Civil Service, for which I and most of us here have the profoundest admiration, and was sent to the Tibet Conference between Great Britain, China and Tibet in 1913-1914, where he became intimately acquainted with the Dalai Lama. A friendship grew up between them which enabled him to gain an unrivalled knowledge of the country and its people.

In the words of the award: "He has acquired a greater knowledge of the Tibetan language, literature, manners and customs than any

other Englishman: while his friendship with the late Dalai Lama, which allowed him a long residence in Lhasa, was an outstanding event in British relations with Tibet. Finally, his recent journey through Mongolia and Manchukuo gave him an intimate and authoritative insight into recent happenings in those countries. His valuable books cover every aspect of Tibetan life."

In addition, he is a great student, perhaps the greatest student and authority on Mahayana Buddhist philosophy.

It is not necessarily intended that we should make the award of the Lawrence Medal every year. I do not think we should always find people who are sufficiently distinguished to receive it every year. But I am perfectly certain on this occasion there will not be a single doubt that the Medal has found its right home in Sir Charles Bell. (Applause.) If it had not been awarded to him at the first possible opportunity, the main objectives of the award would have been missed.

It is in these words, in the name of the Society, Sir Charles, that I beg to offer you with all my congratulations the Lawrence Medal. (Applause.)

Sir Charles Bell: I hardly know how to thank you. I can imagine no greater honour than to be associated in this way with the name of Lawrence, who achieved so much for his country by a real understanding, a deep down understanding, of those Eastern people among whom he worked. If I may make so bold, I would say that he in his great work among the Arabs during the war, and I in my small way during many years in peaceful, or semi-peaceful, Tibet, worked to some extent on the same basis.

To learn a nation's language so as to read and write it, to speak it a great deal with all classes of the people and on a wide range of subjects without the aid of interpreters, to study their history, their politics and their national economy, to learn something of their daily work, their customs, their proverbs and their songs, and above all to study their religion, these things take us a long way, do they not, towards the heart of an Eastern people. (Applause.)

The Indians have a proverb—I expect many of you know it—"Fruit grows on the tree of patience," and so if to your knowledge of that Eastern nation you can add patience, a sympathetic brand of patience and plenty of it, you are in a position to help that nation in its difficulties and to bring it into a friendlier understanding with our own country. I can imagine no more exhilarating work in the world than that.

We in the Royal Central Asian Society are especially occupied with the study of these Asiatic peoples. We have a large membership and an admirable Journal, where one may read every article with profit, for it is from knowledge at first-hand that the contributors write. I do hope that we may be able to attract other people, because the Society is very well worth belonging to and the Journal is extraordinarily good reading. I think I am right in saying that when Lord Curzon was alive he missed very few of its articles.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I will only conclude by thanking you again for the very high honour that you have done me by associating me in this way with the great name of Lawrence through the award of the Lawrence Memorial Medal.

ANNUAL DINNER

The Annual Dinner of the Society was held on July 14, the Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, President of the Society, in the Chair. There was a very large attendance of members and their guests. After the loyal toasts had been honoured, Lord Lloyd opened the proceedings.

The President: I must confess when, just before I came here this evening, I looked at the dinner list, I could not help feeling a sense of satisfaction as President of the Royal Central Asian Society at the wonderful gathering that was coming here to-night and at the distinction of the assemblage. A very large proportion of the people who come to the Central Asian Dinner are people who have done real things in many different parts of Asia, and I need scarcely say that their presence here is the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to us of the Royal Central Asian Society.

It is not my privilege to-night to welcome our guests: that would be trespassing on the preserves of Sir Philip Chetwode, who is going to do so a little later. But I cannot refrain from saying one word to express the pleasure and the honour we feel at having H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sa'udi Arabia with us this evening. (Applause.) We congratulate him on his narrow escape from a very unpleasant motor accident the other day. Since he has been in England, he has won the hearts of all whom he has met by his own personality, and these sentiments have been enhanced by the knowledge we have of the loyal friendship that for so many years and on so many occasions has been shown to this country by His Royal Highness's illustrious father.

We welcome, too, His Excellency the Chinese Ambassador (applause) and the Ambassadress, and I should like to tell him how much we value his coming here at a moment when he must have, we regret to remember, only too many preoccupations which might easily have given him an excuse for not attending this gathering.

I shall only say a few words about the Society. First, I regret to have to tell you the loss we are going to suffer in the retirement of our Chairman, Sir Horace Rumbold, whose term of office has expired. During his term of office the Society has prospered exceedingly. The

membership has further increased, and I think the prestige of the Society has also been enhanced, not only by the work he has done for the Society, but by the fact that the Society has had as its Chairman so distinguished and eminent a personality as Sir Horace Rumbold.

I do not dare to refer to the Palestine Report: it is too dangerous a subject for me to tackle this evening, but I cannot help thinking that the Royal Central Asian Society has the right to feel proud that the Chairman of so important a Commission, Lord Peel, was a past-President of the Society, and that Sir Horace Rumbold, a very distinguished member of the Commission, has been its Chairman. It is quite clear that the Government know where to look for knowledge when they need it on Asiatic affairs.

But the consolation we have in losing Sir Horace Rumbold is that we have succeeded in persuading Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode to take his place. He brings to the Society fame, distinction, knowledge of the East, and a great personality. His name and influence in the Army both here and overseas in India will further help to bring us new membership from the Army and from all those who know the work of Sir Philip Chetwode in India and elsewhere. We welcome him, and we thank him for the honour he has done the Society in accepting the chairmanship. He brings with him, if I may venture to say so, a very gracious Chairwoman in Lady Chetwode, who will be the very greatest help and addition to the Society.

One other thing I should like to say, and that is how very sad it is to every member of the Royal Central Asian Society to remember that this year chronicles the retirement of Sir Denison Ross from the School of Oriental Studies. Sir Denison virtually created that school; he was its most inspired head, and I cannot imagine what the School of Oriental Studies will ever be able to do without him. It must be the concern of all of us to see that his great and stored knowledge of Asiatic languages and affairs is still used to the full.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, there is only left by custom for me to say a word about the important travels which have been accomplished during the past year.

Of course, there can be no name that can come before that of Sir Aurel Stein, whom we welcome again on his return. He comes back to us as young as ever, with ever fresh laurels upon his brow, from his fourth South Persian expedition—he has been away I do not know how many months—and he returns as always with unabated energy. I am sure that I voice the feelings of every member of the Society

when I say with what congratulations and what pleasure we welcome Sir Aurel Stein back amongst us to-night*.

Then there was a great journey done by Ronald Kaulback. Many of us heard a remarkable lecture about the tour he undertook, lasting some twenty-three months, with John Hanbury-Tracy, of which eighteen were spent in South-Eastern Tibet and the remainder in Upper Burma. I always consider it the duty of the Society not only to welcome travellers home, but to urge them to return to further travels as soon as ever they can do so.

We have not here to-night Mr. Kingdon Ward, whose name is very well known to all members. He has had some difficulties in regard to his journey and applied to the Society for help in getting permission for a further extension of the area in which he is travelling. I had great pleasure in asking the assistance of a past-Chairman of the Society —namely, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Zetland—and I am glad to be able to tell you to-night that Lord Zetland has given the required permission, and Mr. Kingdon Ward is marching ahead once more to fresh fame and to fresh work.

You will not be surprised to hear, if you did not know already, that Mr. Philby has accomplished another very famous journey. We welcome him back here to-night. He tells me that in the latter part of his journey he bumped up a little bit against authority. That is not entirely new, but the Royal Central Asian Society does not concern itself with those trifles. We are only concerned to congratulate travellers on any fine and gallant exploit they make and to urge them to further efforts.

I have not exhausted the list because this year Miss Kennedy, the Secretary of our Society, has, I am glad to say, made a journey through the Middle East. I made myself a short trip by aeroplane round some of the countries in the Near East, and wherever I went I found the whole of Syria, Palestine, and Transjordania awaiting Miss Kennedy's arrival. They were prepared to succour her, console her, and speed her on her journey wherever she went.

I asked her yesterday, did she think her journey did any good. She said, "Not the least. Not any good in the world!" I do not agree with her.

She went to Syria, and made a mysterious visit to the Khabur Valley, about which she will not allow me to say anything. She says it is quite unimportant, but I do not agree. I think her journey did a great deal

* See p. 589.

of good to the Society. We think it very gallant of her to have undertaken it, and I hope she will do another later on.

It only remains for me to welcome our chief speaker and guest, Sir John Chancellor, as well as Lady Chancellor. It is perfectly superfluous for me to introduce Sir John to you or you to Sir John Chancellor. His name is a household word throughout the East. He is known to have been a stout supporter of all that appertains to justice in the Arab cause. His knowledge is profound and his experience ripe. We are grateful to him for coming here to-night. We give him our warmest welcome, and we hope that the work he can do for the East will still be continued in the future.

I now ask Sir John Chancellor to propose the next toast.

Lieut.-Col. Sir JOHN CHANCELLOR, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.: I have the privilege this evening of proposing the toast of the Royal Central Asian Society. I know very well what a valuable institution the Royal Central Asian Society is. I know very well the valuable work it does. It provides a centre where Asiatic problems can be discussed confidentially and without bias, and where every opinion is heard with respect and with interest.

You have in the last year had discussion on numerous Asiatic questions and countries. You have had lectures on Japan, Mongolia, 'Iraq, Arabia, Turkestan, and on the defence and the new Constitution of India. All of which makes me wonder why I occupy the honoured position which I do to-night. It is true, and it is my only qualification, that I have spent nine years in Asia. I spent six years in India as a subaltern long ago in the last century, and I spent three years in the Holy Land as High Commissioner.

It is not without interest to me to recall that when I went to India, in the first station I was quartered at, there was a certain Captain Philip Chetwode of the 19th Hussars. I saw a good deal of him in those days; and there were not absent persons who foresaw then that a great military career lay in front of him. I need not say how amply those prophecies have been justified.

It also interests me to remember that nineteen years ago, when I was Governor of Trinidad, I had occasion to write to your President, Lord Lloyd, to congratulate him upon his appointment as Governor of Bombay. I daresay he has forgotten this incident, but when he replied to me he wrote a letter of thanks, in which he cheerfully remarked that he expected to be ungummed in three or four months. He added that

he would return to England going round the world, so would look in on me at Trinidad, and would ask me for a bed and breakfast on his way home.

We all know how *that* prophecy was falsified. It is not necessary for me to remind this company of the splendid work done by Lord Lloyd in Bombay. I am not going to enlarge upon it, but I should just like to say one thing, and it is this: that had it not been for the construction by him of the Lloyd Barrage at Sukkur on the Indus—a project which had been under discussion and which had been a matter of acute controversy for many years—there would have been no possibility of establishing the new Province of Sind to-day.

After my return to England I did not altogether sever my connection with India; for when Mr. Balfour established the Committee of Imperial Defence in 1904, I was appointed Assistant Secretary to that Committee.

The Imperial defence problems of primary importance which were under consideration in those days were two: first of all, the danger of invasion of the United Kingdom from overseas; and, secondly, and more imminent as we thought then, the danger of the invasion of India by a Russian army.

It is not too much to say that the study that Mr. Balfour gave to the question of the defence of India and the memoranda which he wrote at that time threw new light upon the question and indeed revolutionized ideas on that great Imperial problem. A few weeks ago I was talking to Sir Maurice Hankey, and he told me that only that very morning he had had occasion to refer to one of Mr. Balfour's memoranda on the defence of India, written over thirty years ago, and he added that those memoranda were by no means altogether out of date to-day.

But in these days a new factor has emerged through the development of the Air Force. Although there is acute controversy as to the power and efficacy of the Air Force in certain naval and military operations, I do not think there can be any controversy as to the fact that an army encumbered by transport, advancing along narrow valleys and gorges, offers such an easy, concentrated, and vulnerable target that its destruction if attacked by a powerful air force is certain and inevitable.

Those who have been in Palestine and who have seen the wreckage of the Turkish transport vehicles lying in the Wadi Farah, and who have heard of the destruction wrought by the Air Force on the Turkish Army in its retreat from Nablus to the Jordan Valley—an operation for which Sir Philip Chetwode was, I believe, largely responsible—must, I think, draw the conclusion that to launch an army into narrow valleys

when exposed to the danger of attack from the air is not an operation of war.

For that reason I submit that the fear of an invasion of India in force by a Russian army advancing along the passes of the Hindu Kush —a fear which haunted us for many years—is a bogey which can now be regarded as laid.

Turning to another aspect of India, I was reading the other day a poem by Matthew Arnold—"Stanzas in memory of the author of *Obermann*." He wrote:

> "The brooding East with awe beheld
> Her impious younger world.
> The Roman tempest swelled and swelled
> And on her head was hurled.
>
> The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> And plunged in thought again."

Is that still true of India, or has she been so permeated by new political ideas that she will never be patient and passive again? Who can say? But, owing to the loss of prestige which Western Powers have suffered in Asia during the last forty years, I doubt if she will be patient and passive again under the domination of foreigners. But will she, while rejecting Western ideals of civilization and culture, retain our political ideals? It seems hardly probable.

Some years ago when I was the High Commissioner of Palestine, I had occasion to pay a visit to my neighbour the French High Commissioner of Syria. In the course of my visit I had a long conversation with the President of the Lebanese Republic, who was a very cultivated Francophil Syrian. He proceeded to give me his views upon Parliamentary institutions, which he did not hold in high esteem. He taunted me with the fact that England had invented what to him was a curious system of government—Parliamentary institutions. "You can barely," he said, "work that system yourselves, but, for all that, by your example you have imposed it upon most of the countries of Europe, where it has proved a failure." He pointed out that in the greater part of Europe Parliamentary institutions had recently been overthrown and had been replaced by dictatorships. "Not content with those object lessons of the failure of this system of government of yours," he continued, "here you are now seeking to set up Parliamentary institutions in 'Iraq and Egypt, where such institutions are altogether

alien to the traditions of their peoples. For these institutions," he concluded, "I prophesy a very short life."

As we all know, in view of the promises made by Parliament in 1917, it became necessary to introduce drastic changes in the Government of India: and the new Constitution was the product of the labours of able and experienced statesmen, British and Indian, of various schools of thought. How is it going to work? A few weeks ago the prospects seemed gloomy. They look more hopeful to-day; but when one remembers that a large number of those who will hold office as responsible Ministers in India have openly stated that their aim and object is to wreck the Constitution, the future must remain uncertain. If, as my Syrian friend suggested, Parliamentary institutions are so repugnant to Eastern sentiment that Parliamentary government must ultimately fail, what would happen in India?

Obviously we could not leave India to become a seething pot of religious and racial strife. We must stay there to keep the peace. Is it possible, in view of the well-known preference of Indians for personal rule, that India might be happier if she became again a congeries of States, whose boundaries might be based upon historical, ethnological, topographical, and economic considerations with Britain acting as suzerain power to ensure that peace is kept between them?

I turn now, as Lord Lloyd suggested, to what is the question of the moment—Palestine. I know of no question which it is more difficult to discuss objectively than the question of Palestine. In any discussion of this question the issues almost invariably become obscured by the mists of religious emotions or by the heat of racial and political prejudices.

A large number of people remember only the remote past. They do not get any further than the fact that the divinely inspired Old Testament is full of prophecies that the Jews shall one day return to Palestine. Such people believe that any measure that may be taken to-day to bring about fulfilment of those prophecies must have the approval of the Almighty, and are therefore deserving of their support. Others again, looking only to the present day, are so impressed by the marvellous development of the resources of Palestine, agriculturally and industrially, by Jewish energy, Jewish brains, and Jewish capital that they conclude that it must be to the advantage of Palestine as a whole that the Jews should possess and control the country.

But these considerations are not the only factors in this thorny question. One of the main points which must not be omitted from

consideration is the question of the promises that were made during the war to both the Arabs and the Jews. I am not going to enter into that subject of constant and acute controversy. All that can usefully be said on that subject is included in the Report of the Royal Commission, to which I commend your attention.

It is enough for me to say that a situation has now arisen in which irreconcilable interests have been created by promises which, as interpreted by those to whom they were made, are irreconcilable. That has created an intolerable situation.

In such conditions I, as High Commissioner, in endeavouring to do justice to both parties, used to feel that in my every decision and every act I was based upon an equivocal moral foundation. That was a feeling which I never experienced in any other post which I have held under the Crown; and I can tell you it was a very disagreeable feeling.

There is now no longer any excuse for ignorance about the situation in Palestine. The Report of the Royal Commission was published last week. It has been described, and correctly described, as a State document of the first importance. I shall go further: it is a document that will live. It has been drawn up with an almost superhuman detachment and freedom from partisanship. You may read through every page of that Report, and you will not find a trace of prejudice or partisanship in any line of it.

In my opinion the recommendations of the Royal Commission for the partition of Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews offer the only possible solution for that very difficult and complicated problem. Partition offers the only hope for the future peace of Palestine and the only way of establishing conditions under which self-government for the peoples of Palestine will become possible. We owe a debt of gratitude to the members of that Royal Commission for their arduous labours and for the anxious thought which they devoted to this, the most intractable question that Britain has had to encounter since the war, and for the contribution they have made to its solution.

I am indeed thankful that H.M. Government lost no time announcing that they were in general agreement with the arguments and conclusions of the Royal Commission's Report; and I trust that, so far as lies in their power, H.M. Government will resolutely proceed to carry the recommendations of the Royal Commission into effect.

I know that they will be subjected to criticism; but that is inevitable in the circumstances. And one may be sure that all the enemies of Britain at Geneva and elsewhere will combine to add to our difficulties

and to oppose the carrying out of the recommendations of the Royal Commission. But I am convinced that no alternative practicable proposals can be devised for establishing peace in Palestine.

I hope that both the Arabs and the Jews will recognize that a situation has arisen in which, if disaster is to be avoided, sacrifices are required from each of them; and I hope and believe that they will accept the recommendations of the Palestine Royal Commission, if not with alacrity, with resignation.

I give you the toast of the Royal Central Asian Society coupled with the name of Sir Horace Rumbold. (Applause.)

The Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O.: Your President has handed me a very handsome bouquet, and he cannot complain if I hand him one in return. I am billed to respond to the toast of the Royal Central Asian Society, and he inevitably comes into that, for he is perhaps the most dynamic personality I know, and if you have a dynamic personality such as his at the head of a Society, that Society is bound to be dynamic also.

The size of this dinner proves the interest taken by the members of the Society. During my three years of office as Chairman, I have been struck by the energy displayed first of all by the two Presidents, Lord Allenby and Lord Lloyd, and by the two Honorary Secretaries, one of whom is a distinguished traveller himself.

Lord Lloyd has covered some of the ground which I meant to do, so I will not detain you very long, but I think it may be of interest to the members of the Society to know that within the last three years the membership has increased from 1,470 to over 1,790. (Applause.) An encouraging feature is the increasing proportion of young men amongst the new members, because it is to them that a Society such as this must look to replenish its stores of vitality and knowledge. The wives of some members have joined the Society, and if this good example were largely followed, the difficulties entailed by the transfer of the Society's offices to larger premises would be lessened.

I can only conclude this part by assuring you that the Society is in most excellent hands. I was very delighted when I was told on my return from Palestine that my old friend Sir Philip Chetwode, one of the most distinguished of Englishmen, was to be your next chairman.

I know of no Society which can enlist the interest of distinguished travellers such as this Society. To take one instance, your President mentioned the lecture given by Mr. Ronald Kaulback on his return to

this country. You are reading perhaps his articles in *The Times*. Of course, when he came to address us, he was limited to an hour or so and could not give us all the details of his many journeys, but I have no doubt that you were interested to read in yesterday's *Times* the allusion he made to some mysterious tracks he came across which he suggested might be those of what they call " mountain men," legendary figures who seem to be known to the Tibetans.

I have been told that a few words from me on Palestine might be of interest to the members here. I have been very pleased to have been associated with the Commission which was sent out to investigate this very interesting and difficult problem. Think what it means if the proposals of the Commission go through and are accepted at Geneva and elsewhere. After nearly two thousand years the Jews return to what they call their home and become a State again. That, I think, is one of the most arresting and dramatic incidents in history.

When we got out to Palestine, we found a state of tension which really alarmed us. Before I go on to that, I would like you to consider this, that when the mandate was framed in 1922 conditions were very different from what they have become since. In the mind of some of those who drafted the mandate there was, I know, an idea that if the Jews took a sufficient interest in this experiment, it might lead to the creation of a Jewish State, but when that mandate was drafted three eventual factors could not have been foreseen. One was that America would shut down on immigration and replace that by a system of quotas. Nobody could foretell that in 1933 the National Socialist Government of Germany would come into being and pursue a certain policy towards the Jews. Nor could you have foreseen that in Poland a Polish middle-class would grow up, which would oust the middle men who had been Jews up to that time, and lead to the destitution of a very large number of Jews, so large that the Polish Foreign Minister said not long ago, " There are a million too many Jews in this country."

So whereas at the time that the mandate was framed the idea was that the Jews should have a home, a cultural centre, by the force of circumstances Palestine became a refuge for Jews, and the Zionist leaders found it necessary to send as many Jews into the country as possible. The country is very small. People do not realize that it is about the size of Wales, and the land is limited. However intensively you cultivate it, it cannot carry more than a certain number of people.

The Jews developed a great town on the seashore, Tel Aviv, which not many years ago was merely a sand-dune and now contains 150,000

In the four years from 1933 to 1936 160,000 Jews came into the country. Many of them came by right. Those who could prove that they had £1,000 or more were allowed in, and, of course, the dependents of those who came in under the Labour Schedule and otherwise were allowed in too. This enormous influx of Jews, compared with the moderate figures of immigration in other years—which had not even attained 10,000 a year—alarmed the Arabs. The Arabs said, "We are being swamped. We are going to the wall." They had a genuine fear of being ousted from the country which they considered theirs.

There is another side to that, too, and I would quote from the Report this sentence: "The continued impact of a highly intelligent and energetic race, backed by large financial resources, on a comparatively poor indigenous community on a different cultural level, may produce reactions in time." I would have put it "will produce reactions in time," and that is what has happened.

At intervals of four or five years we have had to send expeditions and to increase the forces in Palestine to repress disorders; and whereas the original disorders were not directed against the British Government, they have been directed against the British Government in the last two instances. We had to ask ourselves whether the British people were going to stand indefinitely for the despatch of reinforcements in order to crush revolts, with the loss of life and the expense which they entail, and we came to the conclusion that we must try and find some other way out.

I am not one of those who think that our country has failed in carrying out the mandate and that some other country might have done better. That is not true. Our country has done its utmost. In one respect it has completely fulfilled the mandate; it has facilitated the establishment of the Jewish home, and the fact that there are over 400,000 Jews there now is a proof of that.

But we came to the conclusion that the experiment had failed and that we could not go on with it, and so we had to recommend—much against our will—partition. Under partition, if it is accepted, the Jews

will be able to fill their State to its utmost capacity, and the Arabs will get what they want, self-government, because, as time went on, they saw that the countries around them—Syria, Egypt, 'Iraq, and so on—had become completely independent, ruling their own destinies, and they felt that they, the Palestinian Arabs, were in a second-class category.

I can only hope that this proposal of ours will lead to peace in the Middle East, and that the two races eventually will settle down and work for their own common good. There is no such thing as a Palestinian nation. There is not even a Palestinian flag. When one of us asked one of the high officials of the Government, "Why have you not got a Palestinian flag?" he replied, "There is no demand for it."

Field-Marshal Sir PHILIP CHETWODE, Bart., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., in proposing the toast of The Guests, said: In addition to the business of this Society, which is to encourage the knowledge, exploration and research about the lesser known countries of Asia, we have one we regard as a still more important duty, and that is to encourage by all means in our power good relations with and personal knowledge of the people who inhabit those countries: because we feel that personal contact with a man or men is worth all the *aides-mémoires,* pacts, protocols and treaties that ever were written out by men of the distinguished service to which my friend Sir Horace Rumbold belongs.

If you think that that personal liberty which we enjoy in this country has a price above rubies, then you have to give up something for it. What we have to give up is that we have to substitute for two strong men looking at each other across the table and deciding what is best, the rule by Council, that Council of War which Napoleon said was the weakest and poorest form of command in war.

I venture to suggest that those sorts of Councils and the Government we have to submit to, the Council of War by which we are governed, always means compromise, and compromise nearly always means the second best. Our soldiers, sailors and airmen of the allied and associated Powers gave into the hands of three statesmen at the end of the war the greatest power the world has ever put into the hands of three men, and they decided that the business of the world should be carried on in future by council and conference. I think everyone will agree with me it has been a desperate and hopeless policy right through. Methods of conference have failed.

I heard the other day of a man who said there were only two sorts

inhabitants. The construction of that town led to a demand for everything connected with the building trades, and therefore the Jews could say to the Government, "We want so many more labourers to complete buildings," and so on and so on. It was a snowball process, and they could prove that the economic absorptive capacity demanded an ever-increasing number of immigrants.

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I heard the other day of a man who said there were only two sorts

of political situation in the world: the one the frankly unendurable, and the other the just bearable.

I think you will agree that the state of the world now is rapidly approaching the frankly unendurable, and it is about time that old gentlemen like Sir Horace Rumbold and I took an option on some uninhabited island in the Pacific where we could live upon shell-fish and sit on the beach and be sure we should not be bombed or deafened with talk.

We in this Society make it our great pleasure to welcome men of other races than our own as well as people who have done well for the Empire. To-night we have with us H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sa'udi Arabia, who is the son of a very distinguished father. We have entertained His Royal Highness here before, and we welcome him again. (Applause.) He belongs to a race and to a very highly-bred family who retain both in peace and war that chivalry which we in Europe have long ago ceased to practise in the rush of modern life. We can only hope that His Royal Highness, when he goes home, will tell his father that at least he has been impressed by what he has seen during our Coronation ceremonies.

He will tell him, I hope, that we admire his country and value his friendship, and he will tell him that the old British lion has still got a few of his claws left, that he has recently been visiting his dentist and having his teeth sharpened, and that no country in this world dare go to war without wondering what the British Empire will do.

I disagree entirely with Sir John Chancellor in what he said. In a very short time now, on whatever side the British Empire falls, that side will win, and do not make any mistake about it.

We have also as our guest here to-night H.E. the Chinese Ambassador. He represents a great nation, to which we Westerners owe much in our civilization. It has had one of the oldest forms of civilization for over four thousand years, and the Chinese were a cultivated race hundreds of years before we in this island had done painting ourselves blue with woad in the forests.

In such vast spaces of time as represent the long civilization of China, the impact of Western influence is comparatively recent. No race has ever preserved for so long as they have a civilization so completely independent of all extraneous influences.

But that is changing now, as His Excellency will admit, and no man can prophesy what that change will bring forth in so enormous a country, with so huge a population, with such immense opportunities

for commercial dominance, for strategical dominance, and for industrial dominance. All we know is that whatever happens in China is bound to have a most profound influence on the rest of the world, and we offer to China through His Excellency our very best wishes for a successful issue out of the momentous events which are occurring there now, and an assurance to him of our ancient friendship.

There is also here to-night a man who probably knows much more about China than most Englishmen in the world know, Sir Frederick Maze, who is Inspector-General of Chinese Customs. He has accompanied the distinguished mission to this country which was sent by China to our Coronation, and is one of the Chinese Government's most important servants. For the Chinese Customs is not merely a duty-collecting agency; it lights the Chinese coast and looks after the country's harbours. Moreover, the Customs revenue is the security for China's foreign loans. Sir Frederick has not by any means had an easy task recently, and we are glad to welcome him here to-night.

We have also here Sir Harold MacMichael, Governor of Tanganyika since 1934, who, after a very distinguished career at the University, joined the Sudan Political Service. He is a great Arabic scholar and has written valuable books.

The science of aeronautics—which we used to hope would benefit the world and now has assumed so threatening an aspect that we scarcely dare look up into the skies—is very well represented here by Sir Francis Frampton, who is the Director of Civil Aviation now, and Lord Sempill, a distinguished member of the original Royal Flying Corps, who is now Chairman of the Royal Aeronautical Society.

I now ask you, the members of the Royal Central Asian Society, to rise in your places and drink the health of our Guests coupled with the names of the Crown Prince of Sa'udi Arabia and His Excellency the Chinese Ambassador.

H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sa'udi Arabia spoke in Arabic.

Mr. Mahmood Zada interpreted: His Royal Highness has seen fit to cut his speech very short because he was afraid that, talking in Arabic, a language which most of you do not understand, he might tire you. But during the dinner he told me that he would do so, and he explained to me the points which he would like to have dealt with, had he been able to speak to you in English. I shall therefore commence translating what he said, and what he left unsaid but wished to say.

His Royal Highness said that he is very happy indeed to be here to-night and to meet you all, and he is very grateful to his lordship for the very kind words which he said about him and the very kind reference to his august father.

He is also very deeply touched by the sincere felicitations which Lord Lloyd has offered to him on his escape from injury in the motor accident in which he was involved in Scotland.

He also wished to thank Sir Philip Chetwode for the very kind words he said about him and the very kind reference he made to his father.

With regard to the motor accident he was involved in in Scotland, His Royal Highness feels very fortunate indeed to be alive to-night and to be with you. He is most grateful to the Committee of the Royal Central Asian Society for inviting him here to-night and giving him the pleasure of meeting you and saying a few words to you. It gives him great pleasure indeed to visit London for the second time. He has been very happy to meet his old friends and very happy to make new ones.

He asks, is it not a fact that wherever Arabs and Englishmen meet, they feel drawn to each other by feelings of great friendship? (Applause.) And he asks again, is it not true that the reason for this is the fact that the two nations have so many qualities in common, notably chivalry, bravery, hospitality, and, last but not least, the love of freedom and the fact that both of them value honour far more than anything in the world, and more than life itself?

It is these qualities, His Royal Highness says, that make the friendship of Arabs and Englishmen stand on a very firm foundation; and these qualities will continue to draw Arabs and Englishmen together into closer ties of friendship and will continue to inspire them with mutual respect and admiration.

It is not to be wondered at, His Royal Highness says, that he feels most happy at meeting so many friends to-night, especially as he leaves this beautiful and hospitable country next morning. He is very sorry indeed to leave, but, of course, one must say good-bye some time.

His Royal Highness would like to take this opportunity to express his gratitude to H.M. King George, to His Majesty's Government and to the leading men and women of the country, and indeed to the rank and file of the British public, for the great kindness and hospitality which has been shown to him wherever he went during his stay in this country. He wishes His Majesty a long life and a happy reign. He

wishes the great British people peace and prosperity. And he wishes this worthy Society a brilliant and a distinguished future.

His Excellency the Chinese Ambassador also thanked the President and Chairman for their kind words. " A Society," he said, " which brings together at its hospitable board representatives of the extreme East and the extreme West of the great continent of Asia, has its part to play in bringing light to bear on the problems of that continent." He said he was very pleased to be present at this gathering.

SIR AUREL STEIN'S FOURTH SOUTH-PERSIAN EXPEDITION

Sir Aurel Stein started on his fourth South-Persian expedition early in November, 1935, from Shiraz where his third archæological tour had ended in 1934. Permission for it had been secured from Tehran through the kind offices of the late Iranian Minister in London, Mirza Hussein Alā, and the British Legation.

His journey, lasting fourteen months, took him first through the Mamasani and Kohgalu hills. There he was able to trace definite indications of the ancient route which Alexander is likely to have followed on his rapid march from the plains of Susiana to Persepolis. Subsequently in the Bakhtiari hills interesting relievo sculptures could be examined among other early remains and little-known ground surveyed, rather difficult of access at the time. In a small valley south of the Karun river he had the good fortune to discover accidentally the site of a Parthian shrine. Excavation brought to light from it important if much damaged remains of Hellenistic bronze sculpture besides other interesing relics.

His subsequent journey took him, in the course of four months, from the great site of Susa up to the Saimarreh valley and through Pīsh-i-Koh portion of Luristan. Here plenty of prehistoric mounds, mainly of chalcolithic times, were traced. Trial excavations made at a number of them yielded useful finds in the shape of fine painted pottery, etc.

After a brief halt under the hospitable roof of the British Consulate at Kermanshah he turned for the summer into the high valleys of

Persian Kurdistan. There it became possible at the caves and rock-cut halls of Karafto definitely to locate a curious sanctuary referred to by Tacitus in connection with a Roman expedition and to secure an impression of a Greek inscription naming Herakles as the divinity locally worshipped.

Mounds large and small marking prehistoric settlements were found in numbers in the valleys adjoining the main Zagros range on the former Turkish border and near Lake Urumiyeh. Burial remains of interest were recovered in abundance from those sites where time and such labour as was available in that region, badly depopulated since the War, permitted of trial excavations. Finally, in the autumn he carried out archæological reconnaissances in the valleys crossed by the ancient highway leading down from the plateaux of Media to the Mesopotamian plains. Access to the Pusht-i-Koh and the Iran-'Iraq border was barred. But everywhere else he enjoyed the very willing and effective assistance of the Iranian authorities. The peace and order which the present strong régime has brought to regions suffering for generations from insecurity and tribal disturbances cannot be valued too highly.

LATINIZATION: A STUDY IN MIDDLE EASTERN LANGUAGE REFORM

By MAJOR G. E. WHEELER

Paper read on July 27, 1937, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair.

THE Arab conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries resulted not only in the widespread propagation of Islam over Asia but in the adoption of Arab culture by many different peoples. A natural corollary of this was the adoption of the Arabic written character by those peoples who, willingly or unwillingly, embraced Islam. From the thirteenth century up to 1928 the Arabic character, with some modifications, was the accepted character in which Persian and Turkish were written, while its use for writing Urdu dates from about the middle of the seventeenth century. During the past twenty years attempts, some of them successful, have been made to substitute the Latin alphabet for the Arabic in these languages. The object of the present paper is to consider the reasons, implications and desirability of such a change from both cultural and linguistic standpoints.

The phonetics of the Semitic group of languages of which Arabic is one differ widely from those of other groups. The most modern, almost the only flourishing Semitic language is Arabic, and the Arabic character was evolved from Hebrew and Aramaic to suit the apparently complicated but in reality highly scientific system of phonetics and word-forming of the Arabic language. Before the beginning of the Arab conquests the Arabic language had crystallized and the Quran, still regarded as the most perfect model of the language, had been written. In spite of the extent of Arab conquests and settlements the language has changed surprisingly little and even to-day contains scarcely more than 500 words of foreign origin. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the Arabic character, though admirably suited to Arabic, is inelastic and does not lend itself at all readily to the transcription of other languages.

A dissertation on the phonetics of Arabic is beyond the scope or ability of the present writer. One remarkable particular, however, must be mentioned in which Arabic differs from other non-Semitic languages. Vowels, except in two books, the Quran and the Bible, are

hardly ever written at all. In Arabic this is of small importance, for the arrangement of the language renders the writing of vowels unnecessary. The number of vowel sounds is, moreover, restricted, and established vowel sounds are only modified by their proximity to certain consonants. In non-Semitic languages, however, the writing of vowels is usually regarded as imperative, and no people which has evolved its written language without the incubus of a foreign conqueror has tried to dispense with them.

In the Arabic alphabet there are 28 letters, no two of which have, in Arabic, the same or, to an Arab, even a similar sound. The alphabet contains certain groups of letters which to the ears of foreigners sound very much alike and, where they occur in borrowed Arabic words, are pronounced exactly alike. These are groups containing respectively: 2 T sounds, 3 S sounds, 4 Z sounds and 2 H sounds. This reduces the Arabic alphabet to a range of 21 possible sounds, of which one ('ain) is only found in words of Semitic origin. These 21 sounds have always been found insufficient to meet the needs of languages which have borrowed them, and those languages have had to introduce new letters while retaining all the Arabic letters for the purpose of writing borrowed Arabic words. The Urdu alphabet, for instance, thus contains 35 letters, of which 6 are redundant and 7 of non-Arabic origin.

An attempt will now be made to examine the effect of the imposition of the Arabic alphabet on the languages already referred to and to describe the efforts made in the direction of Latinization. All three are similar in the sense that they all consist of original tongues which were weak either from under-development or from other causes and which have been embellished with large numbers of words and phrases from Arabic. Persian, being the first of the three to assume definite literary form in the post-Islamic period, has been the channel through which most of the Arabic word-loans have passed. Many purely Persian words are also to be found in Turkish and Urdu. Later, Persian began to borrow from Turkish and Afghan Persian from Urdu.

At the time of the Arab conquest of Persia the written language of the Persians was Pahlevi, which bore, however, scarcely any relation to the spoken tongue. The effect of the Arab conquest was completely to extirpate written Pahlevi and to make the Arabic language for many generations the vehicle for all philosophic, scientific and historical writings. Eventually, as the effects of the Arab invasion wore off, the basic Pahlevi reasserted itself as the written language, but was heavily interlarded with Arabic words and phrases and was inevitably written

in the Arabic character. The language thus created formed an admirable medium for one of the richest and most beautiful literatures in the world. For a country separated by religion and geography from Western Europe, the Persian language of the post-Islamic period seemed, indeed, perfectly adequate. Modern science and institutions were regarded with an aversion closely bordering upon contempt. Education was largely in the hands of religious teachers, and the fact that the language was written in Arabic characters, with the phonetics of which Persian had little in common, was a matter of profound unimportance to the Persians. Arabic writing was the writing of the Quran; it was good writing. But the wave of nationalist feeling that swept over the Middle East after the World War quickly brought other ideas into play. What was Arab culture to the Persians, an Aryan people? What was Islam but a set of reactionary dogmas? Why should they remain a backward oriental nation? They must have railways, factories, aeroplanes, scientific education. Was the Persian language suited to all this and, if not, why not? Naturally, the non-Persian element in the language was to blame and it must be eradicated. A good deal has been done and is still being done in the way of substituting purely Persian words (mostly taken from the Shahnameh) for Arabic words. Latinization has been seriously mooted and the expert opinion of European orientalists and philologists taken.

It is sometimes said that this desire for the reform of language is due to an effervescence of nationalist feeling rather than a genuine feeling of inconvenience caused by the inapplicability of Arabicized Persian to modern usage. This argument is often advanced by foreigners, whose reasons for disliking modernist movements in Persia are not always purely altruistic. Though the real necessity of introducing so many new and, to modern ears, slightly uncouth words may be doubted, the unsuitability of the Arabic character to modern Persian requirements is a matter of far greater certainty. The great hiatus in scientific progress in the East has made inevitable the general adoption of Western technical terminology. It is almost if not quite impossible to transcribe this terminology into the Arabic character. The result seems to be that any Persian who wishes to pursue scientific or technical studies must do so in a language other than his own. Quite apart from academic objections this is clearly contrary to reasonable nationalist aspirations, which must ultimately aim at technical education being a home product. The linguistic and cultural pros and cons of Latinization have been carefully examined by M. Fatih in a book published in

Tehran in 1935 entitled *Rah-i-pishraft*. This book is said to have the backing of the Shah, who, however, with characteristic wisdom, is anxious to consolidate his educational reforms before proceeding to such a radical cultural change.

The cultural connection of Arabic with the Turkish language is neither so close nor of such long standing as with Persian. The Seljuq Turks were subjugated and converted to Islam by Qutayba ibn Muslim in the early part of the eighth century. Some of the many dialects of the Turkish language were being written in the Arabic character by the middle of the tenth century, but Turkish can hardly be said to have taken real hold as a written language until the Seljuqs were established as rulers of Anatolia. Indeed, the literature and culture of the Seljuqs did not attain the height of their development until the thirteenth century, when their power as a state was beginning to decline. At this period the court language was Persian, while the language of learning was Arabic, but Turkish was beginning to supplant the latter as the vehicle of literary composition; a Turkish, however, filled with Arabic words and expressions.

Turkish is an agglutinative language of the Ural-Altaic group. It is divided into many branches and dialects, the oldest and simplest of which is Jagatai Tartar and the most highly developed Osmanli Turkish. All these dialects resemble each other in two important respects—a great richness of vowel (not diphthongal) sounds and a euphonic system known as the rule of harmony. There are eight vowel sounds, four hard—viz., *a*, *o*, *u*, *y* (the last is written as undotted *i* in modern Turkish but as *y* in this paper)—and four corresponding soft sounds—viz., *e*, *ö*, *ü*, *i*. In purely Turkish words vowels must either be all hard or all soft; they cannot be mixed. In words of foreign origin this rule is applied as far as possible. All that the Arabic alphabet could do to indicate this fundamental principle of the Turkish language was to use a different kind of *s* or *k* where those letters were required to accompany hard or soft vowels. This was of very little use, for a vast number of words existed where those letters did not occur and where there was absolutely no means of telling whether the prevailing vowelling was hard or soft. For example, most of the parts of the verbs " to become " and " to die " were written in exactly the same way, though etymologically distinct. Thus, the two words written to-day as " ölmedi " and " olmady" were, in the Arabic script, written exactly the same, though their meanings, " he did not die " and " he did not become," and their pronunciation were widely different. Other examples are: " güldüm " (I laughed) and

" geldim " (I came), both written the same in Arabic script; and, even more striking: " gel " (come), " gül " (laugh), " kel " (bald), " kul " (all) and " kil " (mud), which were all written exactly the same. The effect of this on the language was the introduction of more and more Arabic words which, by their distinctive orthography, tended to prevent ambiguity. On the other hand, they overloaded an originally simple and succinct language with pompous words and there was a period when official Turkish became almost unintelligible to the Turks themselves. It is not, therefore, surprising that after the founding of the Constitution, projects for Latinization began to be mooted. These ideas were first made public during the Young Turk régime and their principal supporter was Hüseyn Cahit, a prominent writer, grammarian and scholar. The proposal was fiercely opposed on three grounds. Pan-Islamists maintained that it would cut Turkey away from the rest of Islam. The Pan-Turanians argued that it would destroy the unity of the Ottoman Turks with the many millions of Turks in Russia who used the Arabic script. Finally, it was contended that the classical languages of the Turks were Arabic and Persian and that all their cultural wealth was treasured in literature in the Arabic script. With the repudiation of the Caliphate, the relinquishment of Islam as the state religion and the adoption of the Latin character by the Turkish speaking peoples of the U.S.S.R. in 1926, the two main objections ceased to have any significance and, in 1928, a phonetic Latin alphabet of 28 letters was introduced by law. The simplification of the language which has resulted is not only orthographical but syntactical, for the introduction of punctuation has induced writers to break up the long, unwieldy sentences which were formerly a common feature of Turkish. Objectors, both Turkish and foreign, no doubt still exist, and it can hardly be expected that they will disappear or that the Arabic character will fall into complete *private* disuse within the present generation. That conservatively minded people hesitate to abandon old customs does not necessarily imply that those customs are good.

In examining the effect of the Arabic script on Urdu a number of quite different features present themselves. In Persia and Turkey the Arabic character was adopted by peoples of the same race and religion. The conquerors, moreover, did not find in either of those countries any firmly established written character nor a vast number of different spoken languages, many of which used distinctive alphabets. Sanscrit and its connected culture was by no means ousted by the Moguls. The language most spoken round the Mogul capital was naturally the one

which was assimilated by the conquerors, which became the receptacle of vast numbers of Persian and Arabic words and which was eventually written in the Arabic character. Urdu was not, as is sometimes supposed, merely an invented lingua franca of the army. It was and is a real dialect of Western Hindi, Sauraseni Prakrit. The overloading of the written language with Persian and Arabic words was more the work of pliant Hindu officials attached to the Mogul courts than the result of any systematized influence of the conquerors. Urdu did not become consolidated as a written language until the reign of Shahjahan (many think very much later) and until recent times it has, like Persian, been found adequate for its purpose. In other circumstances an important movement for Latinization might have emerged. The advance, however, of modern institutions and education found a ready medium in English, which has almost, if not quite, forced Urdu into a secondary position as the lingua franca of culture in India. As in the cases of Persian and Turkish, Urdu, while still written in the Arabic character, could with difficulty be made the medium for modern scientific education, and it has for this purpose been to a great extent supplanted by English.

The Arabic alphabet was grievously inadequate for the exacting demands of Hindi phonetics. When it had added to the available sound symbols of Arabic the Persian letters *pe*, *chim*, *gaf* and *zhe* it still required five other symbols—viz., the hard *t*, *d* and *r*, the final dropped *ya* to give the sound of open *e*, and the undotted nasal *n* to represent the Hindi "anuswara" and "anunasik." This is not all. Aspiration of consonants is a common feature of the Prakrits, which had separate and distinct letters for aspirated hard and soft *t*, *d*, hard *r*, *b*, *p*, *k*, *g*, *ch* and *j*. As aspiration in the same sense is unknown in Arabic it could never be perfectly clear whether these letters, when immediately preceding the Arabic *he*, were pronounced together or separately in spite of the use of the "butterfly" *h* to indicate the former. Thus, while Urdu, mixed as it was with the words of three languages, needed not less than 34* sound symbols, Arabic could only provide 21, and, by being borrowed in its entirety, saddled Urdu with 6 phonetically redundant letters. This is without taking into consideration the inadequacy of the Arabic characters to express all the Urdu vowel and diphthongal sounds. Urdu uses the Arabic glottal stop, hamza (the breathing pause necessary between vowels as between the English words

* The exact number of sounds in Urdu is a debatable matter and depends upon whether or not digraphs are regarded as separate sound symbols.

"India Office"), to express the Hindi vowel *e* and semi-vowel *ya* in words like "hue" and "lie." The proper function of Hamza in these words would be to cause a breathing pause between *hu* and *e* and between *li* and *e*, whereas Urdu phonetics require nothing of the kind. One more point—the Arabic character cannot distinguish between "kia" (did) and "kya" (what?).

What, it may be asked, of the Sanscrit or Devanagri character which has existed in India for countless centuries and is still widely used by Hindus all over the country? Is it suited for the writing of Urdu? The answer is that it is admirably suited. It represents what is probably the most perfect system of phonetics ever known. Besides expressing all the Aryan sounds of Persian and Hindi, it can exactly express all the Arabic vowel sounds and all the Arabic consonants (as sounded in Urdu) except *ḳha*, *fa*, *ghain*, *qaf* and the *z* sounds, and these are all easily expressed by underdotting the Nagri aspirated *ḳ*, *g* and *p* and the simple Nagri *ḳ* and *j*. Unfortunately, however, there are many serious objections to the universal application of the Nagri script to Urdu. The Arabic script was arbitrarily introduced during the despotic rule of the Moguls. The very suggestion that Indian Moslems should now write Urdu in Nagri would open up a whole range of problems even to envisualize which is quite outside the scope of this paper.

Though the widespread use of English has rendered the Latinization of Urdu less imperative than it would otherwise have been, one or two important attempts to introduce it have been made. The most important is the system of "Roman Urdu," which was introduced for the Indian ranks of the Army some years ago. Recruited from men having a large variety of languages and scripts, it was thought imperative for the Army to have a common character which would easily form the medium for the important scheme of military and general education which was set on foot after the last war. Moreover, with the advance of military science, it was found necessary during training and in the field to use a script which could express technical terminology with uniform accuracy. The considerable progress recently made in Army education is probably in a large measure due to the introduction of Roman Urdu. It must be recognized that the Roman Urdu is not a complete phonetic alphabet, for it providés no symbols for the hard *t*, *d* and *r* and one or two other sounds. It was, however, primarily designed for use by Indians, who are not likely to make mistakes in the pronunciation of a language which they learn principally by ear. For foreigners learning Urdu, the Romanized alphabet seems to provide a

far easier medium than Arabic. It is written from left to right, it makes provision for vowels and diphthongs and it cuts out the 6 phonetically redundant letters.

The whole question of the degree to which Latinization simplifies or complicates the learning of languages now or formerly written in the Arabic script requires examination. The following remarks are confined to Turkish and Urdu. In general they would also be applicable to Persian, but Persian has not *yet* been Latinized at all, and anyone who wishes to learn the language to-day must still inevitably master the Arabic character. The writer recently heard the theory expressed that while Latinization was all very well for those who knew the language already, it gravely complicated matters for those learning it for the first time. The reason for this was that the student, if his own language were one written in the Latin character, would be inclined to give his own phonetic values to letters which were the same as those of his own tongue. This apparently formidable theory requires closer analysis before it can be accepted. It will be generally admitted that similarities or differences among languages must be fixed rather by *sound* than by *sign*. That the French *ch* is pronounced like the English *sh*, and the German *ee*, *j* and *w* like the English *ay*, *y* and *v* are merely a few illustrations among thousands of a very common linguistic phenomenon. Another common phenomenon is that one language may contain several sounds unknown to two or three others. Ignoring the finer *nuances*, it may be mentioned that French has no equivalent for the English *th*, *ch* and *j*; the Modern Greek cannot pronounce without difficulty *b*, *j*, *sh* or *ch*. English itself is very weak in gutturals. There is, therefore, nothing new or exceptional in the fact that oriental languages have certain sounds which do not occur in the languages with which we are most familiar. The Turkish phonetic Latin alphabet gives 28 symbols for all the sounds used in Turkish. Of these sounds only two, the nasal *g* and the hard *i* (written in Turkish as undotted *ı*), are not found in English, French, German or Italian. Of the remaining 26 sounds, 24 are found in English and the other two, *ö* and *ü*, in German and are very easily acquired. Without addition of the Persian letters *pe*, *chim*, *zhe* and *gaf* the Arabic alphabet can only express 20 of the Turkish sounds.

In Urdu a greater number of unusual sounds can be found. The Arabic sounds of *ghain* and *qaf* (still approximately pronounced in Urdu), the hard *t*, *d* and *r*, the hard and soft *th*, *dh* and the aspirated *k*, *p*, *g*, *b*, *j* and *ch* cannot be found in the more common European

languages. Nor, with the exception of the first two, can they be found in Arabic, which also lacks *p* and *ch* and adequate means of expressing *o*, *ai*, *au*, *g* and nasal *n*. Indeed, easily to express all the sounds of Urdu in any known alphabet (Devanagri excepted) is a matter of extreme difficulty, and the solution of this difficulty which seems to appeal least to the imagination is the use of a character inseparably bound up with a system of phonetics as foreign to Urdu as it is to the great majority of the world's languages. All that can be done with the Arabic alphabet to indicate the sounds which it lacks is to add new letters by means of dots, a device which can as easily be employed in the Latin alphabet. Aspiration is unknown in Arabic phonetics, whereas it is common in Aryan languages. Finally, the Arabic method of indicating vowels and diphthongs is totally inadequate to meet the demands of Urdu. To all this must be added the collateral difficulties of the initial, medial and final forms of the Arabic characters and the fact that they are written from right to left. As in Persian, a foreigner wishing to obtain a complete knowledge of written Urdu would have to learn the Arabic character to which literature is at present confined, but those whose wish or duty it is to learn the language colloquially and to read only Romanized Urdu would, it is the belief of the writer, do much better to study the language through the medium of a suitably modified Latin alphabet.

It may seem to some that the writer has written of Arabic phonetics and orthography in a derogatory way. This is very far from his intention. The Arabic language is one of the noblest and richest in the world and its character is admirably suited to it. Indeed, this is an additional reason for deploring the fact that a totally wrong version of Arabic phonetics has been spread over the East by forcing the Arabic alphabet to attempt something which is beyond its power. Anyone who, like the present writer, takes up Arabic after studying Persian, Turkish and Urdu in the Arabic character will experience the very greatest difficulty in acquiring the pronunciation of the most important of Middle Eastern languages.

In the present short paper the writer has endeavoured to show that the Arabic character is not bound up or even connected with the basic phonetics of Persian, Turkish and Urdu, that those languages, while written in the Arabic script, can with difficulty be adapted to modern requirements, and, finally, that, from the point of view of the foreigner, the Arabic character tends to complicate and lengthen the process of learning three important languages.

The following is part of the informal discussion which took place at the meeting:

Mr. Philby: The statement that Arabic letters have a fixed value in Arabia must be qualified as applying only to Classical Arabic. The letter "Jim," to take one obvious example, has quite different values in dialects of colloquial Arabic. Major Wheeler assented.

Sir Denison Ross: Many in Persia would like the Latinization of the alphabet, but the suggestion has fallen to the ground apparently because it was not approved by the Shah himself. There is a movement in Persia for the substitution of Persian for Arabic words in common use—*e.g.*, شهر داری for بلدیه—Municipal Offices, or سرگرد for Major.

Sir Denison Ross: *The first specimen of written Western Turkish* dates back to A.H. 690, the very end of the thirteenth century. Sultan Valad, the son of Jalal ud-Din Rumi, made the first attempt to write Anatolian Turkish in Arabic characters.

The Lecturer: For an example of how difficult it was for a foreigner to learn to read Turkish, the common word "doğru" was written indifferently دوغرو or طغری = straight.

Mr. Philby: As an instance of how difficult the older men find it to change over to Romanized spelling, when I was held up at Payas while they ascertained whether my car permit was not out of order, a telegram came through written in Latin characters. The Customs officer's clerk read it aloud, the Customs officer himself took it down in Arabic characters and then only could he understand it.

Sir Denison Ross: Anyone over 40, first learning the Latin alphabet, writes like a child; you cannot develop a formed handwriting after a certain age.

Sir Denison Ross: There is only one example, and of a single expression, to show that Urdu was used in the reign of Humayun. That was a sentence used by Qutb-ul-Alam, one of the Bunkhara Sayyids of India, who died in 1543, when he stumbled on a stone and said, "Loha, lakkar, pathar"—*i.e.*, "iron, wood, stone." This is one of the earliest examples of Hindustani recorded.

The Lecturer wrote on the board "Usné kyá kiya" in Hindi and Urdu. Mr. Philby and Colonel Eadie, while agreeing that theoretically these two last words should be differentiated in writing, as they are in Hindi, though not in Urdu, said that in their experience north country Muslim Indians pronounced both alike "kiya." Major Wheeler dissented.

The LECTURER, in reply to Sir Denison Ross: The letter 'Ain cannot be represented in Devanagri. It is not now pronounced in Urdu.

Mr. PHILBY said his Egyptian acquaintances pronounced Arabic in a semi-classical way, except, of course, the letter "Jim." But since there was not one country that pronounced colloquial Arabic in the same way as the Quran, Major Wheeler's proposal might logically be applied to Arabic colloquial language also.

Mr. HEYWORTH-DUNNE: For instance, the words "minch," "crane" and "Pasha" are so pronounced, although they are written with a "Ba."

Sir DENISON ROSS: And writing is no key whatever to the pronunciation of the colloquial.

The LECTURER: I have not referred to them, but Albanian and the Turkestan dialects have also been Romanized in recent times.

Sir DENISON ROSS: With regard to Turkish, educated people understand the meaning of educated words. They like to play upon two words from the same Arabic root, and to feel the force of the original meaning. Now in modern Turkish you have no conception that you are dealing with an Arabic word when it is in construction. If you could drop all Arabic words it would be all very well, but you cannot. And while you keep such words as Istiqlal, you should keep the Arabic writing. Hence I am averse to the modernized spelling there, just as I am averse to it in the writing of English. The identity of a word lies in its spelling. Turkish dressed as a European tongue will lose the force of its historical development, and the sense of the value of the Arabic roots must also be lost.

Mr. PHILBY: If you lose the spirit of the language you lose everything. You might as well use Esperanto at once.

Sir DENISON ROSS: On the other hand, there is no question that the new alphabet is much simpler, and is therefore spreading rapidly.

Mr. HEYWORTH-DUNNE: You realize the difficulty of the old alphabet when applied to Turkish, coming to it from Arabic. Again the borrowing of foreign words has been influenced by the use of the Arabic script; Arabic words have been taken into Turkish, not as Latin words crept into English, but unchanged, as it were, in the fervour of the religious spirit.

Sir DENISON ROSS: The Latin alphabet is well suited to all Turkish words—*e.g.*, "Kulturbaqan," the new name for the Minister of Education, is more easily translated than the old "Wazīru 'l-Ma'ārif."

Mr. HEYWORTH-DUNNE: Even Arabs themselves are not always clear about the use of the different letters. The confusion of ص with

س and of ط with ت are the commonest spelling errors in colloquial Arabic, particularly in Northern Africa and Egypt.

Mr. PHILBY: In Arabia there is a province "Kharj," and the legendary explanation of the name is that it was once the Makhraj—granary of Arabia; which it was. But this explanation is false etymology. The name really comes from "*Kh*arq"—Artesian wells; the word Makhruq—grotto, from the same root, is a common one. Of course, nowadays the spelling has become fixed, and it would be wrong to write the name of the province otherwise than with a "Jim."

Sir DENISON ROSS: If you are going to introduce the principle of a different letter for every different sound, there are two pronunciations of the long ā in Arabic.

Mr. PHILBY: There are not properly two pronunciations of the long ā in the classical Arabic; a following or preceding consonant must alter the value of a vowel, but that does not mean that there is any need to write a different sign for the vowel on every occasion. The others concurred.

Mr. PHILBY: Do I understand that Major Wheeler wishes to modify the Roman alphabet and then to apply it to Arabic?

Major WHEELER said he had no such idea; the Arabic alphabet was eminently suited to the writing of the Arabic language, but was less suited to other languages.

Sir DENISON ROSS: In the case of Turkish and Persian, if they do not associate words with their Arabic roots they suffer a cultural loss.

Mr. PHILBY: Romanization has come to stay in Turkey, but why encourage it? You will ruin the spirit of the language.

Major WHEELER: The loss of the contact with Western culture is a greater loss.

Mr. HEYWORTH-DUNNE: I am against Romanizing, but if you want to Romanize, you must get the alphabet first to cover all the various sounds, and then choose your letters for each dialect according to which sounds it has.

Mr. MIFTAH: I am much against Romanizing the Persian language. You might do it for current books, but it would be practically impossible to deal with the enormous volume of Persian literature and its vocabulary.

The language of Tehran is corrupt, perhaps 20 per cent. of the words used are French, but in Qotaz they speak pure Persian. Members of the Iran-i-Juvan Society have the ambition to bring in the use of Roman characters. I have said to one of my friends who is a member: Why

do you want to effect this change? Is it to facilitate the learning of how to write? I am sure the child learns to write more quickly in the Arabic character, provided, of course, that it be taught him according to the best modern methods of teaching. Others agreed with this.

He added: In the current number of *Iran-i-Bostan*, an eminent professor writes in Persian to prove that he, being a German, learned Persian much more rapidly through the medium of the Arabic script than he could have done if it had been written in Roman characters.

In answer to another question, Sir Denison Ross said: The history of the alphabet is not so very old. All alphabets used in the world to-day come from the one Aramaic original form. There is some uncertainty as to whether the Aramaic alphabet has or has not an original source in Egyptian hieroglyphics, but as far as present knowledge goes the development appears to have been from Egyptian hieroglyphics to the Phœnician alphabet, then the Aramaic, from which the Hebrew, the Arabic and Greek and all other alphabets derived. In the fifth century B.C., side by side with the use of cuneiform, the Aramaic alphabet was already in use. Aramaic was the lingua franca of trade all over the Middle East, and thence its alphabet went to Sogdiana, and you can identify it in the Asoka inscriptions.

Major Wheeler (*communicated*): Although most of the members who took part in the discussion seem to be opposed to Latinization, their opposition is, I think, on cultural rather than practical grounds. I cannot entirely agree with the view that Latinization will destroy the languages with which we have been dealing, but, even supposing that were true, I still maintain that the practical advantages of the change are so great as to outweigh any possible cultural loss. There is a strong feeling in Middle Eastern countries that what they regard as their exploitation by powerful Western states was, in a great measure, due to the fact that they themselves were out of touch with modern Western ideas and scientific methods. One of the reasons for this many of them think to be the archaic nature of their languages and the character in which they were written, factors which militated against the development of scientific and technical education. There is a number of people who do not want the East or the Middle East to progress. These people, who are not likely to be members of the Royal Central Asian Society, resent such progress either because it hits or will hit their pockets or because they genuinely think that the simpler Arab culture is "better for" Middle Eastern peoples. It is just these ideas that irritate Middle Eastern peoples and arouse their suspicions. Many

educated Persians and Turks will confirm this and will tell you that objectors to Latinization are either academically minded persons or disgruntled merchants. If Latinization makes Middle Eastern languages easier to learn and promotes education and international understanding, then I see good reason why we should encourage it. These things cannot be less important than the spirit and history of language.

In the absence of any precedent, observations about the possible effects of Latinization on the spirit or history of Middle Eastern languages must be largely conjectural. I should like, however, to mention one or two points which make me doubtful as to whether Latinization will " destroy " the languages with which we have been dealing. Mr. Heyworth-Dunne has referred to the fact that Arabic words and phrases were taken into Persian, Turkish and Urdu *unchanged*. They have remained unchanged partly because of the continued use of the Arabic character and partly because the languages which borrowed them happened to be agglutinative rather than inflectional. The presence of vast numbers of *unchanged* Arabic words and phrases, together with the great prestige enjoyed by the language of the Quran, resulted in Arabic obtaining a hold on these languages quite different from that of Greek and Latin on European ones. While they are written in the Arabic character it is impossible properly to understand or write Persian, Turkish or Urdu literature or even newspaper articles without a considerable, if not a complete, knowledge of classical Arabic grammar. Under the influence of Latinization this feature is fast disappearing from Turkish. The fusing of Arabic *masdars* with Turkish auxiliaries seems to me to be a healthy sign that Arabic is at last being put into its proper place as a mere servant or component part of Turkish. The Turks and the Persians have re-introduced a number of old Turkish and Persian words into their languages (I believe, with some others, that they may be overdoing this), but I have not heard of them wishing to abolish such words as " hazirlamak " and " fahmidan," which are clearly Arabic in origin. They do not, in fact, envisualize the total removal of Arabic from their languages, but rather the lessening of its influence in order to allow them to acquire a national and distinctive character. I believe that the adoption of the Latin or any other more or less phonetic alphabet is the only way to achieve this and that these languages, so far from being destroyed, will eventually become as distinctive and developed as Polish and Magyar (to take Aryan and Uralic examples), which have never been written in anything but the Latin character.

MONGOL LIFE AND A JOURNEY TO ETSINGOL

By DR. GÖSTA MONTELL

Lecture before the Royal Central Asian Society on May 6, 1937, at the hall of the Royal Society of Arts, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair.

IN the years from 1927 to 1935 wide stretches of Eastern and Central Asia were the scene of comprehensive scientific investigations, carried out jointly by Swedes and Chinese. The leader and uniting power in all these expeditions, which crossed Inner Mongolia, East Turkestan, and Persia, was Dr. Sven Hedin, whose lifelong experience and organizing ability were the greatest asset of the undertaking. The main tasks of the expeditions were in the spheres of geology, palæontology, archæology, geodesy, meteorology, botany, and zoology. In the beginning, ethnography was given no prominent place in the programme, but in 1929 a Swedish-American, Mr. V. Bendix of Chicago, placed a considerable sum of money at Dr. Hedin's disposal for making ethnographical and religious-historical collections and studies. The result was that in September, 1929, I was attached to the staff of the expedition and worked in China and Mongolia until the close of 1932, except for a short period in 1931 when I visited Sweden and the United States.

During those years I made a number of journeys in Inner Mongolia and Jehol, partly to study temples and the Lamaistic cult, partly to obtain ethnographical objects for the collections in Stockholm and Chicago.

Early in August, 1930, the Peking headquarters of the Hedin expedition received the first news of the extremely interesting finds which the archæologist Folke Bergman had made in the Etsingol region, in the northernmost part of the province of Kansu. At the same time Bergman asked that one of his Chinese collectors, then working with us in Peking, should be sent out to him, as well as certain materials necessary for pursuing his scientific work.

A few months previously another member of the expedition, Mr. George Söderbom, had returned from a stay of over two years at our

Etsingol meteorological station, and we had been planning a journey by car westwards together ever since. The object was partly to give me an opportunity of studying Mongol life in regions not too greatly influenced by Chinese culture, and partly to investigate whether that part of the Gobi desert could be traversed by car. An American expedition had tried, and failed, to reach Etsingol through Inner Mongolia, but we wanted to attempt other routes. We had therefore sent out a camel caravan in May with petrol to be stored at five places along our way.

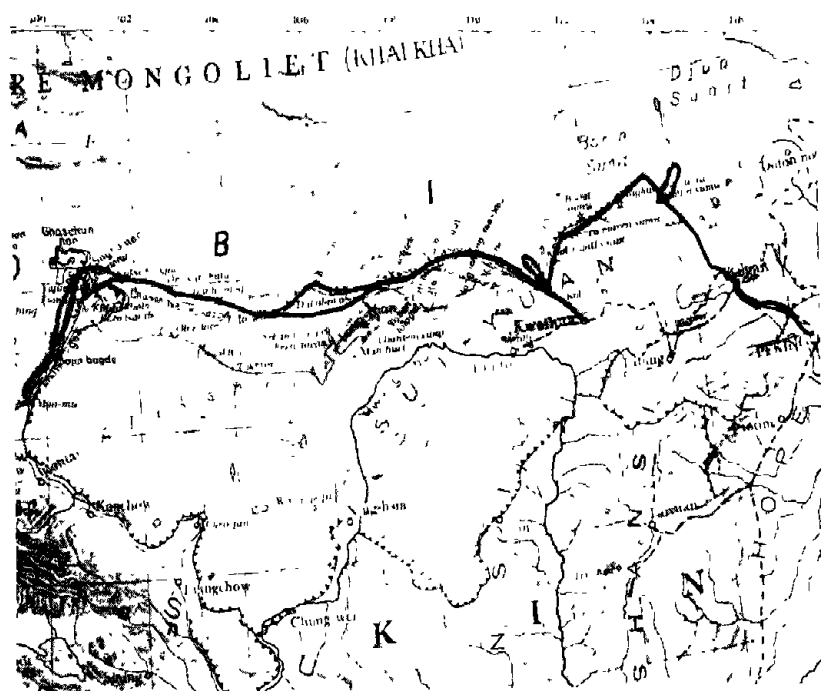
An opportunity now presented itself of killing two birds with one stone, and after a short conference it was decided that Söderbom and I were to take our Ford, already tested in Mongolia, and endeavour to penetrate as far westwards as possible, preferably as far as Etsingol and Bergman's camp. In addition to the collector, Chin by name, the party included our Mongol chauffeur and mechanic, Dongora, whose strength and endurance proved an invaluable asset.

Most of my journeys in Mongolia have been made by car, for several reasons. Since in general we desired primarily to visit temples situated at great distances from each other, the use of motor transport meant that much time was saved. A car, too, allowed us greater liberty, for when camels are used it is, of course, always necessary to take pasture, wells, etc., into consideration.

In the case of our journey to Etsingol, the fact that a car was to be used had a special importance, as it was the first step towards investigating the possibility of making an automobile road between Northern China and Sinkiang. Dr. Sven Hedin was keenly interested in this plan, and was later commissioned by the Chinese Government to investigate these problems, which he did during a long, dangerous, but successful expedition from China to East Turkestan and back in 1933-1935.

There now followed a few days of hurried preparations. The car had to be thoroughly overhauled, tyres and spare parts procured, our own equipment completed, and various articles bought for the members of the expedition we were meeting who had been in the field for a whole year.

Peking was just awakening to a new working-day when, on the morning of August 15, we left our house and drove the heavily loaded car towards the north-western city gates. Until the very last moment we had been discussing our travelling plans and the possibility of realizing them, receiving from Dr. Hedin important instructions for

MONGOLIET (KHALKHA)
Ghashiun Nor
Kwei-hwa
Peking
Kalgan
Kanchow
Liangchow
Chung wei

the members of the expedition with whom we were to try to get into touch.

After leaving the capital, the mountains appear like a rugged wall in the west. A few hours' driving bring us to the town of Nankou, and we are now at the foot of the pass and at the beginning of our difficulties. It is not easy to describe the road that leads up through the mountains to the first large plateau. It is really too kind to honour it with the title of "road." Heaps of stones and badly laid steps alternate with gravel walls, and in places small rivulets seek their way in the middle of the road itself.

We are on classic ground, the ancient caravan route between Peking and Mongolia. Before the railway to Kalgan was built, all of the enormous quantity of commercial traffic was carried by camels, which climbed up and down the pass in endless strings. Everywhere on the mountain-tops we see ruins from bygone times, watch-towers and walls. We can understand that the Chinese of later days felt compelled to resort to giants and heavenly powers to explain the origin of these vast constructions. At Chuyungkuan we had to stop for a moment to admire the great gateway, which is said to have been built in memory of an unsuccessful attempt by Chingiz Khan to break through the chain of guards and conquer the plain to the south. The gateway bears inscriptions in six languages: Chinese, Mongol, Uigur, Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Hsi-hsia.

At Pataling we make a short stop to climb the gate-tower and view the magnificent walls along the crest of the mountains. Here furious battles have been fought between Mongols and Chinese, and Dongora has much to tell of the times when his people conquered and ruled the southern plains.

North of the pass the landscape differs greatly from the Chihli plain. It is already drier and sandier, trees becoming scarcer. The country is densely populated, however, and there are several important towns surrounded by old, high walls. A fairly large river runs through the country, and the water is carefully utilized for irrigation purposes, there being canals and extensive terraces giving the land, as elsewhere in North China, a peculiar, streaked appearance. At the town of Hwailaihsien we cross an ancient and beautiful stone bridge, which was said to be on the point of collapsing more than a hundred years ago by the Russian explorer Timkowski. It has scarcely improved in the meantime, and we let Söderbom run the risk of crossing it in the car alone; one man drowned would be quite enough! But there is no

mishap, and we soon pitch our camp for the night in the little of Hsinpaoan.

Very shortly after breaking up the following morning we through a small Chinese village, whose inhabitants show sigı happy anticipation when they see us passing. "You may be surє there is some unpleasant sand ahead of us," said Söderbom, and right. Soon the road runs close to the railway bank on one side, the river is on the other, certainly quite shallow, but with a bed s(as to make it absolutely impassable. Drift sand has accumulated the high bank and covers the road. We make a frantic attem force the obstacle, but stick after about ten metres; the car sinks the axles in the sand. At this moment the entire male populati(the village appears, determined to exploit the opportunity to g much as possible of the silly foreigners' money. A heated discu ensues; we refuse to pay the outrageous price demanded. The Ch calmly sit down on the railway bank and accompany our fruitless e with suitable remarks. The bargaining starts afresh, and aftє animated quarrel we finally agree to pay them ten dollars for pu the car over the crest of the drift. About thirty men set to with r and main and in a few minutes the job is done. The passage is dangerous, for if the sand should give way the car would slide sidє and fall down into the clay river-bed a few metres below.

I duly pull out a Peking ten-dollar bill, but that is no good a the villagers wanted a more shiny kind of money. Then Doı produces seven silver dollars, which suit them better, for there is confidence in paper currencies. In a few seconds the whole ba fighting for the spoils.

In the afternoon we reach Kalgan and all formalities are iı diately complied with, so that we can leave China proper behind ι next morning.

The sun is not high in the sky when we leave the toll-ga Kalgan. The road twists along between innumerable grave-mo miniature pagodas, and stone arches, all bearing witness to the vi of the town. Now and then we disappear into deep ravines, wheı road runs between light-brown sand walls. From the peaks o mountains the old watch-towers guard the valley, through whicl Mongols in ancient times made their invasions. In a few placє pass entire villages built into the sand walls, sometimes with onl portal visible from the outside. They give an impression of dwellings and prehistory.

The car carries us rapidly upwards, and almost without noticing the ascent we reach the top of the first pass. At the summit, above the most difficult passage, there is a little Chinese temple where the wayfarers make their offerings in order that the powers may be kind to them on their journey along the dangerous precipices. Now we are soon up on the table-land. The first *obo*, a cairn with a bundle of rods on which there are small prayer-flags, appears on a mountain-top, a sure sign that we are really approaching the land of the Lamaistic church. We have long been in old Mongol territory, but there still remain a few miles to the northern boundary of the present Chinese settlements.

Without regret we turn our backs on the small Chinese frontier town of Changpeihsien, resembling a colonists' camp more than anything else. North of the town we drive through an extensive area laid under the plough by the Chinese in the last few decades. Dotted throughout the enormous plain there are grey villages between fields and as yet untilled patches of the original steppe. It is easy to realize what a lovely country this must have been for grazing the Mongols' herds. Might being right, the Chinese take the soil, and the Mongol pastures are ever decreasing.

But soon the real Mongolia lies before us, slightly undulating plains, gently rounded hills; not a single tree obscures the view of the mountain ranges fading away on the horizon. We are already meeting small camel caravans escorted by picturesque Mongols and rows of the ancient salt-laden ox-carts, whose wheels are a compromise between a square and a circle.

We are now in Chahar, a country that already in the period of the emperors held a special position, for it was divided into numerous small provinces, whose task it was to take care of the imperial herds. We thus hear of horse provinces, sheep provinces, camel provinces. Quite fine droves of horses are still seen roaming at large on the plains the whole year round. This division into provinces is said to depend upon the fact that in the sixteenth century the Chahar Mongols started a revolt which was suppressed, it was then that the native princes lost their power.

A Mongol catches his horse with a leather loop on a pole. He rides into the herd and throws the loop over the head of the animal wanted, which immediately sets off in an endeavour to regain its liberty. The rider's mount is especially trained, and it generally takes but a few minutes to catch the horse and make it submissive.

In Chahar there is a strong Chinese influence, and the position of the Mongols has been steadily and considerably impaired. Nowadays the pastures are too small, and the people are becoming slowly but surely impoverished. Chinese customs and habits are being introduced. But generally the women still wear their old head-ornaments. The Mongols invest a very considerable part of their property in these jewels. Heavy silver ear-rings with large red corals make a suitable frame for the women's somewhat coarse features and dark complexion. The ornaments carried by women are of different types in the different parts of Inner Mongolia. Very often we see women with whole networks of coral-beads down their backs, wide silver frames enclosing their faces.

Before definitely turning our steps westwards we made a few excursions in the neighbourhood. One night—it was pouring with rain—we drove completely astray on the steppe, and in the dark we found ourselves landed in marshy ground. As usual we were lucky, for not far off we discovered a camp fire, belonging to some horse drovers at a well. The horses made a fine sight when they were driven to the water the following morning. All ages, sizes, and colours were represented, and the Mongols had their hands full keeping the horses in order and calming those suffering from bad morning tempers. When the engine was suddenly started, the whole drove of horses galloped headlong a few hundred yards, stopped dead and turned. It is, by the way, interesting to note how the various domestic animals react on the approach of a motor-car. Donkeys and mules run alongside as long as they can, horses rush in front on the road itself, but bulls display real courage and come in a body straight towards the car, cows and calves following at a distance.

We soon left Chahar and travelled northwards through the kingdom of Sunit. Excluding Chahar with its special constitution, Inner Mongolia is divided into a large number of small, rather independent tributary states, of course under the dominion of the Chinese Government, but in which the native princes are in charge and govern without any great interference. They have their own troops for protection against the bands of robbers, and they levy taxes from their subjects. Using a Chinese word for a tributary king, they are called *wang*.

The *wang* of West Sunit, known by his Chinese name of Teh Wang, may be considered to be the most influential and intelligent of the Mongol princes. He has a small, excellent army, keeps a number of cars, and is greatly interested in politics. It is said that he is playing

a high game at present, and is at the head of the independence movement that has lately caused so much disquiet in Inner Mongolia.

An enormous plain spreads towards the west when we have left the Sunit *wang's* residence. It is an enchanting scene. On the horizon there is a glimpse of ethereal mountains, on the steppe there graze thousands of antelopes, which, making high capers, try to race the car.

A few hours' rapid journey carried us to the land of the Durbet *wang*, a rather extensive and rich country. It was intentionally that we selected a route not touching his residence, for a visit to the jolly Wang may easily mean a few days' delay, Mongol hospitality being rather strenuous at times. The large provincial temple of Shara Muren Sume, "the temple on the yellow river," offers a magnificent view. There are about ten white temples that lie spread on the mountain-side, surrounded by stupas, flag-staffs, and bell-towers. The gilding of the shields and the holy symbols to chase away the demons reflects the sunshine; it is a barbaric beauty, but a beauty well suited to the country and the people.

The following night was also spent with the car in a little bog, which we did not notice in the twilight. On the whole it was often our fate during this long trip to get into our sleeping-bags at night without knowing whether it would be possible to get the car started again the following morning. But in daylight everything is easier, and we shortly arrived at a little Chinese station, Changshuntai, just south of the *wang*-dom of Darkhanbel, where were stationed some of the camels of the expedition, and where a small caravan was to be fitted out to transport stores to our comrades in Kansu. Consequently we had to make a détour up through Darkhanbel. If the weather is fine I cannot imagine any more agreeable way of travelling than to drive about the steppes in this part of Mongolia. Roads are good to have when they are there, but otherwise there is no difficulty in driving straight across the grassy plains.

We stayed the night with the duke, the greatest man in the country after the *wang*; our host was absent, however. It is not difficult to see that we are the visitors of a wealthy man. The camp is large, and foremost among the tents is a temple-tent, where the house-priests perform the daily rites prescribed. The living tents are splendidly adorned with painted cabinets and small tables, and the rugs are fine and white.

We also paid a formal visit to our old friend the Wang. He was an elderly, bigoted gentleman, who spent very much of his time turning his prayer-wheel. The palace with its temples and tents is surrounded

by a high wall, and on a neighbouring hill there is a similarly walled fortification. The daily life of a Mongol prince is characterized by great simplicity. The princess and her daughter are as simple in appearance as any other Mongol women, but when photos are to be taken all the finery appears. Dresses of heavy brocade are put on, heavy, beautifully worked gilded silver jewellery, with precious corals, adorn head and bosom, and the general appearance grows self-conscious and dignified.

Now the time had come to leave Changshuntai for untravelled roads. So far we had been traversing regions well known to us from previous journeys. The final preparations had, as usual, taken a lot of time, but at last everything was in order. The caravan, led by our old servant, Mären, was to follow behind slowly.

I shall avail myself of this opportunity to introduce the members of the expedition: Chin, the Chinese collector, who was to be escorted to Dr. Bergman; Dongora, our Mongol mechanic; Mären, one of the faithful servants of the expedition, who was to lead the camel caravan; George Söderbom, and myself. As always, the equipment was as scanty as possible. It consisted of four boxes of petrol, to take us to Unin Ussu, where was our first depôt, sleeping-bags of sheep-skin, some extra clothes, presents to Mongol chiefs and friends, etc. A troublesome and bulky object was a sewing-machine, which was to be presented to the Queen of Etsingol. The fact was that she had informed Söderbom of her lively desire for such a contrivance. On the other hand, we carried but an inconsiderable amount of provisions. Brick-tea and coffee were the most important, and a little dried fruit and flour. We counted upon being able to buy what we wanted on the way. That had always been possible on previous journeys. For the banquet to be held if we succeeded in finding Bergman, we had included a few tins of preserves and a bottle of champagne.

After a few hours' journey there rose before us the curved roofs of Belimiao, the chief temple in Darkhanbel. The greater part was rebuilt twenty years ago and has not yet the patina of age to soften its barbaric splendour. Belimiao is a very important place, a junction for the great caravan roads between China and East Turkestan. On several occasions the temple has been the residence of the Panchen Lama when he stayed in Mongolia. Not many months ago there was a battle here between Chinese and Mongol forces, when it is stated that even bombers were in action.

A short distance farther on there is a rivulet, which for me and the

car represented the boundary of our previous trips westwards. There is certainly a special fascination in entering a country where every mile brings something new, new scenery and possibilities of new experiences.

Next morning the lovely sunshine of the previous days had changed to rain, and it was so cold that we had to get into our furs. Suddenly we caught sight of a little blue tent of the kind used by the Mongols when on long journeys. It was found to house old acquaintances, the Ordos Mongol Wu Sheng and his wife, who had been down to Wu Tai Shan, a place of pilgrimage in Shansi, to worship, and who were now returning to Etsingol. The husband was very ill, and it was therefore decided that he was to ride with us, an advantageous arrangement for both parties. *His* journey was made more comfortable while *we* got a guide. His wife and the camels were to join our caravan, which could be expected in a few days.

The farther west we penetrate, the less do we see of the road; the ruts disappear entirely and are replaced by a narrow camel-path. The whitened camel skeletons grow in number. The scenery changes rapidly, the dense grass steppes vanish, the ground is bare, or there are but thorny bushes or sparse stiff blades of grass. It is a foretaste of the real desert. At Unin Ussu, where we had one of our stocks of petrol, they gave us to understand that our plan to reach Etsingol by car was doomed to failure. There was only one possibility, and that was to drive northwards and then through Outer Mongolia westwards. That proposal did not suit us at all; we had no inclination whatsoever to be taken prisoners by the frontier guards of the Republic, to lose our car and property, and to be taken to Urga to enjoy the Spartan Soviet hospitality for an indefinite period. When we had got so far there could be no talk of giving up until it was an absolute necessity.

Here we were at the entrance to the orange-coloured kingdom of the sand. The first dry river-bed, painted very black indeed at Unin Ussu, was crossed without any other mishap but that one of the hind-wheels came loose and went on a trip of its own. Shortly afterwards we arrived at a notable ancient construction, one of the ramparts that for centuries constituted the boundary of the Chinese Empire for the barbarians of the north. In East Mongolia, in Durbet, Sunit, and Chahar we had seen parts of this defence system, the exploration of which held a prominent place in Folke Bergman's programme. This earthen wall was of value to us, for now we drove on top of it, now alongside, where the sand had blown away.

Of course the car got stuck repeatedly, but with combined efforts and with the aid of our so-called "last resorts," we always got through. These latter, invented by Söderbom, consisted of belts of double canvas, about one foot wide, in which were sewn strong sticks of hardwood at regular intervals. When the wheels got stuck, the sand in front of them was removed, the canvas belts then being inserted so that the wheels could grip. At times we had to work in that manner for hours on end to progress a few hundred yards. Without our canvas belts it would certainly have been impossible to accomplish the trip.

When night arrived we were landed in a small valley with sand slopes on either side. Vain attempts had exhausted us as well as the car; it had long been dark. Our water supply allowed of a cup of tea, but then the only thing to do was to turn in and hope for better things in the morning. Even though the days in the desert were hot enough, the nights were so chilly that sleeping-bags and furs were indispensable.

It would be impossible to describe the journey in detail day by day. From early morning till late at night we struggled with the sand, which, however, fortunately alternated with solid ground or grass steppes. We were now in Dondurgun, the country of the Orot Mongols. They appeared to be wealthy and had fine tents. The women wear their hair coiled in two short, tight plaits behind the ears. The legendary explanation of this custom is that the Orot Mongols were in charge of the enormous herds of Chingiz Khan, and the women were compelled to coil their hair in this manner so that it should not hang down in the milk. Anyone with any knowledge of Mongol cleanliness undoubtedly will be surprised to hear of such a distinct feeling for hygiene.

Our journey continued through desert sand, across steep mountains, along deep precipices, and through narrow gorges. On one occasion all our equipment had to be unloaded and transported on camels a longish distance. We had feared that we should be compelled to retrace our steps, but in the evening we discovered a dry river-bed which, though filled with loose sand, gave us a faint hope of getting through the wide belt of dunes obstructing our passage. All equipment was unloaded and Söderbom sat down at the wheel, and he almost succeeded in reaching the opposite side before the engine failed. After that the only thing to do was to hire some camels from a caravan, luckily in the vicinity, and transport the luggage across the sand.

The farther we penetrated westwards, the more troublesome did the ground become. All the time the sand caused us heavy work and loss

of time, but another source of trouble was found in the sharp desert bushes which cut our tyres to pieces. It was a hopeless task trying to evade them; often they were but a few inches high, but in spite of that, hard and sharp enough to cause punctures. In the glowing heat of the desert, Dongora was obliged repeatedly to mend the inner tubes, which at last consisted almost solely of patches.

We were now travelling the whole time very close to the boundary of Outer Mongolia, along a caravan path which is really used by the Etsingol Mongols only. For miles it disappeared entirely, but we knew its main direction. The mountains afforded good landmarks. The Mongol veneration for curiously shaped rocks and mountains and their *obo*-cult are certainly relics of an ancient stone-worship. The names of the holy mountains should never be mentioned when in the vicinity, and Wu-sheng attributed the three punctures that we had at Panti Tologai to the fact that we foreigners had disrespectfully mentioned the name several times when approaching the mountain. This name-taboo finds several other expressions with the Mongols. When selecting place-names there would sometimes seem to be an inclination to choose expressions contrasting to what is characteristic of the place. For instance, the locality of one of the Swedish missionary stations in East Mongolia is called Hallong Ussu—*i.e.*, the hot spring. The fact is that the water there is uncommonly cold. Another place, where there is a small lake with white water, is called Khara Ussu—*i.e.*, the black water. Nor should a Mongol pronounce his mother's name, it is taboo.

The most strenuous part of the journey took us through an entirely sterile region, in which the camel caravans have to march for seven days without any possibility of renewing their water supply. The ground, especially in the vicinity of Apter and Ingun, is partly dark red, and the sand very loose. Our numerous finds of stone-age implements indicate that the climate was once different. Shore-lines of a dry lake could be discerned.

Due to a mistake, we had brought but a limited supply of water. In the afternoon we had muddled our way to about the middle of the desert, and realized that we should be compelled to get hold of some more water to get through. We drove northwards towards a hill where a few meagre bushes could be seen, but when we got there our car stopped and could not be persuaded to budge. We were in no happy frame of mind. If the car could not be started again our position might become rather disagreeable. Our water was finished, the heat

was suffocating, and we had no idea how many miles it was to the next well. We walked each in a different direction to look for water, without really hoping for success, but we were not in a sociable mood. One after the other returned downcast, only Dongora was missing. Just as the sun was setting he came wandering in with two heavy vessels filled with water. He had walked in a north-westerly direction and was already thinking of returning when he caught sight of a small, poor *yurt*. He hurried there, saw that there was a well, and soon found the owner of the tent, an old lama, who with great surprise enquired how he had got there. Dongora told him of our predicament, and said that we simply must have water. The lama promised him help, but told him to hurry up and disappear as quickly as possible. "This is in the territory of Outer Mongolia, and we shall both have to pay dearly if the frontier guards surprise us." It wasn't necessary for him to say that twice; Dongora hastened back to the car with the precious supply of water. That night there were orgies of tea-drinking in our camp.

During the night we examined the engine with the aid of the head-lights; the fault was found, and at dawn we retired from the border.

The remainder of the journey was very much the same. Hot, laborious days, chilly nights affording longed-for rest. We certainly felt ourselves to be the conquerors of the desert when, in the morning of the twelfth day after our departure from Darkhanbel, we at long last saw the green trees of Etsingol like a mirage on the horizon. It did not take us long to get there, and soon we also found a practicable road between the sand-dunes, which appear as a wall separating the oasis from the desert.

The first and most difficult part of our task was accomplished now that we had arrived at our field of work; now the thing to do was to get into touch with our fellows and start the ethnographical studies and collection work.

As will be seen from the map, the Etsingol river has its sources in the mountain regions of Northern Kansu, and flows towards the north and north-east through the desert; it then branches, finally to discharge itself into the two lakes Sogo Nor and Gaschun Nor, the latter being surrounded by impenetrable marshes. In our days the northern part of the basin is inhabited solely by Mongols, the Chinese settlements being in the south, separated from the Mongol region by a considerable uninhabited desert region. When arriving from the desert, Etsingol looks like paradise. High poplars form narrow forest belts along the branches

of the river, the sand-dunes are clad with tamarisk shrubs, the grass is luxuriant. Since the end of the eighteenth century the country has belonged to a branch of the large Torgot tribe, which during the time of the emperor Ch'ien Lung returned to China from their exile on the Volga. The Torgots are the political power and their Wang is the sovereign of the country, but on the river there are also living about the same number of Mongols of other tribes. A boundary stone from the time of the emperor Ch'ien Lung divides the Mongol region from that of the Chinese. It was raised in the fifth month of the fifty-second year in the reign of the emperor Ch'ien Lung (1787).

After a few days' rest our Ford was again loaded for a long trip, for we had to escort Chin, the Chinese collector, down to the town of Maomu, as soon as possible, and thence he was to cart various things to our friends at Suchow, where it ought to be possible for him to obtain information regarding Bergman's whereabouts. At that time we encountered no real difficulties in crossing the rivers, which were almost dry. The fact is that during the summer the water is made use of by the Chinese for irrigation purposes along the upper reaches of the river. In September the flood-gates are closed and the water is allowed to fill the beds. Consequently we had a lot of trouble later when crossing the branches of the river at Etsingol.

After a journey lasting three days we arrived safely at Yingpan, a village opposite the town of Maomu. It is always curious to see two so different cultures existing in the close vicinity of each other, the liberty-loving Mongols whose whole existence is founded on cattle-rearing, and the Chinese with their pronounced agricultural mode of life.

The stay at Maomu was a short one. As soon as our mail had been despatched and the transport to Suchow arranged we again turned northwards.

Already prior to our arrival at Etsingol from the east, we had heard of there being a great commotion among the Mongols on the river on account of a Mohammedan robber band from Kansu having found it profitable to move its operations thither. From the very first moment we were overwhelmed with requests to take part in the anticipated war against the brigands. There is an almost complete lack of modern arms amongst the Mongols, and the population being so sparse makes it difficult to keep a good guard. Söderbom stood of old in good repute as a bandit-hunter, and his arrival was thus greeted with great joy. But there never occurred any real battle, the brigands apparently fearing serious resistance, and they retreated slowly eastwards without

having caused any great damage. But when on our way home from Yingpan, there occurred an amusing episode. We were driving at top speed in an endeavour to force the difficult desert belt at Harmokdä, when Dongora suddenly claimed that he could hear voices and the tramp of horses behind the sand-dunes along the road. Just then the car stuck in the sand and stopped peacefully. We all jumped out, got hold of guns and pistols, and prepared ourselves to sell our lives dearly. Nothing was heard, there ensued a painful silence. At last we lost patience, and Söderbom called out in Chinese that we were foreigners, and that they would be given a warm reception if they dared to attack us. Now there was a bustle on the other side of the sand, and we learnt that the supposed brigands were Chinese customs officers, who, fearing an attack by the brigands, had fled southwards.

On our return to the Mongol region we could at long last begin to devote our time to what Söderbom and I were especially interested in, studies of the customs and habits of the people. During six weeks we visited a number of different camps and collected a great number of objects for the ethnographical museum. First and foremost we bestowed our attention on theTorgots and their culture.

The car had been very badly worn on the journey from Peking to Etsingol, in spite of the distance being no more than about 1,523 km. So we resorted to the conveyances of the country, camels and horses.

Since his previous stay of two years at Etsingol, Söderbom, of course, had many old friends, and this was of great value to us. We could go to a camp and stay there for several days on end, accompany the Mongols in their work, and partake in their feasts. The Möngkä family had just started felt-making. In line with the usage throughout the world to "share in the work," a number of neighbours had gathered to assist the Möngkäs, and there was singing and rejoicing. First the matted fleece is thoroughly beaten with sticks to make it even and easily distributable. This work is done in a special yurt without roof felts. Then the actual felt-making begins in a temporary wind-shelter. On an old blanket placed on top of a bed of straw the wool is carefully spread out, making an even layer; it is then sprinkled with warm water and is rolled together with the old blanket outside. And now begins the heavy work of kneading the tightly bound bale. As many as there is room for take their places beside each other behind the blanket and roll it slowly backwards and forwards. The ropes are then removed, and the blanket is repeatedly stretched and finally spread out to dry. After several days' work all the wool is used up, and the host then arranges a

feast for all those that have done their bit; a sheep is killed, the milk-wine flows, there is singing and talking, and later they will all meet again at another camp to go through the same programme.

We spent a few days with the richest man on the river, a talkative, blind old man, whose horses and camels can be counted by the hundred. There was constant life and bustle, visitors coming and departing, and the tea-kettle was on all day long. We had an excellent opportunity of studying their customs. The daughter-in-law had an extremely pretty voice, and we could record Torgot tunes on our all too poor phonograph. The way the women do their hair is typical of the Torgots at Etsingol. In addition to their own hair they have a plait of false hair, which is dipped in linseed oil and pressed flat. The effect when ready recalls somewhat the enormous wigs worn by the women in Outer Mongolia. The ends of the plaits are inserted in long, narrow cloth bags. This mode of hair-dressing is compulsory for married women. Often the women lack sufficient hair to achieve the head-dress demanded by custom and by law. They are then compelled to make use of false hair, from time to time removing their plaits and dipping them in linseed oil to make them smooth and pliable.

As already mentioned, the whole existence of the Mongols is based on cattle-rearing. It is principally the men's task to look after the cattle, while the women are in charge of the cooking. From the milk of the sheep, goats, cows, and camels they prepare butter and cheese, and wine for the feasts. They always take milk in their tea, and they consume unbelievable quantities of that beverage. Meat is the other important component of their food, and the greatest honour a Mongol can show a guest is to have a sheep killed for his sake. As all killing is a crime according to the Buddhistic creed, and no lama can thus assist in the killing, it may be rather difficult to get hold of a layman, a so-called "black man," willing to do the job. And shooting cannot be said to be of any importance for the housekeeping. The ancient guns with rests are neither convenient nor easy to handle.

The Mongols buy many of their provisions from the Chinese. Flour and millet must be procured from the south, likewise all material for clothing. Every Mongol can spin thread of camel-wool, but there is no weaving. Cotton materials for everyday clothes and silk for dresses used on festive occasions are bought from China.

The climate is typically continental, with hot summers and bitterly cold winters. The adaptability and ingenuity of man has created an ideal dwelling for Central Asia, the yurt. It affords protection against

the cold in winter and against the heat in summer, it withstands the storms, and it is easy to transport from place to place. The circular wall is divided in sections, which can be pressed together like an accordion and tied to the pack saddle or on the ox-cart. With the aid of ropes they are bound together again when the site of the new camp has been selected. The roof is supported by a number of thin sticks, which are fastened to a wide ring of wood at the top, an opening being left for the smoke to escape through. The heavy felt rugs, the making of which we have just studied, are impervious to the wind.

In spite of the total population at Etsingol being barely more than a thousand persons, there are two temples, or monasteries rather, with a total of a few hundred monks of all ages. However, many of them spend a certain part of the year at their homes, taking part in the work. We paid several visits to the western temple, and were received with great kindness and helpfulness. The monastery is situated at a spot full of thickets between two branches of the river. All around are the tents of the lamas, for, especially in summer, they prefer living in the customary Mongol manner to crowding in the small houses surrounding the temple halls. The Labrang, the large oratory, is unpretentious compared with those of the large monasteries in the eastern part of the country. One of the reasons for our being received with so much kindness was that earlier in the year we had met the representative of the Torgots at Peking, and had assisted him to order and despatch the large new image of Avalokiteçvara or Ariabolo, which we now had the pleasure of seeing consecrated and in its right place.

Similar to all other monasteries of any consequence, this one also had its *gegen*, a "living god," as the name is generally translated, though not quite correctly. He was an intelligent man, but—and that is quite natural—a very spoilt gentleman, greatly interested in the outside world and dreaming of a trip to Europe.

The lamas at the monastery usually have their own cattle and consequently a certain income, but every day they receive from the monastery a little bag of roasted flour. This roasted flour, *tsamba*, is then mixed with tea and butter, making a solid dough. It doesn't really taste bad, although there is usually an admixture of camel fleece and goat-hair.

We paid a few visits to the Wang of Etsingol. He is a serious man, deporting himself with a dignified air and suave manners. Like the other Mongols on the river, he lives in tents, though he has some houses, too. The residence is modest. In addition to the yurt for the *wang*

family, there are a few tents for the officials, for guests, prisoners, etc. The temple close by the residence is rather a large one, however, with several houses constructed in a mixture of Chinese and Tibetan styles. In the open place in front of the oratory religious dances are performed on feast-days. The interior is lavishly and beautifully decorated with red columns, adorned with dragons, and with quantities of paintings and silk hangings.

The Tibetan *gegen* here was another interesting acquaintance. He is a wealthy man with large herds of fine camels. He received us with great cordiality, showed an interest in our work, and even gave us objects for our ethnographical collections. The *gegen* was just going on a pilgrimage eastwards to Wu Tai Shan to find a cure for his sick wife. It was pathetic to see the poor, almost paralysed woman take out her old jewellery to sell it to us to obtain money. For she wanted something really belonging to herself, not to her husband, to be sacrificed on the altars of the gods.

A short visit was paid to the black city, Khara Khoto. At the time of Marco Polo this was a flourishing city, and throughout the neighbourhood one can still see traces of irrigation canals and houses. During the past 700 years the desert has reclaimed the country, and the city walls are half buried in the sand.

Autumn was now approaching in earnest. The tamarisks were a fiery red, the poplars began to shed their yellow leaves. We could no longer push aside the thought of our return journey. However, a messenger had brought us the news that Folke Bergman was on his way to Etsingol with his caravan, and we were very keen on seeing him and getting news of the expedition. There was nothing for it but to start our car again, heading south towards the Chinese regions. By the evening of the second day we were beginning to despair of finding him. We met a few caravans coming from the south, but they knew nothing of him. It was already dark, and we had lit our lights. The road ran close to the wide river-bed, now full of water. Suddenly we saw a curious, twinkling light far away on the other side of the river. It simply could not be anything but an electric lamp. We drove down to the river near a ruin from the Han period, and a few minutes later Bergman and some Mongols came wading through the rapid current. It was a happy meeting and we had much to tell each other. As already mentioned, Bergman had made some extremely interesting archæological finds, and we now saw some of the manuscripts on wood, disclosing the life in these borderlands at the time of

Christ. After one day's rest we were compelled to return, but we could take with us fresh reports and letters to Dr. Hedin, and part of the valuable collections.

But now we had to start our journey eastwards. It was high time, it was growing cold, and we were not equipped for winter travel. The first difficulty was to cross the rivers, now wide and rapid. There was no possibility of travelling north round the lakes, for that would mean entering the soil of the Republic. The first attempt at crossing came to a sudden end; after a few metres our engine stopped. The Mongols in the neighbourhood kindly lent us their camels to pull up the car, which, after one night, was deeply embedded in the mud. Then we had to pick the whole engine to pieces, dry it and clean it, no easy matter without suitable tools. We envied the Mongols, who could make their way everywhere on their small, hardy horses. When everything was in order, we made another attempt a few kilometres down the river, where it was said to be shallower. We had no greater success this time, although we were lucky enough to get the car towed over to the other side of the river. Of course this meant another loss of time putting the motor in order, and the Mongols shook their heads, saying that motor-cars might be all right for foreigners, but for their part they preferred horses and camels.

I will merely give a brief outline of our return trip. It was a running series of mishaps owing to the fact that our car could no longer stand the strain. The springs broke time after time and had to be removed and replaced.

On our trip westwards we had suffered from the heat, now it was bitterly cold. Here and there the desert was covered with drifts of snow, which stopped our progress. But the greatest trouble of all was the tyres. We had certainly brought a large supply of spare tyres with us from Peking, but it proved insufficient. On our journey out we had to mend the inner tubes only, but now the outer tyres were in a deplorable condition and there were long rents in them. The only thing to do was to bind them hard with straps of Mongol leather, which is very strong. Every time we had a puncture—and they were numerous—we had to remove all the straps, mend the tyre, and then put the frozen straps on again, certainly no pleasure in a piercing north storm. Somewhere in the middle of the desert we passed the caravan of the aforementioned *gegen* on its way to Wu Tai Shan. The paralysed old woman was bound on a camel every morning, and patiently endured the cold trip. She did actually arrive at the place of the pilgrimage, but

the gods could not help her. Shortly afterwards she died in Söderbom's house at Kweihwa.

When at long last, on the eleventh day after our departure from Etsingol, we arrived at Belimiao in a howling snowstorm, we felt as if we had reached the heart of civilization. For the first time in three months we slept indoors and ate proper Chinese food. Much had happened in our absence; the political position was entirely reversed. Northern China had lost the war against the Central Government. Large bands of brigands were plundering Eastern Mongolia, and we therefore decided to go straight to Kweihwa instead of trying to continue to Peking by car.

Late in the evening two days later we arrived at Peking; our journey was ended. We had met with hardships of various kinds, but we had also gained a fund of never-to-be-forgotten memories.

The CHAIRMAN said the lecturer had given a delightful paper. He had described a great journey in a wonderful country, and he must congratulate him, not only on his descriptions and his slides, but on his excellent English. He thanked him in the name of the members of the Society.

YUNNAN AND THE TAI PEOPLES

By CAPTAIN F. KINGDON WARD

ON the day that Burma obtained its independence, thereby becoming once more a kingdom instead of a mere province of India, I crossed the Chinese frontier. There may have been no significance in the date—it was April 1—but thenceforward the dice were loaded against us. The first certain evidence that we were actually in Yunnan—for there was no difference as yet in the appearance of the country or of the people—was afforded by a customs post. Here the mules were off-loaded. The customs officer was suave, but firm. He wanted all our boxes opened and a list of their contents. I pointed out that this was a day's work; that we were going to Ssümao (the main customs post), anyhow; and that a list of our tents, boxes, and cases was all that he required here. He agreed to this, and I signed various papers.

We found ourselves on a made earth road, twelve to eighteen feet wide, with drains and culverts. It was marked in kilometres, and was the foundation of a motor road. This is the new tea road, as it may be called, sixty-five kilometres long,* from Mong Hai to the Burmese frontier, by which a quarter of a million pounds of brick tea passes through to Keng Tung annually. A caravan of over two hundred mules carrying raw cotton into Yunnan passed us. Cotton is not grown in Yunnan, and is mostly imported through Burma. Formerly the export of opium, said to be the best in China, paid for it. To-day the only opium exported is smuggled, and imports are paid for with tea, lead, orpiment, and other products.

The road from Keng Tung to Mong Hai, a distance of about eighty-five miles, over which thousands of mules pass every cold weather, is infested on both sides of the frontier with brigands, mostly belonging to the hill tribes who live hidden amongst the tangle of hills and deep valleys through which the road passes. Though we saw new clearings every day and forest fires every night, we rarely caught sight of a hill village; but this was partly due to bad visibility at that season. We met two frightened Chinese hurrying towards Keng Tung. They

* It will, however, need to be considerably longer than this before lorries can cross the two hill ranges. At present the gradients are much too steep.

were full of lamentations, for they had just buried a relative. At a dark and dismal spot, where the road plunged into virgin jungle by a brawling torrent, a muleteer had been shot by robbers only two days ago. We passed the hastily dug grave. This was on the Burmese side of the frontier, which is no more safe from robbery with violence than is the Chinese side. One day we passed a very dead Chinaman, whose corpse had been flung a few feet down the wooded slope; and since no friends had come to bury him there it rested till the rats and crows and worms should have reduced it to a skeleton. All caravans and travellers go armed. Travellers mounted on riding mules or on sturdy ponies travel fast and have little to fear; but the caravans must trust to numbers. They rarely consist of less than fifty or sixty animals, with a proportionate number of armed men.

As we approached a place in the hills notorious for hold-ups I was interested to observe the procedure of our men. The head muleteer and another, both armed with muskets and accompanied by two small nondescript caravan dogs, scouted ahead, and took up position on one side of the road, hiding themselves in the forest. Meanwhile the other muleteers unslung their rifles, stripped off the rag they had twisted round the breach to keep out the dust, and worked the bolt backwards and forwards.

A youth walking just in front of my riding mule slipped a cartridge into the breach, ejected it, tried another, and finally loaded his rifle with a third (there was no magazine). I was relieved when he suddenly remembered to turn down the safety catch; but as he had forgotten to remove the little plume of rooster's feathers which sprouted from the muzzle, perhaps there was not much advantage in that. I debated whether armed muleteers or highwaymen were the more lethal. Half a dozen resolute men well organized and disciplined could have wiped us out. But we met none. In a few years, when lorries are running between Keng Tung and Mong Hai, highwaymen will be unemployed; it will take generations to evolve the motor-car thief in this country.

Soon after crossing the frontier we became aware by one unmistakable sign that we were really in China—namely, the presence of the wild tea plant. I say wild tea because *Camellia Thea*, as botanists call it, certainly does grow wild here. But the bushes seen along the roadside are not wild, though they scarcely deserve to be called cultivated either. Cultivation amounts to this: when a wild or self-sown tea bush is discovered all the alien competitors which surround it are cut

down and cast into the furnace, so that the protected bush comes to stand in a small clearing. Gradually the tea increases, and the garden extends outwards in every direction as more and more forest is cleared. But many big trees are left standing, either to give shade to the young tea plants, or because they are too big to fell. Some of the biggest are ringed and left to perish by instalments. Amongst the tea bushes a thick secondary growth composed of self-sown trees and shrubs, together with suckers from the stumps of trees, springs up, and is

cleared from time to time. Seen from a little distance, a hillside covered with tea gardens looks much as though it were covered with virgin forest, only the crowns of the big trees showing.

Between the hill ranges are plains across which meander sluggish rivers. On the plains dwell the Tai, whose grass-thatched huts, collected into villages, crouch at the foot of the hills. Rice is the only crop grown, and there is only one crop annually, so that for half the year the fields lie fallow. Further, because of the poverty of the soil

and the coldness of the air, the crops are often poor. If wind and rain come when the paddy is ripe and lodge it, half the crop may be lost. This had happened in the previous season, and the cost of rice in this region had risen to three times the usual price, to the consternation of the Government, who feared food riots. Irrigation is by means of small bamboo Persian wheels, built in the river bed. As the wheel revolves, turned by the current, it scoops up water in bamboo tubes set at an angle to the circumference, lifts it, and tips it into a gutter whence it is conveyed along channels to the fields.

The Tai houses are of mud bricks or of bamboo thatched with grass. Two types of architecture are met with, corresponding with the two chief clans. In both the even slope of the roof is interrupted; but whereas in one type the upper half is short compared with the lower, and not much steeper, so that the roof looks squat, in the other the upper half stands up boldly and abruptly like a steeple. This latter reminds one of the high-pitched wooden-roofed houses seen in Laos.

Almost every Tai village has its monastery (and sometimes one or more pagodas). The monastery roof consists of two separate ascending and overlapping leaves on either side, crowned by a fifth leaf. The framework is timber, supported by wooden pillars. These monasteries are reputed to have been built by Chinese craftsmen, who about a century ago were called in by the Tai chiefs. When the work was finished the Tai murdered them, thus avoiding the inconvenience of having to pay them.

The Chinese Tai of South-Western Yunnan struck me as being a very poor lot. That they are lazy and unenterprising is obvious. Their physique is for the most part despicable, and the women are almost dwarfs, or rather pygmies. I saw hundreds of Tai women in the market at Mong Hai, and very few of them exceeded fifty-eight inches in height. Most of the men are opium smokers, and the poppy capsules are sold in the market. As for the Chinese inhabitants of Mong Hai, it is probably true to say that everyone who can afford to smokes opium. The almost prohibitive price prevents excessive indulgence. Mong Hai, or, as the Chinese call it, Fu Hai, is a large village of about four hundred houses. It is growing rapidly, and promises to become an important trade centre, rivalling even T'eng-yueh. Originally a Tai village, it already begins to take on the appearance of a modern Chinese country town, and has the rank of a *hsien*. It is neither so large nor so up-to-date as Keng Tung which it has taken for its model; but if the motor road is completed it will go ahead. The main street is twenty

feet wide, and along one side near the market-square is a row of model Chinese wooden dwellings, numbered 1 to 31! The tea trade has attracted prosperous merchants from T'eng-yueh, Hsia-kuan, Yunnan-fu, and other big business centres. In the neighbouring Tai state of Mong Pau lead and silver are reported to have been found recently. With the opening of silver mines trade will thrive. On market days more than a thousand people flock into Mong Hai from the surrounding villages on hill and plain, and the Chinese are engulfed in the crowds of Aka, Puman, and Tai.

The present generation of Tai is proof against the Chinese invasion and sufficiently lethargic to put up a stout passive resistance to what is really Westernization. Not so the next generation. Already no less than twenty-five Government schools have been established in the district by the new director of education. Attendance is compulsory, and education is on modern lines. School books even of the most junior classes are illustrated with pictures of children—always in Western dress—animals, flowers, machines, and, what is even more surprising, pictures of the Micky Mouse or Pip, Squeak and Wilfred order. I met some of the young school-teachers; good-looking, pleasant-mannered young men, keen in their work, but not perhaps bursting with ambition.

It was embarrassing to arrive late one afternoon in the first week of April in this strange village, which was in the very act of undergoing metamorphosis, as it were, from a Tai grub to a Chinese butterfly, and to find the Tussu (Tai chief) engaged in a game of lawn tennis on a hard court! It gave an almost suburban air to the shabby street. It must have been the tourist season, for both the inns were full. The Tussu sent us to the *Mien Ssu*, the big Tai temple at the corner. *De facto*, the *Mien Ssu* was a barracks; and the sentry at the gate, even without a bayonet, held us up. Presently the commanding officer in mufti (blue silk gown and black Homburg hat) came along. He was civil, but forbade us to enter without written authority from the Tussu. Presently this arrived and we were allowed to enter. The laden mules could not pass through the wicket, and the key being lost it was opened inside out so to speak in the approved Chinese manner by lifting it off its hinges.

We found cramped quarters on a ground floor verandah which faced one side of what had formerly been a peaceful temple courtyard, but was now vibrant with military ardour. The main temple occupied by the troops faced the courtyard, an outbuilding occupied the third

side, and a low wall the fourth. Ecclesiastical rites, including evening choir practice for thirty very small and dirty little boys with ear-splitting voices, were banished to a dungeon-like building behind our verandah. Big Business had put its foot down on the Church.

We were overlooked and never had any real privacy till after dark. However, this requisitioning of the temple for military purposes did not interfere with the devotions of the Tai. Every morning women came with offerings for the monks; they entered the temple to burn candles before the huge gilded mud effigy of Buddha. Meanwhile coolies were engaged in putting the holy place into a state of defence. The north and west walls which overlooked the paddy plain were loop-holed for musketry, and during our residence two embrasures were pushed out. They looked like, and were possibly intended for, machine-gun emplacements, but were loopholed like the rest of the wall. This aggressive defence was said to be an insurance against possible trouble when the new motor road was completed. News arrived one day of rioting in the next *hsien*, two days' journey to the east, over excessive education.

China since the foundation of the Republic has been the happy hunting ground of private armies. The boom in brigandage makes this necessary; but the private armies help to keep the brigands up to establishment, thus creating a vicious circle. At Mong Hai the merchants equip and maintain an army of " grey-shirts " about fifty strong. This is called the *pao shang* (" merchants' guarantee "). The men wear a grey cotton uniform, puttees, and cloth bandolier; they carry rifles but no side arms. Most of them appeared to be either under eighteen or over fifty and distinctly C3.

There was also a yamen guard of about twelve men, maintained by the *Hsien Chêng* (magistrate of the *hsien*). They are a low type of Tai, inclined to be truculent, but negligible as a fighting force. They are dressed in a dark blue cotton uniform and carry rifles and bayonets.

The third local army was the private property of the Tussu, a more workmanlike body of men than either of the others. They wore field grey and carried side arms. Moreover, they were commanded by a commissioned officer—he wore a Sam Brown belt and a sword, though the effect of his smart khaki tunic was somewhat marred by puce-coloured " shorts," not a happy colour scheme. The Tussu's grey-shirts and the yamen blue-shirts are composed of long-service men, and are permanent, but the *pao shang* are only mobilized for two or three months in the year during the open season.

There are thousands of these raw militia in the chief trading centres of Western Yunnan to-day, who know one end of a rifle from the other. There are also several thousand trained troops in the capital and in other big cities. Meanwhile the men in charge of caravans go armed to the teeth.

We had been two days at Mong Hai when the blow fell. Our intention was to travel slowly across Yunnan via Ssümao and Puêrhfu to the capital, about four weeks' marching, and we had obtained a consular visa in Rangoon for this purpose, having been told in the highest quarters that all would be well. I had no wish to stay in Mong Hai longer than was necessary to hire fresh mules. Now the yamen sent round to ask whether we had any arms with us.

Yes, two small-bore collecting guns.

Would we kindly send them to the yamen.

We did so.

But where were the licences?

We had none, not knowing they were required from Nanking. We should be pleased to take them out locally.

No. Only Nanking could issue arms licences to foreigners (though every Chinaman went armed). The arms were not even mentioned on our passports—a venial oversight, I thought. So we were faced at the outset of a scientific expedition, which had already been sanctioned by Nanking, with the confiscation of our weapons. Those were the written regulations, and no babu could have interpreted them more meticulously. "China going 'red'!" I thought bitterly, "but it is only red tape after all!" We might have been well content to leave it at that. But worse was to follow.

That night the village policeman, a lanky youth of eighteen, with horn-rimmed spectacles, came round and demanded our passports. We delivered them up.

Next morning a second bombshell was exploded. We were informed that because we had broken the regulations, we could not proceed until permission was obtained from higher authority. How long would that take? Perhaps three weeks or a month. I was aghast; but we were helpless, and must learn what every Chinaman has perforce to learn from his cradle days—patience. We were under open arrest, or protective detention, whichever way we liked to look at it, forbidden either to proceed further into China or to return to Burma. Meanwhile the *pao shang*, into whose midst we had innocently strayed, were ordered to watch us closely and report on our actions. If

either of us stirred outside the temple courtyard, even if I went to call at the yamen just up the street, or my companion went to the market to buy some cakes, two soldiers followed. We were not shadowed. There was nothing sinister or plain-clothes men about those two uncompromising "grey-shirts" who fell into step behind us. The *hsien chêng* assured me that they were not spies, but were solely protectors; owing to the dearness of rice, there were many bad people about.

I had some difficulty in seeing the *hsien-chêng*, who stayed in the background and was never at home. On three consecutive days I called at the yamen, and was kept standing in the street by a truculent sentry with fixed bayonet. By standing long enough on the third visit, and firmly insisting, I was finally admitted to the Presence. The formidable *hsien chêng* proved to be a little man with a lined scholarly face and a sympathetic expression. He had neatly cropped black hair and a thin scattered beard; I put his age down as nearly fifty, and he was simply dressed in the long blue gown of his country.

I discovered afterwards that he was an agricultural expert, and had travelled in Japan, Formosa, and other countries. He received me courteously and spoke in a low cultivated voice, rather fast, benevolent eyes gazing wistfully at me through large horn-rimmed spectacles. He assured me that he was well disposed towards us, that we had nothing to fear, that everything was for our own safety, and that he was only carrying out the orders of his Government; and no doubt he spoke the truth. As to how long we should be detained—he had sent a letter to Puêrhfu, asking for instructions, but no answer could be expected for some time. Meanwhile if I cared to send a telegram to our Consul at Yunnanfu, he would find a special messenger to take it to Puêrhfu, the nearest telegraph office.* I wrote out a telegram and it went off the next day; but it was three weeks before I received a reply, sent on from Puêrhfu by the post to Mong Hai, which goes three times a month.

Meanwhile I botanized and made observations on the tea trade, and the camphor trade, which is less important.

Every fifth day a market was held, and people flocked into Mong Hai from the dozen Tai villages scattered round the edge of the plain and from the hills which overlook it. For several hours business is brisk. It is mostly food that is sold: fresh meat (beef and pork), fish,

* All telegraph in the interior is by wireless owing to the difficulty of protecting land wires. Naturally wireless transmitting stations are only to be found in the largest cities.

ducks' eggs, fruit and vegetables in some variety, cakes, and walnut glacé made by the Panthays (Mohammedan Chinese). There are also a few tinned fruits from the capital, certain lines of cheap foreign goods (including cloth), and clothing such as shoes, socks, and Homburg hats. A little crude Tai silverware is displayed; but this and the making of bricks seem to be the only local industries as yet, besides brick tea and the preparation of camphor.

I made friends with several of the merchants and with one or two of the young school-teachers. They took me for walks and told me much of interest. As already hinted, I had conceived a great admiration for the effort the Chinese were making to convert Mong Hai into a model settlement. But the more I saw and heard, the more sceptical I became. Mong Hai up-to-date, swelling with civic pride, looking forward confidently to a prosperous future. Thus it strikes the visitor at first sight. Yet there were not wanting signs that underneath much superficial activity the old dragon still lay basking in the rays of the rising sun without so much as blinking an eyelid. For example, there is the electric light plant. It is an expensive engine housed in a hut. The yamen, temple barracks, principal shops, and schools are all wired for light. But there was no light. The engine was silent. Some said there were no lamps—I saw none—and others that there was no oil. It seems a strange economy to spend thousands of dollars to install an electric light plant and grudge a few hundred to ensure an adequate supply of fuel. Probably the plant had already been overloaded and had not given satisfaction. As soon as it began to fail, people registered disgust in the usual way; they used the lamps for improper purposes. There were indications that rather than waste the wire, people were removing it and putting it to uses unconnected with electricity.

Then there was the motor road. The acting Tussu of Mong Pau, adjacent Tai state, a young man, half Burman, half Chinaman, brought up and educated at the Shan Chiefs school in Taunggyi, told us proudly that it would be fit for lorries in two years! "Look at it now!" he said. "I only began it this dry season." He had much to learn of the nature of earth roads in a monsoon climate! But when I asked one of the young school-teachers in Mong Hai when it would be finished, he replied humorously: "Oh! Chinese undertaking! Perhaps in five years, perhaps in ten, perhaps . . ." He shrugged. My impression, after seeing the road in May following a few showers, is that he was right. The Chinese are still more eager to undertake new

enterprises than to see them through to a finish. They get wild enthusiasms. Then comes reaction, disappointment; nothing is completed. The new Fu Hai General Hospital is a case in point. The Yunnan Government has launched a scheme of free hospitals all over the country. On our return journey to Keng Tung we met a Chinese doctor from Rangoon who had accepted an appointment in charge of the projected but non-existent hospital at Mong Hai. Educated in Shanghai and practising for two years in Rangoon, he was no doubt well qualified. But he seemed likely to arrive in Mong Hai without any medicines or instruments, having lost his mules on the road. Already he had waited two days for them, nor did we meet them on our way to Keng Tung. Even if they reached Mong Hai before the rains broke, I could not but wonder where the equipment would be stored while the hospital was being built, and in what condition it would be at the end of a year. The doctor saw clearly that good communications with Keng Tung were essential to success, and would therefore press for the motor road to be finished. But roads cannot be built in a day in these countries. He inveighed bitterly against the quite passable road from Taunggyi to Keng Tung, which had made him physically sick in his car. He had not yet seen the worst section between Keng Tung and Mong Hai.

These things no doubt are but straws; nevertheless they are straws which serve to show that the wind in China still changes.

Dreamers in Mong Hai may see it as the metropolis of South-Western Yunnan, with all the latest improvements—motor roads, electric lights, schools and colleges, a hospital, library, and possibly the company's water laid on. They even talk of the Customs station at Ssümao being moved here, a new market, and a public park. Meanwhile the unprejudiced observer might suggest that for the present a little sanitation and pure water would be helpful.

Mong Hai is certainly growing in importance and influence, and it may eventually become a big place. But, after all, it is almost entirely dependent on the tea trade at present, and a small business in native-prepared camphor. There is a negligible trade in skins; and the Tai are not enterprising cultivators. Much greater expansion, without widening the scope of business, cannot reasonably be expected.

One point especially calls for comment. The Chinese attempt to rule the Tai directly, and not through the hereditary native chiefs. They hope to absorb rather than to assimilate them—no easy task with so versatile a people in whom nationalism is a legend not yet forgotten.

The Shan States are federated. A federation of all the Tai peoples is not an idle dream.

During the second week of our detention occurred the Tai New Year, which fell on April 13. The Tussu, a pleasant-faced, cheerful young man of thirty, wedded to the snappier forms of European dress, which, it must be confessed, he wore with dignity, invited us to attend the games. Round an open field leafy bowers had been erected, and here, sheltered from the sun, we reclined on rugs. All the fine ladies of Mong Hai, Chinese and Tai, dressed in their smartest silks, cut in semi-European style, attended. One old Chinese lady who came in tight blue coat and black trousers looked strangely early Victorian in the fashionable enclosure. The Tussu's private army paraded forty strong, under the captain in puce-coloured shorts. A boyish lieutenant who acted as A.D.C. to the Tussu, running across to the sweetmeat stalls to buy packets of monkey nuts and biscuits for us, fairly bristled with blunt instruments; a heavy automatic Mauser pistol was stuck in his belt on one side, a small Browning on the other. I estimated the crowd round the field at 2,000 persons. Presently a procession of boys and girls from the normal school marched on to the ground. They were all dressed in white—the little girls with dark blue skirts—and looked extremely smart and orderly, and even a little out of place. Later a procession of ragged hill children, carrying banners and put under a mild discipline probably for the first time in their lives, appeared; for the tribes are not neglected in the enthusiasm for reorganization.

The *pwe* included an amusing burlesque of Western ways and dress by the comic men of the neighbourhood, and, of course, a moral play, in dumb show, concerned with the fate of those who give way to opium smoking. The crowd laughed joyously when the military chased the delinquents. The ring-leaders were then elaborately tried by a mandarin of the old school tie sort, and surprisingly flattered with a firing squad. With the eclipse of the malefactors and a game of ball, about fifty a side, the entertainment came to an end. The sun was setting behind the purple hills; and the firing of two rockets was the signal for the *hsien chêng* and the principal merchants to return to the village for the evening opium pipe.

With the opening of the new year the *pao shang* were disbanded. Once more the temple returned to its lawful purpose as, mainly, a place of worship; though our hotel accommodation was not interfered with. As the "grey-shirts" of the merchant adventurers marched out, a

dozen of the blue-clad yamen guard marched in—with fixed bayonets; and a new guard was mounted over us. Vigilance was nevertheless somewhat relaxed, chiefly because the yamen guards were lazy and easily walked off their feet.

Early in May we returned one morning to the temple after a walk to find the courtyard filled with foreign saddled ponies, and young men smartly dressed in riding breeches and top boots with revolvers in their belts and cameras slung over their shoulders. Tourists? Hardly the season for that, and, besides, Yunnan is still a little off the beaten track for globe-trotters. Then out of the temple came a stockily-built, grey-haired man in riding breeches and a leather jacket. He greeted us with a cheery "Good-morning" and a disarming smile. It was Mr. Leon Yueh Koh, the Chinese Frontier Commissioner, on his way back to the capital from the Burmese frontier. He is Penang born, half Chinese, and speaks perfect English. When I told him our story, he promised to send a wireless message to our Consul from his field set, and it went out that evening. The Commissioner left at dawn the following morning, and two days later picked up the reply from Yunnanfu, which he forwarded to us by runner, a very real service for which I shall always be grateful.

There had, of course, been some muddle over our permits, and the chances of our getting on immediately by this route were not great. The famine in West Central China probably had something to do with the Government changing its mind, though this was not admitted. We decided to return to Burma, and go by sea route and the French railway, rather than wait here any longer, throwing good time after bad. So on May 8 we started back for Keng Tung. It was a race with the monsoon, but on the evening of the sixth day we reached the Keng Tung plain, and caught the last lorry leaving for Taunggyi. Travelling every day, we reached Rangoon on May 19, and three days later were on our way to Singapore.

Perhaps what struck me most during this visit to Yunnan—apart from the growing importance of Mong Hai—was the steady set of the tide of Chinamen educated abroad back towards their country, there to take up positions of importance. I met Chinamen from Shanghai, Burma, and the Straits Settlements who were taking the lead in re-organization. Many who have spent most of their lives in Japan, the United States, and elsewhere, in close contact with the West, are now rallying to the home of their ancestors. To what end? What will be the ultimate result of this anabasis? He would be a bold man who

would venture to predict the future of China. But it is difficult to believe that a movement so largely external, which apparently owes so little to any spontaneous upheaval from within, can be straightway successful. There is indeed no historical precedent for this rebirth from without; and it would seem that such a rebirth cannot be subject to the normal processes of evolution. One feels that the tempo will presently be slowed down, and much of the energy dissipated as heat in the vastness of China frittered away . . . but perhaps Yunnanfu will resolve my present doubts.

THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION FOR PALESTINE: A DISCUSSION

A discussion held on July 26, 1937, Sir RONALD STORRS in the Chair.

Before the meeting commenced the CHAIRMAN said that Dr. Tannous, who was to have put the Arab view of the Report's proposals before the meeting, had been called to Geneva. His place would be taken by Mr. J. M. N. Jeffries. He then called on Mr. Leonard Stein, well known for his work for the Zionist cause, to open the discussion.

Mr. LEONARD STEIN: Our time to-night is very properly limited so that as many as possible may take part in the discussion, and I am therefore going straight to the point without any preliminaries at all except this, that I should like to make it absolutely clear at the outset that I am not here in any kind of representative capacity. I do not speak, and I am not entitled to speak, on this subject for anybody but myself, and I think it is right that that should be quite clearly understood.

After I sit down, you will have an opportunity of hearing another point of view presented by Mr. Jeffries, and therefore I am going to do what, I imagine, is really expected of me, and that is primarily at all events to present the Jewish point of view with reference to the Peel Report, not because I do not recognize that there are other points of view, but because to-night I do not think it is my business to deal with them.

What you want to hear from me is how this Report and the recommendations from it strike a Jew. I think, if one asks oneself, what is the general impression that the Report has made upon Jews—and in the Report I include the Government statement of policy in their White Paper—one can only reply that it is a mixture of relief on some points, consternation on others, and bewilderment on a great many more.

I ought to say that, of course, I am generalizing about Jews. It is not to be supposed that these documents strike all Jews in the same way. But I think one of the first things a great many Jews would say with regard to the Report and what has come out of it is that at any rate two points, which have been frequently the subject of discussion and the subject of controversy in the past, have been disposed of.

After what was said not only in the Report but in the House of Commons by Mr. Ormsby-Gore and in the House of Lords by Lord

Samuel with regard to the Memorandum written by Sir Gilbert Clayton, and also in *The Times* by Sir Henry McMahon himself, I do not imagine that much more is likely to be heard now of the British promise with regard to Palestine to the Shereef of Mecca. That is a relief to the Jews, because people who were anxious to discredit Great Britain in their eyes have frequently told them that the Balfour Declaration was a fraud inasmuch as Great Britain was promising to the Jews something which she had already promised to somebody else, and at the same time was carefully concealing that fact from those to whom the Balfour Declaration was published. That was not an allegation which it was agreeable to the Jews to hear to the discredit of this country. Many of them feel very greatly relieved that that point at any rate does seem to be disposed of.

There is one other matter in respect of which the Report gives satisfaction to the Jews. There is a rather remarkable passage on pages 128-9, in which the Commission say quite plainly, first of all, that taking the Arab population generally and comparing its economic position now with its economic position as it was at the end of the war, you will be bound to admit that that position has considerably improved. It has not deteriorated. It has improved, and they add quite as explicitly that if that is so, it is due, not, of course, exclusively, but in a substantial measure to the presence of the Jews. I think the Jews are glad to have that recorded by an authoritative body.

Then I mentioned bewilderment and consternation, but in order to be quite fair and accurate, I ought perhaps to have added some measure of elation as well, because there are some Jews—I do not think they are very representative or really very numerous—who are at present at any rate rather dazzled by the vision of what is described as a sovereign independent Jewish State.

There are some Jews, particularly in the centre of Jewish suffering in Eastern Europe, to whom that conception of an independent sovereign Jewish State makes so strong an appeal that elation may not be too strong a word to describe their sentiments.

But so far as the great mass of Jews are concerned, I think a much more accurate word would be bewilderment. They honestly do not quite know what to make of it, and they are bewildered from more points of view than one. They cannot help feeling how enormous is the gulf that separates what is offered to the Jews to-day from what appeared to be offered to them twenty years ago when the Balfour Declaration was made. When I speak of what appeared to be offered

to them, I was speaking not only of what they themselves at that time read into the Declaration, but of what they were invited to read into it by representatives of the British Government and of British public opinion of the highest possible authority.

I am not saying that therefore the Report is all wrong and that therefore the recommendations are unacceptable. I am not drawing that inference. I am merely describing the state of mind in which—as indeed you will, I imagine, not be surprised to hear—a very large number of Jews find themselves when confronted with the recommendations of the Peel Report and of the White Paper. They cannot help being very painfully conscious of the contrast between 1917 and 1937, and they are all the more painfully conscious of it, I think, because they say to themselves, many of them, "Well, what is the fault that we have committed? Why is 1937 so different from 1917?" I think many of them say to themselves—and I am using that form of words to indicate that I am not necessarily expressing my own personal view, but trying to convey the views that are widely held—many say to themselves, "It is not as though we Jews had done something in Palestine that we were not intended to do. After all, we were invited to go into Palestine in large numbers and to put our energy into the economic upbuilding of Palestine in the maximum possible degree."

You hear many Jews saying, "Suppose we had not done that. Suppose it had turned out that Jews did not really want to go to Palestine and were not prepared to put their energy and money into Palestine and into the regeneration of Palestine. Suppose it had turned out that in actual fact there was no particular enthusiasm for Palestine among the Jewish people. Then, if that had been so, would not that have been a matter of reproach to the Jews? That did not happen. They were not open to reproach for that, but now it looks as if they were being reproached or being punished for having done the opposite. They have been too enthusiastic. They have shown too much anxiety to take advantage of the offer made to them. They have thrown too much money and energy into the upbuilding of Palestine." That is for many Jews a rather bitter reflection.

I do not want to pursue that part of my subject further because time is running against me, and I want to come now to a totally different topic and to refer to certain observations—I think they are pertinent to our subject-matter to-night—which many of my audience will have read in to-day's *Times* by a very distinguished Englishman, Lord Rennell.

There is a letter very prominently published in *The Times* in which Lord Rennell says in effect this: there are countries where there has been in recent years a large influx of Jewish population competing with the native races and where the Jewish problem has assumed an acute form. Then he goes on to say that he is assured by representatives of the countries he is referring to that what they really dislike about the Jews is not their being there; what they dislike is that these Jews, although they are citizens of those countries, are not really identified with them as citizens ought to be. Then he says, let the Jews reflect that if a Jewish State is set up in Palestine, those Jews living in the countries in question will be able to be citizens of that Jewish State; that State will give them passports and a national status, and then they will be quite welcome where they are, because they will no longer be nationals of the states in which they are at present residing, but will be living there as foreigners.

I think that is a fair paraphrase of what Lord Rennell says at greater length. I want to comment on that because, as you will see, it is relevant. This is, of course, advanced by Lord Rennell as an argument addressed to the Jews for at least acquiescing in, if not welcoming, the partition proposal.

The first point to be remarked upon is that the countries to which Lord Rennell refers do not exist. There are no relevant countries at all into which there has been a large influx of Jews in recent years. In the last one hundred and fifty years there has not been any Jewish emigration of any importance at all except to the United States, the British Empire, and Argentina. I am leaving out Palestine itself, of course. It is not to be supposed that what Lord Rennell means is that the British Jews, the American Jews, and the South American Jews are to throw up their citizenship and are to become citizens of the puppet State in Palestine. What he must mean is that the Jews of Poland—who are not recent immigrants, but have been there for centuries—the one million Jews of Rumania and so on, those Jews are going to be better off because according to him the Governments of Poland and Rumania will be very glad indeed to have all those Jews living in their countries provided only that they become foreigners. That seems to me one of the most extraordinary arguments in favour of these proposals that has ever been advanced. It has its comic side because of its absurdity, but from the Jewish point of view it also has its serious side, because after departing from the first part of the Balfour Declaration, the next step is to be (it would seem) to tear up the last part, which says that nothing

is to be done in Palestine to prejudice the rights and status enjoyed by Jews in other countries.

To-day we get a man of the highest distinction, a man like Lord Rennell, saying to the Jews of Eastern Europe, " Look what an excellent thing Palestine will be for you, because you can cease to be Poles or Rumanians; you can be rid of your citizenship and take up a Palestine passport without ever thinking of going to Palestine; and how delighted the Government of Poland will be to have not three million Polish Jews but three million foreign Jews living in their midst and occupying the posts which might be occupied by Polish subjects." From a Jewish point of view that is an extremely disturbing argument.

That exhausts the second part of what I have to say. I naturally have to select my subjects, and if I do not deal with some points which I ought to deal with, it is not because I do not recognize that there are a great many other points, but because my time is limited.

Now I want to pass rather rapidly to the Jewish point of view with reference to the actual proposals of the Report so far as they relate to a Jewish State. Perhaps I had better not say " the Jewish point of view." I had better say my point of view, because I do not know whether it is representative or not.

My point of view is that the first test is: is this a State which has any hope of survival? Of course, miracles do happen. I can only look at things, however, in the light of common sense, and my emphatic view about these particular proposals is that they have not a ghost of a chance of working out.

In the first place I want to draw attention to the frontiers of the Jewish State. Anybody looking at the map will see that it is a totally indefensible frontier, and it would look worse still if you could consider it on a map which shows the elevations. The little Jewish strip lies between the sea and the highlands. It is completely dominated by higher ground, and anything more objectionable from a strategic point of view it would be very difficult to imagine. Actually that frontier is about two hundred miles long, and the southern part of it is ten to twelve miles broad and dominated by the hills.

In the second place, the size of it is about the size of Norfolk. That is the Jewish State—a minute area and an indefensible frontier.

In the third place, it is proposed from this wretched little Jewish State to exclude, at any rate in the first stage and so far as part of it is concerned, permanently 37 per cent. of the present Jewish population in Palestine. On the other hand, so far as concerns the area which is

proposed to be under Jewish jurisdiction, that area will consist, according to the Commission's own figures, in the first stage as to 54 per cent. of Jews and 46 per cent. of Arabs.

I would only say this, that if you consider the points to which I have already drawn attention; if you add the enormous financial burden that will be imposed upon this little State with many of its principal sources of revenue taken away, because all the big towns except Tel Aviv will be outside its jurisdiction; when you remember that the royalties arising from the Palestine potash works are to be handed over lock, stock and barrel to the Arab States; and that on top of that the Jewish State has to subsidize the Arab State on a substantial scale; when you remember all those things and put them together, I think that you will at least agree that those Jews who share my view that this proposal is not so much unacceptable as entirely unworkable and impracticable, both from the Jewish and Arab point of view, have something to be said on their side.

The alternative I myself would propose is this. If you must dismember Palestine, if that is inevitable, assuming that it is, would it not perhaps be better simply to detach from the mandated area the whole of the area which is proposed to become the area of the future Arab State, except the almost empty Negev; simply take that out of the mandated territory altogether. Leave the Mandate; leave British control, and supervision and protection, to which I attach great importance, and provide that, the extent of the mandated territory having been reduced so as to place within the area of Arab independence a large proportion of the Arab inhabitants, the rest of Western Palestine shall remain as an undivided whole under a British Mandate on the footing that Jewish immigration is to be encouraged to the fullest possible extent, and that self-governing institutions are to be steadily developed with a view to the eventual attainment of a substantial measure of autonomy, subject, of course, to proper safeguards for minorities and for the perpetual inviolability of the holy places.

I think it would be much better not to create this series of corridors and this congeries of reserved areas of every sort and kind, but to make a clean cut and allocate to an area of complete independence those regions (except the Negev) which it is proposed to allocate to the Arab State, and then I think it will be very much easier to work the Mandate on lines which would be acceptable from a British, a Jewish, and also I hope, an Arab point of view.

Mr. J. M. N. JEFFRIES: Let me first deal with one or two items

in Mr. Stein's speech. He began by saying that a letter which appeared in *The Times* two days ago had, he hoped, disposed altogether of the McMahon papers. But this letter is by no means new. Sir Henry McMahon said the same thing fourteen years ago, and it made no difference whatsoever to the situation then. Nor does it make any difference to the situation to-day either, because in treaties, as in all legal documents, the only thing which matters is their text. If we are to be guided by the intentions people say they had or had not when writing the text, then there will never be an end in the future to any disputed issue. Every person concerned can allege intentions which no other person can corroborate. If intentions are to become the criterion of decision in international affairs, there does not seem to be much object in having written treaties at all. Why sign and countersign documents if they can be abrogated by states of mind?

So with regard to the McMahon letters the fantastic plea of Sir Henry McMahon's intentions and of his belief in King Hussein's intentions governing their value cannot be entertained. Only their text is of any concern.

In the second place, Mr. Stein spoke about the position of Jews elsewhere should the Jewish State envisaged in the Peel Report be founded in Palestine. On the whole I do not disagree with what he had to say, but I should like to mention something I encountered a good many years ago, in 1918. This was in Poland, when the war was just over. As it happened, I was the first person to enter Poland from the Allied countries.

Poland was just coming to life. Yet I found the Poles already complaining bitterly of Zionism. They had begun their renewed national life by making some sort of census, and they found that their Jewish citizens in large numbers were contracting out from it. They wrote themselves down as Zionist citizens. As early as 1918, therefore, the prospect of a Jewish State in Palestine was causing trouble. I am not defending or accusing the Poles in their relations with their Jewish subjects: I only chronicle that political Zionism was an immediate source of disaffection and bad feeling in Poland.

Mr. Stein spoke of the strategic dominance of the proposed Jewish State by the Arab State. I shall not enter into the strategic side of these future animosities. But I must observe that if you transfer the odiums which exist to-day between the Jews and the Arabs, which to-day are to some extent under the control of the Mandatory—if you transfer these odiums to a pair of States, wherein they can grow unchecked and can

even be encouraged, then instead of ending the era of hatred you ar
merely giving it unlimited opportunity of expansion.

The most serious fallacy of the Peel Report is the assumption tha
separate States in Palestine would bring contentment to their popula
tions. The Report says indeed that it is too much to hope that afte
Partition there would be no friction at all between Arabs and Jews, bu
thereon propounds the removal of minorities as a cure. But envenome
and displanted minorities, as history most often shows, fill the popula
tion they join with their own animus. Partition will give us not s
much two States as two entrenched camps in Palestine.

I pass to some other considerations of the Report. No one apparentl
wants its recommendation much. Mr. Stein himself is dubious abou
them. Others of our opponents, however much they may be satisfie
inwardly with Partition, are not, I think, too anxious to appear openl
satisfied. The Arabs certainly do not want Partition. Parliamen
wishes to postpone definite discussion of it. So does the League o
Nations. Mr. Ormsby-Gore has gone out to try and extract preliminar
opinion from the Mandates Commission. He is much experienced i
preliminary opinions, but I do not think that even he will extract one.

Not half enough attention has been paid in this matter to the Leagu
of Nations. I think there may be more obstacles at Geneva than peopl
contemplate. Here is one of them. The Partition proposal must com
eventually before a committee of the League Council. Italy, which ha
not quitted the League, can return to her vacant place at the Counci
table. Now she confirmed the Balfour Declaration, if it can be calle
confirmation, very differently from the other countries' way of confirma
tion. I speak of the old Italy, before Fascism came. She agreed to th
establishment of the National Home on the understanding that n
prejudice was caused to the legal and political status of the other "com
munities" of Palestine. She inserted in her confirmation the wor
"political," which, in my opinion, Lord Balfour and the other drafte
so sedulously kept out of their Declaration.

So the Italians are engaged to maintain the normal political rights o
the Arabs throughout Palestine. They have held their hand so far, o
the assumption, I presume, that the Mandate would terminate in th
establishment of a National Government over all Palestine. But if
State is established in Palestine territory where the Arabs will have n
political control at all, it is difficult to see how Italy can subscribe t
this. Here is a source of infinite difficulty, if, of course, Italy resume
her seat at Geneva.

I come to the Peel Report itself. It is a fine Report in many ways. It contains statements which are of the highest interest. It speaks of "the door forced open for the Jews in Palestine." It says that "it is the Mandate which has created the antagonism between the Jew and Arab in Palestine." These are statements of fact which dispose of much old official fiction, such as that our Government is the victim of circumstances in having to handle an unworkable Mandate. The successive Governments which have insisted on this Mandate, of our own making, have not been the victims of circumstances, but the makers and the maintainers of these circumstances.

Then again the Report, in default of Partition, holds some valuable contingent recommendations, one in particular which amounts to keeping the present Jewish population at the level it has attained. This is for a period of years only, it is true, but as it is based on existing conditions which will not cease, it is a recommendation which will be renewed, I think, indefinitely.

Another merit of the Report is, however, a belated discovery. The members of the Commission discovered in Palestine what we who defend the Arabs discovered and said seventeen years ago, and have been saying ever since, when we had the opportunity. They discovered that the Arabs would not join the Jews in building up a common Palestinian State. Every child has known this in Palestine for nearly two decades. Yet we have had to wait till now for it to be acknowledged in an official document. It is held to be a great discovery, but in this respect Lord Peel, to my mind, is like a Columbus sailing out to-day and discovering modern New York.

From the Arab point of view yet another merit of the Report, and yet another belated discovery, is its confirmation that Mr. Lloyd George, General Smuts, Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Cecil, and others from the beginning contemplated a Jewish State in Palestine. We know they did, but it is well to have the fact nailed down in the Royal Commission's own words.

But if many things are to be welcomed in the Report, its final recommendations are not. For a large Jewish State in the long run all they do is to substitute a small Jewish State at once. The thesis of Jewish rule in Palestine is not dropped. The Peel Report, therefore—that is to say, the policy advocated in it—is not a change of heart, but a change of front only.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Arabs should reject it. They reject it besides for a good many individual reasons, but I shall confine

myself to speaking of three of them. The first is that Partition would grant the Jews their essential demand and refuse theirs to the Arabs. As I look at it, the essential Jewish demand is statehood in Palestine. Once this is granted the Jews, they are acknowledged to be in Palestine as by right. But the whole Arab case is that the Jews are not in Palestine by right. So that if a Jewish State were to be established and the Arabs were forced to recognize it, the Arabs would be abandoning the very basis on which every claim of theirs is built, while the Jews would have the essential basis of their claims conceded.

The second point turns on the working-out of Partition in practice. In their Report the Royal Commissioners recommend that " in the last resort the exchange (of Jews in the proposed Arab State and of Arabs in the proposed Jewish State) would be compulsory." This means that something like 225,000 Arabs are in danger of compulsory transfer.

This is an impossible proposal. It is called a transfer, but it is an eviction. How can anyone suggest that about a quarter of the Arab population should be removed by force from the land which they and theirs have occupied for untold centuries? Is it assumed that the British Army will be employed in the task of tearing families from their homes and their plots of land?

In the Report an analogy is drawn on behalf of the " transfer." The example of the successful Græco-Turkish exchange of populations after the war of 1922 is quoted. But the Græco-Turkish transfer was the exact reverse of what is intended for Palestine. The Greeks were taken from Turkey and the Turks from Greece. In Palestine it is proposed that men, women and children shall be taken from their native soil, that they shall be removed from the fertile heart of it and from their ancient orange-groves, so that strangers may build up there an artificial State. It is a project not to be thought of.

Indeed, this transfer is so preposterous and iniquitous, there being practically no land to accommodate the evicted thousands in the hills to which they would be dispatched, that it does not ring true. I have a feeling that this scheme has only been sponsored by the Government so that it may be withdrawn later, with lavish airs of concession to the Arabs. If it proves so, this is a familiar political gambit, and the Arabs will not be overreached by it.

The third reason is really the fundamental reason, though one does not hear much of it, largely because the Arabs have few chances of expressing their views. The Royal Central Asian Society, let me add, has shown a fine example by throwing open its tribune freely to ex-

ponents of the Arab case, and the Arabs are grateful to the Society. This, as I say, then, fundamental reason for refusing Partition, is that the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine is not compatible with the maintenance there of Arab ways of life and of the country's native civilization.

Arab life and Jewish life, Arab aims and Jewish aims, are two irreconcilable things. They cannot continue indefinitely side by side, and there will never be any solution of any kind in Palestine till this is recognized. I have discussed this matter thoroughly with my Arab friends and that is what they feel.

The Jewish National Home, now to be turned into a Jewish State, is nothing if it is not a Westernized, industrial, urban institution. The Peel Report recognizes this readily and frequently. It says, " The remarkable urban development in Palestine has been Jewish." It speaks of the Jewish hope of yet more " new towns growing up along the sandy coast." It recognizes that out of every five hundred Jewish immigrants only thirty-two are workers on the land. " With every year that passes," says the Report, " the contrast between this intensely democratic and highly organized modern community and the old-fashioned Arab world around it grows sharper."

What till now has been falsest in our policy in Palestine has been the repeated invitation to the Arabs to take part in this essentially Jewish " development " of their country. As Palestinians they were to work hand-in-hand with the Jews at this joint task. But we never asked first of the Arabs, before issuing the invitation, whether they wished to progress after this fashion. It was assumed that they did so wish, though a modicum of thought and a modicum of enquiry would have shown that for an Arab such progress meant that he was to abandon his native culture and to assimilate himself to the culture of the Jews. There would only be a future for him if he thought like a modern Jew, acted like a modern Jew—in short, if he turned himself into a modern Jew.

If the Arab did this, then he would be rewarded with those " economic benefits " which figure on various pages of the Peel Report. After a great lapse of time, it was the ancient temptation of Esau renewed in more modern style, with " economic benefits " in place of pottage.

But the Esaus of Palestine have learned their lesson. The development of Palestine on Jewish lines is exactly what they will not have. A man of pre-eminent intelligence went out to Palestine some years

ago and perceived that this was the kernel of the problem. Dr. Weizmann had been offering the Arabs what they least desired. "The Arabs need us," said Dr. Weizmann, "with our knowledge and our experience and our money." But the celebrated visitor knew better. "There is not the slightest difficulty," he wrote, "in stating in plain words what the Arabs fear in the Jews. They fear in exact terms their knowledge and their experience and their money. The Arabs fear exactly the three things which Dr. Weizmann says they need."

That is the fundamental reason why the Arabs rejected what was called "co-operation" with the Jews under the Mandate, and it is for the very same reason that they reject Partition. What would Partition mean? It would mean, no doubt, that in their new area they might (in so far as the homeless thousands thrown upon them would permit) try to create the Palestine at which they aim, a simple country. It would be cleared of endemic diseases, of malaria and the like; it would be provided with better roads, it would inaugurate certain improvements in agriculture, it would establish a reasonable system of land-tenure. But it would remain a quiet country, free of urbanization, of intensive industrialism, of all the qualities which are the essence of the Jewish idea. It would be a country of subsistence-farming.

What would it have alongside it? A Jewish State, which, however small, yet would be highly mechanized, linked to world finance, aiming at world commerce, enmeshed with the advanced intelligentsia of every continent. Over its economic policy the Arabs would have no control, and into its orbit the Arab agricultural State must inevitably be drawn. Indeed, the Peel Report foresees this, thinks ahead and proposes that the two States should have a species of Customs-Union. How significant!

That is why the Arabs must reject Partition and must reject any scheme which does not give them general control over the economic policy of Palestine as a whole. In an Arab Palestine the Jews now present there would have their rights and could enjoy as much of their particular kind of "development" as they have accomplished already. *But there must be a stop to increase of this, and the Arabs must not* have forced upon them in exchange for their malaria that moral malaria of industrialism which now is devastating the West, with its class-warfare, its proletariat, its communism, its making men into mere units, and all its other attendant ills.

Colonel NEWCOMBE: I am not going to criticize the Royal Commission's Report. Everyone admits that it is an extremely able work:

but very many people, like Mr. Stein, disagree with the solution offered in the last chapter.

Like the Royal Commission, we aim at peace, but we think that an alternative road is safer and shorter than theirs. Whichever road we adopt, the Report of the Royal Commission makes it clear that the existing Mandate is unworkable.

Chap. XX, para. 2, states: " Under the stress of the World War, the British Government made promises to the Arabs and the Jews in order to obtain their support."

Many Syrians, Nationalists, and others, including people in South Syria (or Palestine), had hoped, even before the war, for a tutelage under the British Control, having seen the gradual development of Egypt and the Sudan, both of which were in greater chaos than Syria or Palestine ever were. This feeling grew during the war.

It was a fundamental principle of British policy to administer a country in our charge in the interests of the people in that country and through them.

Never did British policy try to bring in large numbers of aliens to form a National Home into a country against the wishes of the inhabitants.

Article 22 of the Covenant says: " The wishes of the people must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."

Promises to the Arabs were made authoritatively by British officers and through other channels during the war confirming the above mentioned principles.

The views held by the Arabs were well set out in the Report on page 107, chap. III, paras. 34 and 35, which views were well understood by officers in touch with them during the war.

Later on, to gain indefinite help from Jews outside the British Empire (since no special call for help was needed from British citizens, whether Jew or Christian), the Balfour Declaration was made on certain false assumptions:

(1) That Palestine was inhabited mainly by Jews (though, in fact, the Jews were about 7 per cent. in 1918).

(2) That the remaining people were chiefly Arabs of nomadic or gipsy character, if not of the status of Australian aborigines. It was not realized that the Syrians of the south were a virile peasantry of ancient stock, intellectually more advanced than Egyptians or Sudanese, but lacking the chances of education and development.

(3) That the ancient historic and *religious sentiment* for Palestine held by the Jews for over two thousand years gave them *political rights* to another people's country.

Having thus confused historic sentiment with political rights, we have encouraged by armed forces the immigration of an alien race into the country of an unwilling people. If we admit historic rights to endure for two thousand years, we must admit ancient Britons or Romans back to England, and the more recent, and therefore stronger claims, of the French Royalists back to France.

If the Royal Commission could have included the above considerations, or added the gist thereof to para. 2, chap. XX, it would have been shown why Arabs cannot co-operate with the Mandate or the Balfour Declaration.

Arabs showed before the war tolerance and co-operation with Jews, and, except when stirred by Jewish political aspirations, were more friendly to Jews than most nations. They are only opposed to those Zionists who try to capture and control their country.

The Royal Commission, on the whole, gave judgment for the Arabs, but ask them to be generous and to give up the best part of their land to a people alien to them, but persecuted in Europe and having nowhere else to go.

The Arabs say, " No, but we are prepared to be more generous than any other race is, or has been, to these unfortunate people, and accept a far bigger share."

Arabs have agreed generally to the following scheme:

1. All Jews now in Palestine to remain in the country and the present percentage of 30 per cent. Jews to 70 per cent. Arabs to be maintained (or some similar formula).

2. British rule to continue for a short period of years, but on the principles carried out in the Sudan, in the interests of the actual inhabitants in the country only, and through them, Jew and Arab, with no outside interference.

3. After a period, a representative independent government to be established similar to that of 'Iraq, with British interests fully protected. In a few years, when feelings are less bitter, Transjordan would be linked with Palestine, when it would be logical to extend the percentage of 30 per cent. Jews to 70 per cent. Arabs to that area also.

Once the threat of Jewish political domination is removed, the Arabs would co-operate with them. To achieve this, the Mandate will, of course, require to be altered.

Which do the Jews prefer to accept?

The splitting up of Palestine, which denies to them any portion of Judæa, their ancient land: or, future co-operation with the South Syrians? Though a minority, their influence will be great, and their ability have wide scope.

The real problem of the Jews is the Central European or Polish question. Palestine, partitioned or not, cannot solve the problem. To pretend that it solves this question is an excuse to hide the truth that ancient religious sentiment has become a political ambition.

Jews should be practical and bring their dreams to earth. British Jews are as British, and will remain as much British citizens as any of the rest of us. They have no desire to become Palestinians themselves. French, Italian, Dutch, and American Jews have no wish to give up their nationality. There is no need for us to occupy ourselves with them or they with us.

Even German Jews, except under present conditions of persecution, wish to remain German.

The Zionist Congress is the only body which seems to dictate the policy of Palestine to Great Britain: but it seems unnecessary for us to follow their lead, when many British Jews are opposed to it.

Politically, therefore, the whole trouble is caused on behalf of Polish, Russian, and Rumanian Jews, to whom politically we owe nothing.

At present we encourage Zionists to solve this trouble by foisting on our Arab friends an impossible scheme in Palestine, which can only accept a few hundred thousand, anyhow, and can never harbour the millions concerned. We put the whole burden on one small people whom we separated from their brethren of the rest of Syria.

We incurred some responsiblity in this matter. Let us British, Christian and Jew, all help seriously by seeking areas in the British Colonies and Empire, or look in another direction for countries wide enough to give scope to Jewish ability and enterprise. So far the search has been very half-hearted: when finance is available the problem is not very difficult: and it is wiser to spend money developing fruitful countries than barren deserts south of Gaza, as some Jews suggest.

The Report of the Royal Commission is a most valuable work, and these suggestions give an alternative but not an opposing view.

To sum up:

1. Treat Palestine as we have treated other countries. Let t Jews now there remain, and allow others to come to retain 30 p cent. Jews to 70 per cent. Arabs.

2. Administer the country in the interests of the people of t country, Jew and Arab, and through them, with no outsi interference.

3. As soon as conditions permit, grant representative gover ment, as in 'Iraq, to Palestine, which would then include Trar Jordan: and ensure that British interests are protected.

4. See how we can really help to solve the Eastern Europe Jewish problem, without throwing further burdens on one peop

Lord Samuel indicated somewhat similar lines in the House Lords.*

If Jews will meet Arabs and the British Government half-way c the lines suggested, there will be peace in Palestine—our main objectiv

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE: I shall have great pleasure in obeyir the orders of the Chairman to confine myself to the terms of tl Report.

I have not indeed the qualifications of previous speakers to discu the past history of Palestine and their own part therein.

I invite your attention to the chapter in the Report which deals wi irrigation, for this vital matter has not been mentioned in the Houses c Parliament or in the Press.

The Commission writes (para. 106, p. 254): "The problem of clo settlement of the land depends in the main on the discovery an development of water supplies for irrigation. . . If water could b discovered in the Beersheba Sub-District enormous possibilities c development would be opened up, provided that such water could b brought into service at a reasonable cost. The Sub-District constitut nearly half the total area of Palestine."

(Para. 107.) As Sir John Hope Simpson stated in his report: "Give the possibility of irrigation, there is practically an inexhaustible suppl of cultivable land in the Beersheba area. Without irrigation the countr cannot be developed. Up to the present time no organized attemp has been made to ascertain whether there is or is not an artesian suppl of water."

(Para. 108). "Since the date of his report, it appears that very littl has been done by Government to discover water in Palestine," an

* See p. 722.

then follow some detailed estimates which the Royal Commission do not consider it necessary to attempt to discuss.

Now in the Partition scheme the area allotted to the Jews is about two thousand square miles. Here in Beersheba is an area of five thousand square miles on which about fifty thousand people live, or ten to the square mile. Practically nothing is known as to the possibilities of irrigation here. The Arabs complain that the part of Palestine allotted to them is all barren hill and desert; and it is certain that they have neither the capital nor the capacity to render the desert cultivable.

What an opportunity is here offered to Jewish enterprise! With their financial ability and capital they would re-establish the fertility of Beersheba, and remake it the granary of Roman days. They would have access to the Dead Sea for the prosecution of their chemical industries; and they would have room for their immigrants on a great scale. In the future they would undoubtedly overflow by agreement into the vast empty spaces to east and west of Transjordan and Sinai. In place of milk and honey they would find water and chemicals, and possibly oil.

The example which the Jews have given of intensive cultivation along the coast from Haifa to Jaffa has been a wonderful achievement. The Jew with irrigation is able to support a family on one-tenth the area required by an Arab; for the Jews have drained swamps and irrigated sand-dunes to carry their orange groves.

The financial arrangements necessary for this transformation may also be of value to the world. If the Jews starting from a desert convert it into a civilized state, they may be able to show the way to the financial reorganization which the world is awaiting for "the proper distribution of the means of exchange" and "the balance of production and consumption."

The Jews would require the co-operation of the Arabs in the heavy task of reclaiming the desert, and this might well be the basis of peace and reconciliation between these two gifted races.

We know that in India, Egypt, and the Sudan vast areas formerly browsed by nomad tribes have been rendered cultivable by irrigation, and now support millions of peasant proprietors.

For all these reasons I submit that this problem of irrigation should be reconsidered with a more lively confidence in the future.

The severe criticisms made by previous speakers of the proposals of the Royal Commission have not impressed me.

I ask you to agree that if the British Government—after hearing the

views of the League of Nations—decide to carry out these recommendations, whatever the difficulties may be, those difficulties can be resolved by a resolute Government.

It is quite possible that the frontiers may need to be redrawn. There is force in the Arab complaint that too much of the good land has been allotted to the Jews, and that the Arab area is largely barren and waste. There is force in the Jewish complaint that the total area allotted to them is far too small. I have shown that on the facts certified by the Royal Commission half the area of Palestine in lands now almost devoid of population has been left out of account.

Let this portion of five thousand square miles in the south be handed over to the Jews, and let full compensation be given to the Arabs in fertile lands in the north. If it be argued that Jewish finance has been invested in the north, let the Government refuse to be moved by niggardly considerations of finance.

Where the great human factors of freedom, security, and independence are involved, arguments of money must be brought into their proper subordination. And the Jews throughout the world who wish their race to escape from the degradation of the tyrannies of Eastern Europe will recognize that the British Government alone can be trusted to carry through this gigantic scheme of liberation.

I submit therefore to this meeting that we should accept regretfully but with a firm mind the main conclusions of this Report.

The surrender of the Mandate and the Partition of Palestine have been proved to be inevitable; but details require amendment in the grant of a larger area for reclamation and colonization by the Jews, and in compensation to the Arabs in fertile lands and uncontrolled access to the seaboard and seaports.

These are the great days of the British Government when, by the consent of all nations, it is chosen to impose peace equally on the eastern as on the western shores of the Mediterranean.

Securus judicat, Orbis terrarum.

Mr. HUMPHREY BOWMAN: Those of us who have lived in Palestine for a good many years are grateful on the whole to the Commissioners for a very constructive Report. We have been waiting for this for years. Ever since 1920 we who have lived in the official world have been living continually on the edge of a precipice or rather on the edge of a volcano. The slightest spark in Palestine sets fire to the country, and what we have been praying for year in, year out is peace. Every proposal that has been put forward except that of the Royal

Commission does not seem to make for peace, but for continued war. Ladies and gentlemen, we do not want continued war; we must have peace.

There was an old gentleman in the war called Ole Bill, and when he found himself in rather an uncomfortable place he said, "Find me a better 'ole." If I were one of the Commissioners, what I would say to the world is, "Find me a better solution."

We have been listening to-night to various speakers, but I do not remember having heard any better proposal than that of the Royal Commission. Partition may be regrettable, but if Partition is going to bring peace, then let us by all means have Partition.

The last speaker made one sound suggestion, which was to allow some change in the proposed frontiers. I understand the members of the Royal Commission would be perfectly willing to accept a change in frontier. That frontier was only drawn as a rough outline and as some idea of what a frontier might be. Nobody has ever considered that frontier to be final or definitive; but Partition, which means separate entities, the Jews in one part and the Arabs in another, seems to me inevitable if we are going to have peace.

Mr. CUST: At last somebody has blown away the fog of illusion which has obscured the facts in Palestine and told the truth. As a former administrative officer in Palestine, I wish to give my support to the Commission's proposals. Whether it is what some of us thought perhaps might suffice, a federal system of cantons, or whether it is out and out Partition, the principles are the same; and I do think that in this question we must try, now the Report is out, to forget we have pro-Jewish or pro-Arab sympathies and look at it from a pro-British point of view primarily. I do not want to say any more on that point, but I think the best service that can be rendered to the Arabs is not to remind them what they have to give up, but to try and make them realize what they are saving.

I cannot help wondering whether under the Partition system there is not a disturbed feeling as to what our position is going to be there. Mr. Churchill made that very clear in the House of Commons. We are going to be isolated in the small corridor, and outside there are to be two completely independent States, who one day might declare war on one another. There appears to be no technical reason why they could not, as they are both to be members of the League of Nations!

From our point of view, therefore, it might be better if the country was kept together in some form of cantonal system under our control,

though the Report does point out the fact that cantonization was not sufficient because it would not satisfy the nationalism of the two parties. Still, Mr. Stein has said that from the Jewish point of view they would not mind if the Mandate did continue. I think this is rather an interesting development, which perhaps might give us some more food for thought.

Mr. A. M. KHACHADOURIAN: I speak as neither a Jew nor an Arab, but a neighbour of both, who has lived in those parts of the world and has seen the fine Arab change from a fine neighbour to a bad foe. We who live in the Near East, we who are of the Near East, we have felt the loss of this friendship very keenly. The Arab has been a very fine friend, not only to the Englishmen who were there during the war and before, but the Arab was a very fine friend to the Jew.

The Jew has forfeited that friendship.

The Report discusses, amongst other things, a way of disposing of a quarter of a million Arabs. They are to be shooed out of the Jewish State into the desert, because everybody agrees that the Arab State is mainly desert.

We have heard too much of the Jewish finance. The Report speaks too much of it, speaks of money, "baksheesh" of some two million pounds to be given to the Arabs. The Arab does not want this baksheesh. The Arab has grown to a state of self-esteem, self-respect. He has not learnt it from the Jewish example, but by his own realization of his destiny which lies in the Near East, in Palestine, and which will have to lie in Palestine in spite of the Commission's proposals.

The best part of the Commission's Report is that all of the Report I have read is most definite. It speaks its mind with such clearness that I am sure Sir John Simon envies it for his Indian Report. It is definite, and above everything it is something to start with, and I think that the Jews, who have asked for the moon, should be very satisfied with what they have been given.

I have travelled in the Near East, and unfortunately I have seen as many leaving Palestine as I have seen going there. Every boat leaving Haifa is full of emigrants who are emigrating to Argentina and elsewhere, and for better prospects. That is not the spirit in which the colonization of a new country starts. First, the Jews must have instilled in them the spirit of the missionary. They must go to the new land with the spirit of their forefathers when they left Egypt. Until that spirit returns to the Jew, that of tolerance to the native Arab, and not

that of bullying him, not that of carrying the Arab as a burden on their shoulders, which the Arab does not want, nor of "Niggerization" of the Arab; until that spirit returns Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Stein, and others will have to go a long way in working towards it.

Mr. ASKARI: We have heard to-night quite a lot about the proposed scheme of Partition, and its advantages and disadvantages to either side. Mr. Stein said that he regretted the loss of certain potash works in the Arab State and some hydro-electric plant also on the River Jordan. I would like to remind Mr. Stein and people who regret this loss that all the chemical works of the world combined and the hydro-electric plants are hardly a compensation for the loss of even a small town like Accra.

Further, he regrets that the Jewish State will have to pay a heavy subsidy to the Arab State. Already two million pounds have been proposed. If, as we are led to believe, prosperity amongst the Arabs has been increasing because of Jewish immigration, then two million pounds is a very large sum.

Further, in the Jewish towns, which he says will not be under Jewish jurisdiction, even so there is very little chance of survival for an Arab in those towns, and Haifa, which is the most important town not only in Palestine but in the Near East, is going to be lost politically to the Arabs.

Even though the area proposed for the Jewish State is small, I hardly believe that any friend of Arabia could sincerely advise the surrender of Galilee with almost one quarter of a million Arabs.

Practically every Jew has agreed to the Partition, but they all ask for more. Some people want Beersheba, others Transjordan, some even ask for Sinai.

Mr. Humphrey Bowman and Mr. Cust have said Partition is the only possible thing, and they are glad at last something is going to be workable. Mr. Jeffries has said it cannot work.

I would like to add further that even if it were made to work by force, how long would it last?

Mr. BAKSTANSKY: I did not contemplate saying anything to-night because I came here determined to hear, in addition to the speakers, the reaction of an English audience to the Report. But the remarks of the last few speakers have exhausted my patience.

The impression is being conveyed that this Partition scheme does everything for the Jews, satisfies completely their aspirations, and that it is the Arabs who are the aggrieved party. Anybody who faces this solution with anything like fairmindedness must realize that the truth lies the other way.

I would ask you to reflect that, as a result of the war, and largely owing to the assistance of the Allies, and particularly Great Britain, several Arab independent kingdoms have been established over an area which equals practically the whole of Europe, excluding Russia. I shall not enter into some of the remarks made as to the McMahon pledge. But let me just say this, that we are not very much concerned with what one British ex-officer or another says that he led one or another of the Arabs to believe. I think we are concerned with official and authoritative statements made by representatives of this country, by men who were authorized to negotiate.

When we realize on the one hand the spacious luxuriousness which has been given to the Arabs, and on the other hand that the Jews were promised an area of forty-five thousand square miles, and now you offer them two thousand square miles, there can be no doubt as to who has been let down by the Report. If you are not going to fulfil your promise completely and are going to give only two thousand square miles—the size of Norfolk—in implementing the solemn promise made to the Jews, there is little reason to be surprised at what Mr. Stein called the amazement and bewilderment with which the Jews look at this Report.

I shall not pre-judge the decision which the Jews will adopt at the Zionist Congress, but I should like to endorse some of the misgivings with which we read this Report, not only in so far as the area is concerned, but in so far as the very offer of sovereignty goes.

If you said to the Jews, " We cannot give you all that we promised, but you will be masters in your own house," you might have been offering sovereignty—but even sovereignty is not being granted. It has already been made clear that all the large towns with the exception of Tel Aviv are to be subjected to temporary mandates. I should be glad if the Chairman would define what " temporary mandates " are. I think you held a temporary mandate in Egypt for a period which extended over fifty years.

The Jews look with great apprehension at the offer of this tiny area, which is accompanied by conditions which deprive the Jews of sovereignty and the possibility of developing their home in accordance with their aspirations and to satisfy the needs of Jewry in many countries.

When people speaking from this platform proclaim that this Jewish problem should not be linked up with Palestine, let them ask themselves this question, What does Palestine mean to the Jewish people if it

does not provide a home for the Jews who are oppressed and persecuted and homeless in Europe? Why mislead this audience by saying that there are other countries? There are over-populated countries everywhere to-day. Here you have this vast territory, which in Europe would be occupied by nearly three hundred million people, but which in Arabia is populated by ten million only. And the substance of the Jewish problem is the necessity to provide a home for about five million Jews, who are homeless in Europe.

If Palestine is not going to attempt to solve that problem, of what use is it to the Jew, and of what use is it to humanity, which is endeavouring to solve the Jewish problem?

The CHAIRMAN: This evening has not suffered towards the end from a diminution of interest. I do not propose to sum up in any detail, but one or two of the previous speakers' remarks have struck my attention and may possibly have struck yours.

I agree that there is much to be said on both sides about the McMahon letters, but I do not think it is germane to the discussion to-night; nor do I think that either side is going to get in Geneva very much change out of the citation of the McMahon correspondence.

The bewilderment which Mr. Stein says the Jews were faced with at this news that they were going to be reduced to a country the size of Norfolk was not only their bewilderment; it was the bewilderment of Mr. Ormsby-Gore and the House of Commons, and was shared by the British Government, which was utterly unaware that this very drastic Partition was going to be proposed by the Commission. It was so much bewildered that it is interesting to see that in the Press, by far the two most brilliant speeches, those of Lord Samuel and of Mr. Amery, were ill reported, snubbed and blanketed in the leaders throughout. It was very noticeable, the difference between the tremendous importance of their remarks and the way they were received by the Press—not by the House. The reason was, I think, that we do want such proposals as are put forward by the Government to Geneva to go unanimously, and that, however brilliant the alternatives that are proposed, for the moment we would rather have them not presented until they can be presented on the spot and by the countries competent to settle them.

I was not quite certain how far the more educated Arabs of Palestine would have welcomed one of Mr. Jeffries' suggestions, that they wanted none but a minimum of increased civilization. I do not see them giving up the latest cars and going back to the donkeys they were riding when we came into Palestine. Nor do I think they would be

particularly happy to be governed as the Sudanese in the Sudan. They think, rightly or wrongly, that their culture has advanced a little beyond that stage.

I would like to say that the Royal Central Asian Society has always kept a fair mind in this controversy. Several speakers repeatedly voiced the Arab cause at a time when they could get little or no hearing in the House of Commons or in the public Press, and I think we are entitled to remember that we have to a certain extent been in the forefront and not in the rear of public opinion in this matter. We have insisted on a fair deal for both sides from the beginning, and at a time when other people were not doing so.

I am afraid that both sides—who are now crying that neither of them can yield one inch—will find that neither is going to get 100 per cent. of their desires. There seems to be disappointment on both sides. I hope it will be reduced to a minimum, but if either thinks it is going to get away with 100 per cent., it is doomed to disappointment.

I thank the speakers for the admirable temper displayed throughout this meeting and the audience for their sympathy.

CITRUS AND OLIVES: THE FRUITS OF PARTITION

(Communicated)

In connection with the proposed Partition of Palestine as outlined in the Report of the Royal Commission, I should like to draw the attention of your readers to a fact that seems to have escaped general recognition —namely, that the whole of the maritime fruit belt will be included in the Jewish State. This industry was wholly, and still is nearly half, Arab; it is their great export. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of this fact, as it will mean that the citrus trade, the staple industry of Palestine, will, at no very distant date, be handed over to the Jews. Much of it is already in their hands, but something should be done to prevent it becoming a Zionist monopoly.

The area under citrus on March 31, 1937, was estimated in the Agricultural Supplement No. 18 of the *Palestine Gazette* No. 698 to be approximately 298,000 dunums, which represents an increase of 20,000 dunums during the year. It is estimated that as many as fifty thousand persons are employed as labourers and packers in the industry and in connected occupations.

The Arabs possess, or did until recently, 135,000 dunums of citrus

plantation in the maritime belt, representing an investment of £6,500,000. They have been steadily increasing their orange plantations as the markets expand, having about six times the amount of land laid out for this purpose that they had before the war.

Mr. M. T. Dawe, Director of the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries in Palestine, said in evidence before the Royal Commission, that he was carrying out a Citrus Survey, but that, as it was not concluded, he could not give the exact figures of land owned by Jews and Arabs.

Mr. Tolkowsky, General Manager of the Jaffa Citrus Exchange, in his evidence stated that the Royal Commission must realize the very important part that the citrus industry played in the life of Palestine, "both from the point of view of the value of its exports, absolutely and relatively to the general exports of the country, and from the point of view of the number of people to whom it gives employment."

He then gave some interesting figures regarding the present position of the industry and the remarkable expansion that is confidently expected in the future. The sum invested is believed to be in excess of £P.300,000. The exports have increased from about 2,000,000 cases in 1925 to over 7,000,000 in 1935.

With regard to the land under citrus cultivation owned respectively by Jews and Arabs, he stated that at the end of 1935 the Jews had 153,000 dunums under citrus cultivation. Assuming that the total extent of land under citrus cultivation was now 300,000 dunums, the Arabs must have owned the balance, approximately 147,000 dunums.

Speaking of the future, Mr. Tolkowsky said that 300,000 dunums are now under citrus plantation, and he estimated that, within ten years, about twenty-five million boxes of fruit will be available for yearly export, as compared with seven and one-third million boxes in 1934-35.

With regard to the financial turnover, I find that the figures supplied by the Jewish Agency for 1929-30 show the value of fruit exported from Jewish orange, grape fruit and lemon plantations to be about £300,000. According to statistics of the Palestine Department of Agriculture, published in the Imperial Economic Committee's "Weekly Fruit Intelligence Notes," shipments of citrus fruit from Palestine have risen from 2,469,000 boxes in 1930-31 to 10,790,000 boxes in 1936-37.

It is evident that this most important and vital industry, which is also one that the Arabs have successfully cultivated for many years, should not be lost to them as it must be if the whole of the citrus belt is to be included in the Jewish State.

The next industry in importance is that connected with olives, and the suggestion of handing over Galilee to the Jews, where some of the finest olive groves in Palestine are to be found, will deal a blow to that industry.

The big industrial enterprises are already in the hands of the Jews. What is left to the Arab State?

BEATRICE ERSKINE.

AN EMPTY QUARTER: THE NEGEV AREA OF SOUTHERN PALESTINE

By MAJOR C. S. JARVIS, C.M.G., O.B.E.

DURING the recent discussion on the Report of the Palestine Commission Sir Henry Lawrence drew attention to the fact that under the partition scheme the barren area of that country was to be allotted to the people least able to exploit it. Exploitation of the desert means capital, and this the Arab lacks, and it also means initiative and unremitting toil in the face of hardships and disappointments, and to withstand these cheerfully and optimistically something more than ordinary land hunger is necessary.

It would seem that the Jews, who are denied the right to exist in a considerable part of Europe, can supply the type of pioneer to hew an existence out of the barren lands of Palestine; and in the south they are barren indeed. In this respect we have to revise the opinion, so freely advanced in the very early days of the Mandate, when grave doubts were expressed by everyone as to the possibility of Jewry finding the right type of agriculturist to make the best of Palestine. Jews, we all said, were traders, shopkeepers, and financiers by instinct and would never work for a mere living on the soil. The fallacy of this is proved by their various reclamation works of sand dunes and malaria swamps, Afule and Lake Hule to quote two of many.

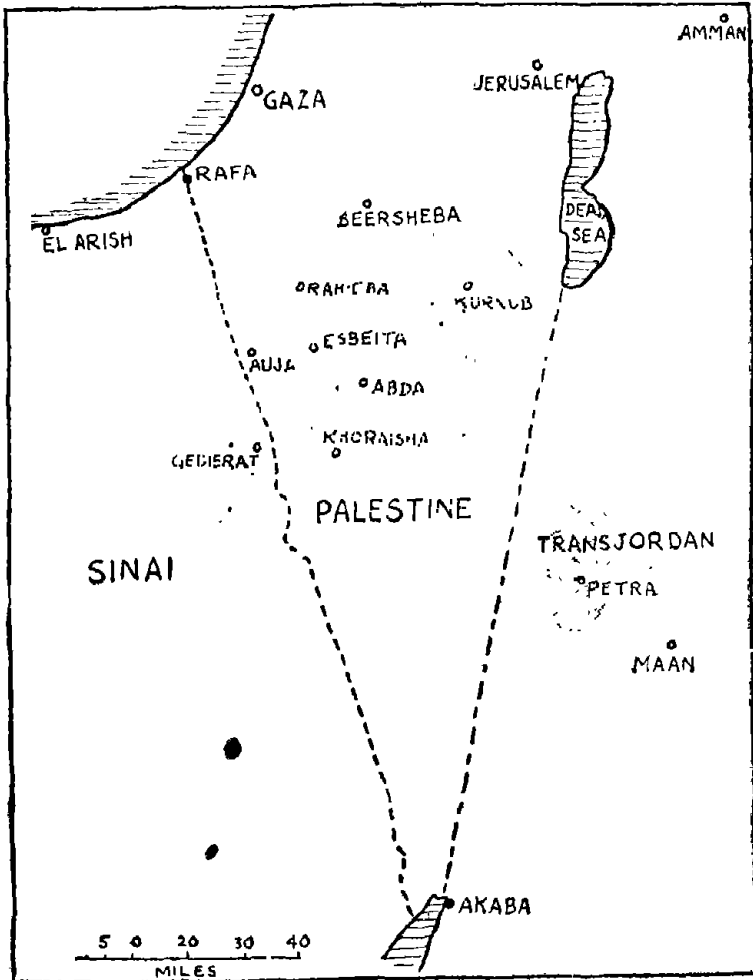
There has been a considerable amount of discussion lately in various newspapers with regard to the handing over to the Jews of what is loosely termed the Negev or Negev Area in Southern Palestine, and the general consensus of opinion appears to be that on, and south of, a line drawn from Gaza to Beersheba there is practically no Arab population worth speaking of and no cultivation. This is very far from correct, for Gaza, Deir el Belah and Khan Yunis have a very considerable number of inhabitants of the Arab fellah type and a still larger number of Beduin of the Terrabin tribe, who are losing their nomadic instinct and settling on the land. The Beersheba area also, though it has a comparatively small population of the fellah type, is inhabited by several large sections of Beduin tribes, who live in the vicinity cultivating rain-crop barley and wheat, and grazing goats and sheep.

The land is not fully exploited and of recent years the Beduin have been selling plots in the vicinity of Beersheba to the Jews, but owing to the recent troubles little has been done to work up these holdings, and from what I know of this area and its inhabitants it could not be handed over to a Jewish state without adding considerably to the existing racial controversy.

One is fairly safe in saying that so far the enmity between the Jews and Arabs has been confined to those Arabs who are really fellah and who are stabilized on the land, and there has been no friction worth mentioning with the Beduin nomad for the simple reason that few Beduin live in the areas occupied by the Jews. This explains the somewhat lukewarm attitude in the controversy shown by the Beduin of the deserts. Arab propagandists would have us believe that the nomad Beduin is boiling with national fervour and is waiting to march to the assistance of his countrymen in Palestine. I cannot answer for the tribes that live in northern and central Trans-Jordan, but so far as Sinai and the Southern Palestine tribes are concerned complete lack of interest is shown, and in some cases the tribesmen hardly know that an Arab-Jew situation exists. The Beduin is very parochial and looks at everything from a personal and tribal standpoint, and the truth of the matter is he is entirely unaffected so far. If, however, a considerable area of his land were handed over to a Jewish state, and as the result he would have to deal with Jewish administrative officials and police, instead of British and Palestinian, there would, I imagine, be a considerable amount of trouble.

The Beduin does not admit relationship with the Arab fellah of the Palestinian villages, although the aforesaid propagandists would have us believe so, but there are any number of intricate relationships between tribes, and family feeling is very strong. As a proof of this I might quote the various small tribes of Sinai, who one and all are related or connected in some way with larger sections living in the Nile Valley, Trans-Jordan and Arabia. If any serious tribal trouble occurs there is at once an influx of distant cousins from over the border quite willing to take an active hand in affairs. This is a factor that should be considered if the question of handing over the northern part of what the Jews call the Negev should arise.

The land in the northern part of the Negev is of variable quality. On the sea shore and extending inland for some ten miles or so it is sand with only a trace of loam in it. Water can be found at depths varying from six to a hundred feet, and citrus and almond plantations

are already being started, while tomatoes and water-melon cultivation is extensive. East of this area the land is generally a light loamy clay, and the whole of it is cultivated in rotation by the Beduin with rain-crop barley and wheat. The yield is, of course, on the whole poor, and it is only once in five years that a really good harvest is obtained.

Rough sketch map of Negev Area of Palestine. The shaded portion indicates the area which was developed during the Roman occupation.

South of this area there are stretches of sand dune country with wadis or depressions in which water flows in winter and in which good crops are obtained, but the area cultivated is of necessity very limited. In addition to the sand area there are vast stretches of gravelly-clay up-

lands also intersected with wadis, and these are cultivated in the same way.

Under the existing system every bit of possible land is more or less used in what one might call the best Arab style, and though better organized methods of farming might improve matters, the improvement would not be considerable unless irrigation from wells was employed. This so far is more or less of an unknown quantity, for the average well would have to be, to strike the subsoil water, anything from 100 to 300 feet; water-raising from this depth is an expensive and possibly a non-economical proposition; there is a considerable amount of doubt whether, when it was obtained, the water would not be too saline for irrigation purposes; and so far there are no data available as to the likelihood of striking artesian water. There is also such a thing as mining for water, and artesian wells, judging from reports from Western Australia, are far from being infallible.

One may say, in fact, that the very up-to-date and hard-working Byzantine of the sixth century appears to have done very little more in this area than the Beduin are doing to-day beyond the fact that their anti-scouring dams in the small wadis were in a better state of preservation. These anti-scouring dams were merely orderly rows of stones across the depressions constructed every seventy yards or so to spread the water over the flat bottom of the valley, to distribute the valuable silt evenly, and to prevent the force of water scoring out a deep channel in the centre and leaving the rest of the wadi dry. The Beduin are keeping these up to a certain extent, but there are also many valleys where the floods have been allowed to have their own way and where a deep cut is the result, with no cultivation.

It is when one goes south of a line between Beersheba to Auja on the Sinai frontier that one strikes a country which presents a very intriguing problem. It is rocky, hilly country with limestone predominating, and the high plateau is cut in every direction by sudden valleys and depressions. Here until the Arab invasion, and possibly hanging on for a few hundred years afterwards, was an extensive Byzantine settlement with the remains of six stone-built towns, the ruins of which are still standing and fairly intact. They are Kurnub, Abda, Rahieba, Auja, Esbeita and Khoraisha, and each of these towns accommodated, according to antiquarians, from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, and in addition in every valley in this area one sees the ruins of a farm-house, the fallen walls of orchards, and the lines of terracing and water conduits. The wells and springs are few and far between, and it is obvious

that the inhabitants relied on the rainfall for their irrigation and water supply as there are dams in most of the wadis, cisterns and tanks in every town, and dotted all over the area on the hillsides innumerable *harabas* or underground reservoirs carved out of the solid rock. Many of these are still in use, but they probably represent only a tenth part of those that originally existed, and which are now quite silted up and hidden except for the heap of cut rubble by the side of the opening.

It is obvious that in this area, which is about 50 miles by 40 miles, a population existed which is estimated at from 50,000 to 100,000. This may be accounted for to some extent by the fact that in the latter days of the Roman Empire there was extensive trade from farther East that came up the Wadi Araba and also across Sinai from Suez, but the requirements of parties of travelling merchants cannot have accounted for all this population.

Experts hold the opinion that there has been little or no change in the climate, and that the rainfall of to-day is probably the same as that obtaining thirteen hundred years ago. Personally I think it has deteriorated slightly—say to the extent of two rainstorms a year—and this, of course, has had some effect, as frequently half an inch of rain at the right time makes all the difference between success and failure with rain crops. There is, however, still sufficient rain each year to fill all the existing *harabas* twice during the winter.

To-day in this one-time thriving area there is practically no population at all. A few families from the Palestine Azazma and the Sinai Teaha eke out a half-starved existence in some of the valleys, and farther south the Sinai Lehewat and the Trans-Jordan Howietat—sworn enemies from long ago—squabble over grazing, water and charcoal rights, but to all intents and purposes this big stretch of country is an Empty Quarter.

If, say, 75,000 people lived here thirteen hundred years ago and made a living by cultivating olives, vines, almonds, and barley and wheat to a lesser extent, it is not unreasonable to hope that some 10,000 to 15,000 settlers could make both ends meet there to-day if the old water systems and dams were repaired. It would not be an easy task, for thirteen hundred years of neglect could not be reconstructed at once, and it would take time for the rich silt from the hills to collect again in the terracing and the wadis. These old-time Roman orchards, however, can be reconstructed, as whilst I was in Sinai the Government undertook the settlement of some of the Beduin in hills on the Palestine frontier, and the growth of olive trees, vines and almonds was

phenomenal. Agricultural experts from the Nile Valley stated that they had not seen olives make such remarkable growth in any other part of the country.

If the Jews think that their settlers can make something of this harsh wilderness there is no possible objection to their taking it over and attempting the task. It would, in fact, be a dog in the manger attitude to refuse them, for the land has been lying disused for some thousand years and will in all probability remain in this state. No question of hardship to an existing population can arise, for in a sense there is none. The few families of starving Beduin existing in the area could be handsomely compensated for any rights they might possess, but in all probability they would prefer to remain and benefit from the prosperity that the new settlers would bring with them as there would be a demand for camel transport, which the Beduin could supply, and also for labour. Beduin labour is, I admit, not entirely satisfactory, but this is largely due to under-nourishment, not to say virtual starvation. It has been my experience that after six months' or a year's proper feeding the Beduin can put in quite a useful day's work, and is, moreover, much brighter and quicker on the uptake as the result. This, of course, in the eyes of some people is the rankest form of heresy, for in their opinion this romantic race should be left unspoilt in its state of nomadic charm—in other words, a condition of such extreme penury that a woman with two living children is a rarity among the tribes.

The area in question—*i.e.*, south of a line from Auja to Beersheba to the Gulf of Akaba—is something like 100 by 50 miles, but of this only the northern portion was exploited by the Romans. South of the old village of Khoraisha there is a harsh sandy and stony desert that appears to be fairly hopeless. Nevertheless, at the infrequent wells and springs self-sown date palms flourish in profusion, and it is possible that the Jewish settlers might exploit the existing water supplies and find others by means of deep bores.

Last but not least there are the quite unexploited fisheries of the Gulf of Akaba, where red and grey mullet, crayfish, rock-cod, bream, and various types of mackerel and pilchard abound. The Arab fishermen of these coasts would welcome the advent of some form of fish-marketing, and possibly a fish-canning factory might result as the catches are fruitful enough to warrant extension.

Strategically, and from the purely personal point of view of the British Empire, a small independent Jewish state between Arab Trans-Jordan and Egyptian Sinai would be no bad thing. In time of war

the inhabitants might be between the devil and the deep sea, but the Jew of to-day has lived so long with the devil and the deep sea on either side of him that this will not act as a deterrent, and he will survive.

The point is that a Jewish state would in all probability be a pro-British state—at any rate for a considerable time to come. Gratitude among nations is admittedly a very doubtful commodity, and one can put about as much reliance in gratitude as one can in any solemn treaty or pact made between two nations—in other words, nil. Nations, however, do not forget wrongs quite as readily as they forget assistance and friendship, and there are certain states in Europe with strong views on Empire extension who cannot expect the Jews to entertain very warm feelings for them.

There has been and always will be a considerable amount of flirtation with the various Arab peoples on the part of potentates and dictators of countries looking for expansion and world power. Most of us will remember the ex-German Emperor's ardent courtship of the Mid-Eastern Arabs in the days prior to the war, and now we learn that the real devout lover and true friend of the Arab race and the defender of the Muslim faith is none other than Mussolini of Italy. Judging by the photographs we saw of his visit to Libya the Libyan Arab appears to have believed it, but of course one must make some allowance for the fact that the Arab is always polite and is a first-class actor into the bargain. The fact remains, however, that the Arab is definitely susceptible to advances if the advances are sufficiently ardent and convincing, and in time of war, or just prior to the outbreak of hostilities, they are all that and more.

GROWING PAINS IN 'IRAQ

KING FEISAL died when 'Iraq was too young a state to guide itself. Its troubles are growing pains, inevitable to the child, a child which has, moreover, a long history of revolts and murders behind it. It still lacks the solid frame which would enable the business of a modern state to be carried on in spite of eruptions in the political arena. So the Bekir Sidki episode, painful as it has been, is only one of a sequence of difficulties which have been forced on the state in recent years, owing to the shortage of experienced statesmen trained in administrative work. This lack is at the root of 'Iraq's troubles.

In pre-war days a man taking up an administrative career would complete his education in Stamboul and would then graduate in the service of the Turkish army or civil service. But few of those qualified by birth to lay the foundations in 'Iraq adopted such a career and practically none returned to the country after the war; the men who have been guiding the country and have borne the burden of government for fifteen years belonged in general to a group of Army officers who joined King Feisal and fought on Allenby's right flank.

Nor were there among them men belonging to the Shiah sect of Moslems whose help would be so desirable. In pre-war days these men, although qualified by family and influence for leadership, took up no career, for they lacked the education and essential training in affairs, the burden of ministerial duty was generally distasteful to them and the work of the " bureau " beyond their ability.

The young men are coming on but are not yet ready for leadership, and the successive Cabinets have been formed with very slightly varying alterations. Their tenure of office has been too brief to allow them to deal effectively with the badly needed reorganization, or with the revision of obsolete laws, nor have they faced the necessity for a trained civil service. The 1935 Cabinet was formed of a group of these men and lasted until towards the end of 1936. At the time it seemed as if a sufficiently long and peaceful run could be secured to allow of some useful work, but those out of office were impatient for a change which would bring them in again, and there were, as there must be, critics—together they furnished the material for Bekir Sidki's *coup d'état* of October, 1936. The leaders, however, employed violent methods, and such serious and unforeseen accidents resulted from the use of these

methods that many influential people stood aside from the new Cabinet. General Bekir Sidki, who was essentially a soldier and not a politician, was compelled to lend his active support to a weak Cabinet. In January, 1937, the Euphrates tribes repeated their 1935 rising, the army was used to suppress the rebellion, and Bekir Sidki made enemies of the tribal leaders; also, as in all such *coups d'état,* the men who were looking forward to advancement under the old régime and were not in favour with the new had no love for their new chief. Periodically during the last few months danger had followed him from many directions and caught up with him on that last evening in Mosul as he was leaving to attend the Turkish autumn manœuvres, to which the 'Iraq Chief of Staff had, as in previous years, been formally invited.

Bekir Sidki was an extremely capable military officer. It is known that he coveted supreme power in the army and had ambitious and far-reaching plans for it, but it is more than doubtful if he ever desired political power, or to be Dictator, as foreign journalists made out—nor did he want responsibility for administration, but it was only by a clean sweep of the coalesced governing group that he could attain immediately the military position he desired. This was the reason for the violence of his methods, his rise and his downfall.

It is to the machinery of government, to the training of the younger men in the ways of sound administration, to the badly needed law reforms that the new Cabinet should turn its full attention. It is composed of the older men with years of experience behind them, and it is to be hoped that they will be given a sufficiently long spell of office to make the necessary changes, and also that they will call into the service of the country those Shiah leaders whose assistance would be invaluable. General Maude, stricken suddenly with cholera, said: "I can't go down to the office to-day, tell them they must carry on." This should be a motto for 'Iraq—whatever volcanic disturbances take place on the political side, there must still be a trained administrative staff, drawn from all sections in the country, free from too great personal ambition and from political parties, trained to carry on.

THE DELIMITATION OF THE IRANO-AFGHAN FRONTIER FROM SIAH KUH (SEISTAN) TO THE HASHTADAN PLAIN

In 1935 General Fakhur-u-Din Altai, a distinguished Turkish officer, was appointed arbitrator between the Iranian and Afghan Governments, with a mission to settle the Irano-Afghan boundary on the undefined section from Siah Kuh, in the vicinity of Bandan, to a point where General MacLean, in 1891, commenced the demarcation of the boundary of the Hashtadan Plain.

The new boundary at first runs due north, and leaving Duruh to Iran, from opposite that village it turns north-north-west and then north-north-east to Yezdan, around which village it circles, thus leaving it to Iran. From the vicinity of Yezdan the boundary swings north-west for a short distance, but finally resumes a general north-north-west direction to latitude 34° 15′. There it bends due east to the previously demarcated point 39 on the Hashtadan Plain. This alignment has been accepted by both Governments and concludes the delimitation of the frontiers of both countries.

PALESTINE ROYAL COMMISSION REPORT

PRESENTED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES TO PARLIAMENT BY COMMAND OF HIS MAJESTY, JULY, 1937.

His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937. Pp. 404 and maps. 6s. 6d. net.

WHEN the long-expected Report of the Palestine Royal Commission was issued to the world on July 8, the prevalent opinion was one of surprise not unmixed in some quarters with consternation. It is true that rumour had been busy for some weeks before its publication, and the fateful word "Partition" had been mentioned in Great Britain and in Palestine as the solution which the Commission had favoured. But no one knew for certain, still less did anyone know the conditions on which such a solution might be recommended. The acceptance of the Report by His Majesty's Government did not make it easier for its critics, whether British, Arab or Jew. In the Statement of Policy, published by His Majesty's Government simultaneously with the Report, occur the words: "In the light of experience and of the arguments adduced by the Commission they (His Majesty's Government) are driven to the conclusion that there is an irreconcilable conflict between the aspirations of Arabs and Jews in Palestine, that these aspirations cannot be satisfied under the terms of the present Mandate, and that a scheme of Partition on the general lines recommended by the Commission represents the best and most hopeful solution of the deadlock. His Majesty's Government propose to advise His Majesty accordingly."

It was therefore clear from the outset that the Government had decided to accept the recommendations of the Report, and had committed themselves to implementing them, though the words "*on the general lines* recommended by the Commission" might be taken to mean that it was the principle of Partition rather than the specific details relating to it in the Report to which they were committed. This assumption has since been proved to be correct, as the debates in Parliament showed: and though the Secretary of State has pressed his case at Geneva before the Permanent Mandates Commission, he has made it clear that no action will be taken by his Government until a detailed scheme has been elaborated and submitted to Parliament for its ratification.

In Great Britain the Report had a generally favourable Press. All the leading newspapers acknowledged it to be "a great state-paper," expressed in a style which was a model for all such documents, and attacking the problem in a way that was as courageous as it was original. The solution proposed was also generally regarded by the British Press as the best, not because it would necessarily lead to certain success, but because, in the words of the Report: "Partition offers a possibility of obtaining a final solution of the problem which does justice to the rights and aspirations of both the Arabs and the Jews and discharges the obligations we undertook towards them twenty years ago to the fullest extent that is practicable in the circumstances of the time" (p. 396). No other proposal seemed possible to the Commission; no other proposal, in the light of the Report, seemed possible to His Majesty's Government; no other proposal seems to the present writer equally hopeful of ultimate success.

Nevertheless, the Report has been the subject of severe criticism in the United Kingdom by persons of various shades of opinion, both in Parliament and the Press. In Palestine itself it has found little favour among either Arabs or Jews. The Arabs of all parties have rejected the idea of Partition as being incompatible with their aspirations; they lay special stress on the "injustice" of handing over Galilee with its large Arab population to the Jewish State, and of conceding for ever the fertile maritime plain—"The Orange Free State"—to the Jews. Those who wish to regard cynically this adverse criticism on the part of the Arabs will remember that, before the Royal Commission left England, the Arab Higher Committee pressed the Secretary of State to commit himself beforehand to accepting the recommendations of the Commission's Report, whatever they might be, and Mr. Ormsby-Gore's quite proper refusal of this request was one of the reasons alleged by the Arab Committee for boycotting the Commission on arrival in Palestine.

The Jews, too, dislike the idea of Partition. The area of the Jewish State is in their opinion far too small to absorb the number of immigrants who may wish to settle there; the proposed frontier is difficult to defend; they contemplate with special disfavour the idea of paying a subvention for the benefit of the Arabs; and they bitterly resent the loss of Jerusalem—"Zionism without Zion." Nevertheless, there are signs that the Jews are willing to consider the scheme, though not on the terms proposed. At the Zionist Congress at Zürich in August Dr. Weizmann, in face of strong opposition, seems to have urged accept-

ance of Partition while emphasizing the importance of bargaining for a good deal more than has so far been offered.

One is sometimes inclined to wonder if all those who have criticized the idea of Partition have read the whole Report. Out of a total of 397 pages (excluding appendices), 368 are devoted to a masterly analysis of the situation in Palestine, and to various recommendations submitted for dealing with the main grievances under the Mandate put before the Commission by the Arabs and the Jews. " But they are not," state the Commissioners on page 368, " in our opinion, the recommendations which our terms of reference require. They will not, that is to say, ' remove ' the grievances, nor ' prevent their recurrence.' They are the best palliatives we can devise for the disease from which Palestine is suffering, but they are only palliatives. They might reduce the inflammation and bring down the temperature, but they cannot cure the trouble. The disease is so deep-rooted that, in our firm conviction, the only hope of a cure lies in a surgical operation." The remaining 29 pages cover the proposals according to which this operation can best be performed.

One of the criticisms aimed at the Report has indeed been that a minimum of space has been devoted to such a far-reaching and revolutionary scheme as Partition. Is not the answer to be found in the fact that so much space has been given to the problem itself in all its complexity, and to proving that the recommendations put forward if the present Mandate is to continue do not lead to a final solution but are only " palliatives "?

The Report is divided into three parts, entitled respectively, " The Problem," " The Operation of the Mandate," and " The Possibility of a Lasting Settlement." Part I. describes in five illuminating chapters the historical background, the War and the Mandate, Palestine from 1920 to 1936, the disturbances of 1936, and the present situation. Its importance lies partly in the clearly-drawn picture of present-day Palestine, with its ardent dual nationalism and fierce racial cleavage, and partly in the answer it gives to the first question raised in the terms of reference. The section headed " The Underlying Causes " summarizes in three lines (p. 110) those causes as follows:

> " (i.) The desire of the Arabs for national independence.
> " (ii.) Their hatred and fear of the establishment of the Jewish National Home."

Other factors are given, but these are rightly described as complementary or subsidiary.

Part II., " The Operation of the Mandate," deals exhaustively wit the Administration of Palestine, with questions of finance, land, an immigration, with such public services as health, works, and education and, finally, with local government and self-governing institutions. I Chapter XIX. are summarized the conclusions and recommendation of the Commission, which here answer the second and third question contained in their terms of reference, namely: " To enquire into th manner in which the Mandate is being implemented in relation to th obligations of the Mandatory towards the Arabs and the Jews respe tively; and to ascertain whether . . . either the Arabs or the Jews hav any legitimate grievances."

While admitting that the Government has carried out its supremel difficult task satisfactorily in certain important respects, the Commissio do not disguise their strictures on the shortcomings of the Palestin Administration. These are, in the Commission's view, the failure t provide public security; delay in the preparation of a record of righ of property, and in the ascertainment and registration of Governme ownership; insufficient experimentation in testing the possibilities irrigation in Southern Palestine; and insufficient extension of eleme tary Arab education (p. 364). That these strictures are deserved, ca hardly be gainsaid; but the shortcomings are mainly due, we believ to the lack of a known and continuous policy. Centralization in th Secretariat, which is also censured in the Report, has not supplied " five-year plan " or even a one-year plan. But how could any plan b evolved when the ultimate future remained uncertain? For this, H Majesty's Government rather than the Palestine Administration mu be held primarily responsible.

The Commission further emphasize the extreme leniency shown b the Palestine Government in the troubles that arose between 1920 an 1936. " After each successive outbreak, punishment was sparing an clemency the rule; there was no real attempt at disarmament, nor an general repression " (p. 140). They are precluded by their terms reference from commenting on the Government's handling of the di turbances of 1936, but they " feel bound to say that it carried the polic of conciliation to its farthest possible limit " (p. 140). The point he raised is not the wisdom or unwisdom of a policy of conciliation; it that the policy has failed. In the words of the Report, " conciliatio has now been tried for 17 years, and at the end the Arabs, taken as whole, are more hostile to the Jews and much more hostile to th Government than they were at the beginning " (p. 140). While th

may be true, it is at least doubtful if a sternly repressive policy would have had any better effect.

Most of the Arab grievances, " though sincerely felt," cannot, in the opinion of the Commission, be regarded as legitimate under the terms of the Mandate, and it is only with regard to the last, that of inadequate funds for Arab education, that the Commission suggest a remedy. They rightly recommend increased expenditure on this head, especially in the direction of village agricultural schools (p. 365).

Certain recommendations are made regarding Jewish grievances, such as more decentralization in Government, careful selection of British officers for service in Palestine, and the appointment of more British judges. Various proposals regarding land and land settlement are made with a view to facilitating close settlement by the Jews while safeguarding the rights and position of the Arabs, and to expediting land settlement and irrigation. As to immigration, the subject upon which controversy between the Jews and the Government has always centred, the Commission recommend a political " high level " of 12,000 a year for the next five years (p. 367). As to failure to ensure public security, which the Commission regard as the most serious as well as the best founded of the Jewish complaints, they recommend the immediate declaration of martial law should disorders again break out, followed by the disarmament of the population. Various other measures, such as a strong Press Ordinance, a larger reserve of the Police Force, and Police Barracks are also recommended (p. 368).

Such in very brief outline are the main recommendations of the Royal Commission, on the understanding that the Mandate is to continue as it is. But, as stated above, they are regarded only as " palliatives," and will not, in the words of the last part of the terms of reference, remove the grievances nor prevent their recurrence.

Thus we come to the final part of the Report, " The Possibility of a Lasting Settlement." It may be said that as the Commissioners unanimously recommend Partition as the best means to this end, and as His Majesty's Government have decided to act on this recommendation, the above description, however brief and inadequate, of all that precedes Part III. is superfluous here. It may be argued that the recommendations outlined above, on the supposition that the Mandate will continue unchanged, are now purely academic, and that the reviewer should deal only with the contents of Part III. But most readers of the Report will agree that the arguments put forward in Parts I. and II. are

essential to a proper comprehension of the ultimate finding of th Commission. "We cannot," state the Commissioners (p. 374) "—i Palestine as it now is—both concede the Arab claim to self-governmen and secure the establishment of the National Home." And agai (p. 375): "Manifestly the problem cannot be solved by giving eithe the Arabs or the Jews all they want. The answer to the questio 'Which of them in the end will govern Palestine?' must surely b 'Neither.' . . . But, while neither race can justly rule all Palestine, w see no reason why, if it were practicable, each race should not rul part of it." These important statements cannot properly be appreciate without an understanding of all that precedes them.

The Commissioners, before discussing the details of Partition, de vote a chapter to another alternative that has been proposed—namel Cantonization. They refer specifically to the paper read by Mr. Arche Cust before the Society (*Journal*, vol. xxiii., p. 206), and give an outlin of his proposals. They believe, however, that there are serious dis advantages in the scheme as a permanent solution. One of these the difficulty inherent in drafting a federal constitution that will b satisfactory to two cantons, mutually hostile, each of which woul resent interference by the central Government. Other difficulti pointed out are those of finance and public security. Above al "Cantonization does not settle the question of national self-goverr ment," and would not satisfy the aspirations either of the Arabs or c the Jews (p. 379). Though this is doubtless true, it may be questione if, under Partition as proposed by the Commission, either the financi difficulties or those of public security are more satisfactorily solved. subvention to be paid by the Jewish State to the Arab State has alread been rejected in principle by both parties, while the proposed grant c £2,000,000 that Parliament is to be asked to contribute to the Ara State, may well be opposed in the House of Commons, and if paid ma be followed by demands for further assistance from a State which fo many years must remain comparatively poor. Further financial sup port from Parliament is envisaged for the upkeep of the Mandator Government, except in the unlikely event of that Government bein able to pay its way. As to public security, which must involve th protection of the Jewish State from its Arab neighbours for many year to come, this is scarcely mentioned by the Commissioners in thei Partition scheme, except in a reference to Military Conventions to b attached to the Treaties, and the retention of a Mandatory police forc between Jaffa and Tel Aviv. But it is obvious, in spite of treaties

that Great Britain must maintain a strong garrison not only for the protection of the Jewish State, with its vulnerable frontier, but also for the Mandatory enclave, with its special responsibilities for the Holy Places.

Apart from the difficulties of finance and public security, which must be overcome if Partition is to succeed, there is the even greater difficulty of frontier. As the Commissioners point out, "in any scheme of dividing Palestine the primary difficulty lies in the fact that no line can be drawn which would separate all the Arabs from all the Jews" (p. 379). But it is not easy to support the suggestion that the 225,000 Arabs now resident in the proposed Jewish State, the majority of them in Galilee, should either continue to reside there under Jewish rule, or be evacuated elsewhere. The precedent, quoted by the Commissioners, of the exchange of population in Greece and Turkey does not really hold good in this connection. Apart from the circumstances of the case, which are entirely different, the Commission admit that there is no land now available for the Arabs if evicted from their present holdings, and hopes are held out to increase the area of cultivable land by large-scale plans for irrigation and development in Trans-jordan, Beersheba, and the Jordan valley. Would it not be wiser to adjust the frontier, leaving Galilee to the Arabs, and conceding part of the Beersheba area to the Jews? The "large-scale plans" above mentioned must obviously be financed by Great Britain; this is foreshadowed in the Report. But instead of expending British money in that great area to the south, why not let the Jews settle in part of it, where the Arab population is comparatively small and mainly nomadic, where, as is known from recent records, a far larger population once lived in prosperity, and where Jewish enterprise and Jewish money could be expended with profit? On the other hand, the Huleh area, with its large Jewish interests, could hardly be included in the Arab State with the rest of Galilee, and we would prefer to see it added to the British enclave. Since the Lake of Tiberias is to be included therein, this should present no great difficulty. Under this proposal, exchange of population would be reduced to a minimum, and though no doubt objections can be found to this as to any scheme of Partition, we believe that in the end greater justice would be done, and fewer obstacles encountered, if it were adopted. Is it too much to hope that the Frontier Commission, in the event of Partition being finally decided, will take into account its advantages both to Arabs and to Jews, and give it their favourable consideration?

REVIEWS

The Cambridge History of India. Vol. iv.—The Mughul Period. Planned by Sir Wolseley Haig, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E., M.A. Edited by Sir Richard Burn, C.S.I., F.R.A.S.B., M.A. Cambridge University Press. 42s. net.

Nine years have passed since the publication of the third volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, which deals with the Turk and Afghan period and was edited and mainly written by Sir Wolseley Haig. He had also planned, and selected contributors for, the fourth volume, which tells the chequered story of the Mughul Empire. But before its conclusion his health failed, and the work to which he had devoted so much learning and enthusiasm has been carried to completion by Sir Richard Burn, who had already undertaken three chapters and has since rewritten three others from his predecessor's "full notes." Three chapters on Sher Shah and Akbar appear as Sir Wolseley wrote them; other contributions, including a chapter on contemporary Burma by Mr. G. E. Harvey, are by well-known Orientalist scholars. In the final chapter Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., writes of the monuments of the period, and last of all come illustrations of these famous memorials largely provided by the generosity of Sir Dorabji Tata. The preface by the editor is helpful and interesting; the bibliographies are ample and include a Numismatic section; there are chronological and genealogical tables; the maps have been carefully chosen, the last enabling us to trace in present-day India the position of places important in Mughul times; the index is particularly helpful.

In Chapter I. Sir Denison Ross vividly describes the career of Babur, originally chief of the small State Farghana in Trans-Oxiana, descended from Chingiz Khan and Timur, who, "convinced that there is no supremacy and grip on the world without means and resources," after losing his native kingdom to Uzbegs but gaining Kabul, where he proclaimed himself Padishah, resolved not to remain there "the sport of harsh poverty," but also to be Padishah at Delhi. In his remarkable diary Babur says that just then Hindustan was governed by "five Muslim and two pagan (Hindu) rulers." But all his contests were with the forces of the Afghan kingdom of Delhi, which consisted of a collection of semi-independent governorships, and with the Rajput States headed by the Rana of Chitor (Udaipur).

After three hard battles he established his ascendancy as far down country as Patna and was proclaimed Padishah in the Delhi Mosque: but he died before he could consolidate his conquests. He was a fine tactician and, although on occasion savage, a very human and at times genial individual, somewhat addicted to the wine cup, a poet, a diarist, a builder, and a lover of nature. By his own desire he now rests at Kabul, his real capital. His son Humayun did not possess his commanding qualities and was dethroned and chased out of India by the able Afghan, Sher Khan, who

ruled justly and well for six years; but his dynasty was short-lived and feeble; so Humayun fought his way back to Delhi, died from the results of an accident after six months, and was succeeded in 1566 by his son, the famous Akbar, then a boy of thirteen.

Humayun's troubles had been increased by the treachery of his three brothers; and again and again we see how the polygamous system into which the members of this royal house were born set sons against fathers and brothers against brothers, contributing largely to the misfortunes of the empire and the dynasty. As Sir Richard Burn observes, "Even from boyhood hopes of a crown obsessed the sons of an Oriental ruler," and Bernier wrote in 1671 that each was reduced to the cruel alternative of killing his brothers or losing his own life.

The story of Akbar is told by Sir Wolseley Haig in two illuminating chapters. He shows the religious and mystical side of the complex character of this great soldier and emperor, who finally discarded Islam and invented a new faith which included his own deification as vicegerent of God, a religion which gained few adherents and did not survive his death. In his youth he had been placed by his brave and capable guardian Bairam Khan under a Persian tutor who impressed on him the novel principle of "universal toleration," thereby influencing his whole line of thought. But Akbar was a bold soldier and ruler as well as a fervid mystic.

Originally "Padishah" of a shrunken realm "beset by enemies and only partially subdued," he decided that attack was wiser than defence, that he would be "always intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours would rise against him," and that in order to carry out this plan he must have the assistance of the Rajputs, the one martial section of the Hindu caste system. Early in his career he married a Rajput princess who became the mother of his successor, Jehangir, and thereby set an example which was followed by some of his nobles. He further conciliated Hindu opinion by abolishing the "jizya" and causing the Mahabharata to be translated into Persian, as well as by his comprehensive educational policy.* His administrative reforms were designed to secure justice for all alike and to bring his subjects under the direct protection of the Emperor's personal authority, thereby securing them as far as possible from the tyrannies and extortions of assignees and intermediaries. This, of course, could only be done in the plains of Upper India, excluding the areas left in the hands of Rajput chiefs, and must be a gradual process. It was necessary also to insist on honesty and fair dealing on the part of subordinate officials. In all such measures he was assisted by his resolute and capable Hindu minister, Raja Todar Mall, who devised a settlement of the land revenue which would include reasonable consideration for the cultivators. As long as Akbar lived, his great prestige and his known wishes influenced the subordinate rulers of outlying Provinces; but his passion for conquest and dominion carried him too fast and too far, although he made no attempt on Trans-Oxiana, the original home of his family. At his death in 1605 his empire nominally stretched from the confines of Persia to the Bay of Bengal (map

* See *Selections from Educational Records* (Sharpe), I., 2.

2). In view, however, of the lack of communications and the abundance of jungles his control must have been often shadowy over congeries of peoples divided from each other by physical obstacles, by race, and by language. Rebellions, we learn, were frequent; and the last was headed by Jehangir, who submitted and was pardoned. Akbar's desire to subjugate the Shia sovereigns of the Deccan started his successors on a course which eventually opened the way to wide Maratha rebellion and loosened the bolts throughout the empire.

When the inveterate drunkard Jehangir took his father's place and gradually resigned his duties to his wife, Nur Jehan, and her family, administration deteriorated rapidly. The Dutch commercial traveller Pelsaert reported to his employers: "Jehangir is to be regarded as king of the plains or upon roads only, for in many places you can travel only with a strong body of men, or on payment of heavy tolls to rebels. The whole country is enclosed and broken with many mountains, and the people who live in or beyond the mountains know nothing of any king or of Jehangir; they recognize only their Rajas, to whom the country is apportioned by the old tradition. Jehangir, whose name implies that he rules the whole world, must be regarded as ruling only half the dominions he claims, since there are nearly as many rebels as subjects."* Pelsaert states that even near important cities robbers came in force by night and day "like open enemies. The Governors are usually bribed by the thieves to remain inactive, for avarice dominates manly honour, and instead of maintaining troops, they fill their 'mahals' with beautiful women, and seem to have the pleasure-house of the world within their walls." He depicts the dire poverty of the "little fishes," who are "swallowed up by the great monsters of a wild sea."

Sir Richard Burn has written a careful and interesting account of Jehangir's reign and character. He lost Qandahar to the Shah of Persia and encountered armed rebellion from first one and then another of his sons. In spite of artistic and architectural tastes and of a love for nature, he was debauched and weak, as Sir Thomas Roe's report shows. His son and successor, Shah Jehan, was made of sterner stuff. He began by summarily disposing of inconvenient relatives. He then went on to tighten up administration and plunged his army into various wars. He recovered and again lost Qandahar and vainly endeavoured to gain a permanent footing in Trans-Oxiana.† But he penetrated further into the Deccan, availing himself of Maratha assistance. He is best remembered as the builder of the palace and present city of Delhi, of the finest Jami Masjid in India, and of the glorious Taj Mahal at Agra, where he now lies with the wife for whom he designed it. Although his mother and grandmother were Rajput princesses, he was a strict Sunni Muslim and renewed the destruction of Hindu temples. After a protracted war between his four sons he fell into the hands of the victor, Aurangzib, and ended his days as a prisoner at Agra.

The story of the long, disastrous reign of the fanatical Aurangzib is well and clearly told by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the width of whose knowledge is

* *Jehangir's India*, Moreland, p. 58.

† For Shah Jehan's urge towards Trans-Oxiana see p. 204.

equalled by the balance of his judgment and the fulness of his bibliographies. On his accession Aurangzib had taken the title of Alamgir (Universe Grasper), and at his death in 1707 the boundaries of the empire had been pushed to their widest limits.* Yet in fact the whole system was rotting to the core. We are told the tale of Aurangzib's persecutions of Hindus, Rajputs, and Sikhs, of his final destruction of the Shia kingdoms of the Deccan and of the Maratha rebellions led by Shivaji. By 1707, the year of Aurangzib's death, a Maratha kingdom had been established, and the Marathas were masters throughout the Deccan and in parts of Central India. The Imperial army had become undisciplined and demoralized, although for years it had been operating in the Deccan under the eye of the Emperor himself, who had moved to the south with his family and court. In Northern India administration had gravely deteriorated, and lawlessness was universal, "heralding the great anarchy of the eighteenth century." Bernier, in his letter to Colbert (1671), says that "the great Mogul" is really "a foreigner in India," is in a "hostile country, or nearly so"; a country containing "hundreds of Gentiles (Hindus) to one Mogul, or even to one Mahometan." His court is "a medley of Uzbeks, Persians, Arabs, and Turks, or descendants from all these people known by the general appellation of Mogals."† His armies must be at all times numerous. Sir Jadunath Sarkar sums up: "Though it is not true that Aurangzib alone caused the fall of the Mughul empire, yet he did nothing to avert it, but rather quickened the destructive forces already in operation in the land. He never realized that there cannot be a great empire without a great people." The oppressive tyranny with which he treated Hindus, Rajputs, and Sikhs necessarily stimulated widespread revolt, and was extraordinary in a man of so much natural ability, a lover of books, and a clean liver. But he was blinded by fanaticism and excessive reliance on the potentialities of military force.

The penalty was paid in full by his unhappy descendants, who were born into an atmosphere of domestic and political turmoil. Repeatedly, as Mr. H. G. Rawlinson relates, the Maratha confederate chiefs and their Brahman Peshwas struck "at the trunk of the withering tree." The branches fell off of themselves in every direction. Then came the foreign invaders. In 1739 Nadir Shah, the Turkish King of Persia, carried all before him. The first news of his designs had been received with ridicule at Delhi; but after his capture of Kabul, which had until then remained within the empire, "panic succeeded incredulity and increased with every stage of his advance." The Rajputs, who would have rallied round Akbar, would do nothing for the descendant of Aurangzib. The Mughul nobles, "with scarcely an exception," entered into treasonable correspondence with the invader, "who, after massacring and plundering, withdrew," leaving the emperor and his courtiers "agreed only in ill-will to each other." After another decade came the new Afghan king, and in 1761 his crushing victory over the Marathas at Panipat, vividly narrated by Mr. Rawlinson. The Mughul empire had dissolved.

* See map 3.

† Bernier (Constable), p. 209.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes that of all the emperors Akbar alone, "although illiterate and hot-blooded," possessed the genius to "initiate a new policy or legislate for moulding the life of an unborn generation." This is true; but allowance must be made for the fact that geniuses are rare, and that Akbar had in fact bequeathed to his successors a tradition of constant aggression, and an impossible expanse of empire which included large trans-frontier territories. It is remarkable that Kabul, the last of these, was only lost in 1739. And it is not surprising that the pages of the Muslim chroniclers are filled with tales of war diversified by domestic treason and bloodshed. For clear ideas of reactions on administration, and of the economic and social background of the period, we must consult the reports of European observers. Here, too, the long and patient researches of Mr. Moreland, who is deeply read in Eastern and Western records and has for years been in personal contact with Indian economic and agrarian problems, have strengthened our position. Sir Richard Burn, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Mr. Rawlinson have presented various aspects of the background; but the plan of the volume unfortunately included only one chapter from Mr. Moreland's pen. It describes the Empire's Revenue system with admirable clarity, and might well have been supplemented by another on the whole economic and social history of the period.

The last chapter eloquently traces the history of "the imperishable embodiments of all that was best in the minds of the Mughuls."* We are told of the day when Babur, arriving with his army at Delhi and camping by the bank of the Jamna, was met by a scene of desolation caused partly by a recent earthquake which drew from a chronicler the picturesque sentence: "The living thought that the day of judgment had arrived, and the dead that the day of resurrection." Mr. Brown goes on to describe the products of the golden age of Mughul architecture and the subsequent decadence.

I have detected only one slight verbal mistake and no misprints in this volume. The work of the press has been excellent, and the care and industry of the editor are manifest throughout. The book will be invaluable to students of history. H. V. L.

Archæological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Irân. By Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. Numerous illustrations in text, 34 plates, 18 plans, and 4 maps from original surveys. London: Macmillan and Co. £3 3s.

This outstanding and finely produced work records explorations that were carried out in 1931-33 by the veteran explorer with the support of Harvard University—Sir Aurel Stein is an Honorary Fellow of the Fogg Art Museum of that university—and of the British Museum. It is a chronicle of many-sided appeal: the author himself claims that it is "mainly archæological but intended also to serve geographical interests,"

* Quoted in Ronaldshay's *Curzon*, II., 335. Lord Curzon's services to the preservation of these and indeed of all monuments of the past in India were unique.

but there are many who will be eager readers for sheer admiration of a record of pluck and endurance.

The writer describes how the journey that he first projected, "to trace and investigate ancient remains in Hsin-Chiang and Inner Mongolia," came to nought owing to an unfortunate spell of nationalist agitation and obstruction in China. Many of his readers will recall his letter in *The Times* of July 16, 1931, which is reprinted as an appendix to this book. Instead, Sir Aurel Stein turned to an alternative project—to the minds of many archæologists, of equal, if not even greater importance. He applied to the Iranian Government for permission to explore the ancient sites of South-Eastern Īrān, hoping to elucidate further the character and relations of his previous finds (in 1926-28) between that region and the Indus valley —*i.e.*, in British Balūchistān and Makrān. This permission was readily granted to him through the kindly interest of Monsieur A. Godard, Director of Antiques in Īrān.

Meanwhile, in the interval required for the necessary formalities and the provision of a Persian escort, the indefatigable traveller returned to a very favourite study, that of Alexander's Indian campaign. A search for the site, and possibly the remains, of the "twelve great altars" stated by classical authors to have been erected by Alexander on the bank of the River Beās (Hyphasis) in the Panjāb to mark the furthest point of his advance unfortunately produced a negative result; there can be no doubt that they were destroyed by the westward shifting of the river; both topographical and archæological evidence is adduced by the explorer in support of his conclusion. An interesting discussion follows of previous theories as to the point at which Alexander the Great crossed the Jhēlum (Hydaspes) for his great battle with and victory over Poros and his huge army and 200 elephants. By comparison of his own topographical observations with the descriptions given by Arrian and Quintus Curtius, Sir Aurel Stein is led to the conclusion that the site of the crossing was at some distance south-west of Jhēlum, where at Jalālpur a spur of the Salt Range runs down to the river. Haranpur, some 17½ miles west of Jalālpur, fulfils the requirements for the place of Alexander's camp.

Stein also visited sites of interest in the Salt Range described by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang; and he identifies in the ruins of Mūrti near Chōa Saidān Shāh the Jaina shrine described by the pilgrim as in the district of Siṁhapura, whose capital he would locate at the large village of Dulmiāl. There follows an account of a number of ancient mounds in the Shāhpur District on the left bank of the Jhēlum river opposite to the Salt Range, with some general indications as to their probable date from the potsherds and ancient coins picked up at the sites or bought in the neighbouring villages.

With Chapter III begins the account of the Iranian journey, starting on January 4, 1932, from Gwādur, a place already visited by the explorer (*An Archæological Tour in Gedrosia*, 1927-28). The long series of sites examined presents a very varied interest, from the many mounds of prehistoric and Muhammadan date, and the burial cairns of Damba-Kōh, with their vessels of iron as well as pottery, to ruined strongholds, and the

deserted mediæval ports on the coast of the Persian Gulf. Many seem to call for thorough excavation; for instance, the mounds of Chāh Husainī, west of Bampūr, chief town of Iranian Makrān and former stronghold of the redoubtable Dōst Muḥammad Khān. Sir Aurel Stein's long programme of exploration would only permit of two days' work there with some forty labourers, and he left reluctantly with the hope that this important site "may attract in the future the thorough exploration that its remains fully deserve." He hazards the conjecture that it shows "an earlier phase of chalcolithic civilization" than the other sites within the Bampūr area.

Further excavation is also needed to settle the question of the glass bangles more than once found by Sir Aurel Stein in association with prehistoric pottery, but not yet discovered in either the Indus valley or in 'Iraq with objects of such early date. Whether these bangles are or are not intrusions in the chalcolithic sites of Īrān must remain an open question until digging on a larger scale be possible.

Evidence that the *qanāt* or *ḳārēz* (underground water-channel) dates from early, though post-prehistoric days is found in the region between the Bampūr river and the Halīl-Rūd.

There are many ancient sites on the Halīl-Rūd also, dating from the chalcolithic age down to the Mongol invasions; a particularly large mound, Tump-i-Kharg, is likely, if it ever be excavated, to throw light on the long and interesting period from pre-Muhammadan days until the Mongols brought death and desolation in their train.

Thence on to Jīruft, a wide area of cultivation, of date groves and orchards, but intensely hot most of the year; its heat was remarked upon by the Arab geographers. Here also many débris fields yielded painted potsherds of "late prehistoric" types. Shahr-i-Dāqianūs, partially covered by the village of Bekhird, is undoubtedly the site of the once important town of Jīruft, which, also, owed its decline to the Mongolian hordes; it is mentioned by Marco Polo as "Camadi." Only excavation will settle the date of the earliest settlement there. Sir Aurel Stein regards the Jīruft valley as the route followed by Alexander, but he thinks the town can hardly have been the site of the famous meeting of Alexander and Nearchos after the fleet had been brought to Hormuz.

The heat had by now become well-nigh unbearable; so on to Kermān, and by way of Persepolis to Bushire, Basra, Constantinople, and home.

In October of the same year the unwearying traveller was back at Kermān to collect his Indian staff, his baggage and new escort to explore the routes thence to the coast and north-westwards along the latter to Bushire. Unfortunately, the officer in charge of the escort, with no more than purely local authority behind him, saw fit on arrival at the important Tal-i-Iblis to prohibit both the use of the plane-table and the digging of trial trenches. Surface finds, however, sufficed to prove the site to have been occupied solely in chalcolithic times. An immediate protest to Tehrān secured the repudiation of this locally imposed ban by the time Bandar Abbās was reached a month later. From Tal-i-Iblis onwards, however, fewer ancient sites were come upon; the narrative is mainly concerned with details of topography in a little-known mountain region until the valley

of Bulūk was reached to the south-west of Jīruft and the lower Halīl-Rūd. Here several mounds exist of contemporary dates with the sites already examined in the latter regions. On the route southwards from there to Mīnāb and the site of old Hormuz, only two prehistoric mounds were visited.

The story now turns to the difficult and arduous journey along the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, and the remains that still exist of mediæval ports that flourished on trade not only with the hinterland by caravan routes, but by sea with India and China. It is amazing to read of the considerable finds—and at several sites—of fragments of Chinese porcelain.

From Tāhirī, the mediæval Sīrāf, Sir Aurel Stein climbed over the towering hills behind the town by the caravan route that led to the trading centres of old Īrān. Portions of the ancient road still cling supported by fragments of broken walls along the sides of narrow gorges; and ruined serais and cisterns mark the track down into the long narrow plain of Galehdār. There, a two days' "dig" with some three dozen labourers proved the mound of Tal-i-Pīr at Haraj to be of chalcolithic date, and button seals were found of a type not unlike those found by Mr. Mallowan at Arpachīyah, and more recently by Dr. E. Mackay in the Jhukar level at Chanhu-daro in the Indus valley. This site obviously calls for excavation on a much larger scale. Tribal unrest in the surrounding districts made it advisable to recross the range to the coast by another pass than before. And though ancient remains prove that in mediæval times caravan traffic passed that way also, the difficulties even for lightly laden donkeys were very great. Indeed, difficulties of transport dogged the traveller all the way to Bushire. Nor were any prehistoric sites to be found along that inhospitable coast, despite the fact that on the Bushire promontory Monsieur M. Pézard had already unearthed remains of chalcolithic date. Indeed, the present condition of the coast traversed by Sir Aurel Stein is considered by geologists to indicate a long period of gradual subsidence, which must inevitably have submerged whatever prehistoric relics once existed there—a deduction to which Stein's observations at the site of old Hormuz give strong support.

An impressionist sketch though this traveller's chronicle inevitably is of past and present in South-Eastern Īrān, it is remarkably stimulating and inspiring. Not only must there be unstinted admiration for the courage, foresight and tenacity of the traveller; there also comes upon the reader a keen awareness of something to be done. For in those beckoning oases and forbidding deserts there lie buried the solutions of many problems concerning race movements and trade fluctuations, that appear to have resulted mainly from climatic changes. The late Sir Grafton Elliot Smith said to the reviewer many years ago that Balūchistān held the clues to many important problems. Sir Aurel Stein's explorations include South-Eastern Īrān with Balūchistān; for many are the parallels he draws between his finds in the two countries, marking their ancient continuity. Though there would appear to have been two main periods of occupation in ancient days, when the population was distinctly larger than it is now—namely, a

chalcolithic passing into a "late prehistoric" period, and a Muhammadan period that terminated with the Mongol invasions—indications are not wanting here and there of less outstanding phases between.

In no place does the traveller appear to have dug more than two days, and to realize its true importance his work must clearly serve as a pointer to larger and more methodical explorations of the sites that he has marked down. It is tantalizing to think what rich mines of information lie buried, awaiting—it is hoped not in vain— a time when wars and fears of wars will melt away, and man will have leisure for a more active study of his past, to build upon it a more enlightened future.

To the student, the attractively produced plates—largely due to the able work of Mr. F. H. Andrews—will have the effect of an *apéritif*. Yet, though stimulating rather than satisfying, they give a definite impression that in general the prehistoric painted pottery of South-Eastern Īrān has a stronger affinity with the contemporary or perhaps slightly older wares of the countries to the north, Syria, and Sumer, and Elam, than with those of the Indus valley. But on this important matter further research, and then still more research, is urgently needed. D. M. M.

Fihrist-i-Kitāb-khāna-yi Dānish-kada. By Ibn Yūsuf Shīrazī. Vol. I. Tehran, 1315/1936. Pp. 700.

This catalogue describes the Collection of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts belonging to the Library of the Theological Faculty, whose headquarters are at the Mosque of Sipahsalar in Tehran.

Volume I. contains 746 entries, dealing with 300 theological works by 168 different authors. It is designed to continue the catalogue in three more volumes, which will be devoted respectively to works on literature and philosophy and manuscripts of mixed contents. The system of the catalogue is praiseworthy, and shows the author's familiarity with European methods.

We still know very little about the manuscripts that exist in Iran. Some public and private libraries in the capital, and even at such provincial centres as Zanjan, are said to possess numerous rare works. A scholar recently discovered in Meshed an ancient copy of Ibn Faqīh's Geography with many important additional passages.

Of late years several catalogues of manuscripts have been printed in Iran, as, for instance, a valuable description of the books belonging to the Meshed sanctuary, from the pen of Prince Ogotay, and every attempt made to save rare works from oblivion, and to render them accessible to scholars, must be welcomed. The author of the present catalogue mentions in this connection the enlightened initiative taken by the Iranian Minister of Public Instruction, A. A. Hekmet. Let us hope that under his ægis a detailed survey of all the collections of manuscripts in Iran may eventually be completed. V. M.

Essai sur l'Histoire des Relations Politiques Irano-Ottomanes de 1722 à 1747. By Dr. Mohammad-Ali Hekmat. Paris. 1937. 50 francs.

As Dr. Hekmat has observed in his introduction, the political relations between Turkey and Iran have never, despite their importance, formed

the subject of a comprehensive scientific treatise. Dr. Hekmat's work is therefore welcome, although, in its detailed part, it only covers the years 1722 to 1747. Yet, short though this period was, it was one of quite exceptional importance not only for Turkey and Iran, but also for Russia; in fact, so close was the interconnexion between the three powers during the greater part of the time that Dr. Hekmat might well have inserted the word "Russes" after "Ottomanes" in his title.

After a chapter on the treaty of Zuhab between Turkey and Iran in 1639, the author devotes two further preliminary chapters to an examination of the essential causes of the conflicts between the two nations; in these wars the religious element was, of course, a factor of great importance. Dr. Hekmat then proceeds to outline the reasons for the collapse of the Safavi dynasty in 1722 and the establishment of the short-lived Ghalzai Afghan régime in its place. He goes on to show how Peter the Great took advantage of the deplorable condition of Iran in 1722 to invade and annex much of her northern territory. He is, it seems, on less sure ground when he asserts that Turkey, but for this invasion, would not have attempted any territorial expansion at the expense of Iran. After all, there was a historical precedent; in 1578 the Turks had overrun Georgia, Shirvan and Daghistan, and, a few years later, they had conquered much of Azarbaijan; they occupied all this territory until Shah 'Abbas I. expelled them in the early years of the seventeenth century.

Russia had been perturbed at Turkey not only according her protection to the rebel leader Hajji Da'ud, but in formally appointing him Khan of the Iranian province of Shirvan; according to Butkov (whose *Materiali dlia novoy Istorii Kavkaza, 1722-1803*, an important source for the period, is not mentioned in Dr. Hekmat's bibliography), this Turkish interference in the affairs of Shirvan was one of the reasons why Peter the Great invaded Iran in 1722 instead of in the following year, as he had intended. Dr. Hekmat proceeds to mention Russia's seizure of Darband and, subsequently, of Baku and part of Gilan, and the treaty of St. Petersburg of September 23, 1723, between Russia and Prince Tahmasp, the third son of the deposed Safavi Shah and claimant to the throne of Iran. He goes on to describe the Turkish invasion of north-western and western Iran, and gives a detailed account of the delicate negotiations in Constantinople between Russia and Turkey for the partitioning of Iran and of the very prominent part played therein by the able French Ambassador, the Marquis de Bonnac. The result was the signature, on June 24, 1724, of the Partition Treaty; when it is realized that it amounted in effect to an alliance between Turkey, the former champion of Islam against Christendom, and a Christian Power for the purpose of wresting the crown of Iran from a Sunni monarch (Mahmud, the son of Mir Wais) and bestowing it upon a heretical Moslem (Tahmasp), the difficulty of the negotiators' task will be realized; added to this was the mutual distrust of Russia and Turkey, which more than once caused a suspension of the negotiations and nearly resulted in war. Following von Hammer, Dr. Hekmat contrasts this dismemberment of Iran with the partition of Poland some fifty years later.

With the death of Peter (in February, 1725), Russia ceased to be aggressive in Iran, but the Turks continued steadily to occupy more and more Iranian territory until, as was inevitable, they came into collision with Ashraf, Mahmud's successor. Ashraf's troops were greatly outnumbered by the Turks, but he made the most of the anomalous position of the Turks as allies of the Christians and Shi'a against an orthodox Sunni monarch. The result was that the Turks sustained a serious defeat, but Ashraf's lack of numbers at length forced him to come to terms with them.

The Turks were soon to be confronted with a far more formidable foe than Ashraf. In 1726 Nadr Quli Beg (or Nadir, as he was afterwards called) joined the fugitive Tahmasp, whom he helped to capture Meshed from Malik Mahmud Sistani. Nadir then subdued the powerful Abdali Afghans and followed up this success by completely defeating the Ghalzais and setting Tahmasp upon the throne of his fathers in Isfahan. Determined to expel all the invaders from Iranian territory, Nadir next turned his attention to the Turks. In a rapid campaign in the summer of 1730 he defeated them repeatedly in Azarbaijan and recovered Tabriz and Ardabil. These reverses produced consternation in Constantinople, and were largely responsible for the rising there which resulted in the deposition of the Sultan Ahmad III. (not II., as stated) and the death of the Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha. Although the folly and incompetence of Tahmasp Shah in the following year enabled Turkey to regain much of the lost territory, her success was only temporary. Having deposed Tahmasp in 1732 and set up his infant son 'Abbas as Shah, Nadir renewed his attack on the Turks in the following year. He failed to take Baghdad and was severely defeated by Topal 'Osman Pasha, but he effectively turned the tables on the latter. In 1735 he shattered another Turkish army under 'Abdullah Köprülü Pasha near Erivan, and made the Turks surrender that town, as well as Ganja and Tiflis, thus restoring Iranian dominion in those parts. Meanwhile, he had made the treaty of Ganja with Russia whereby the latter agreed to evacuate all the Iranian territory in her occupation.

Nadir thereupon sought to negotiate a peace treaty with Turkey. He had made his accession to the throne (March 8, 1736) conditional upon his Shi'a subjects embracing the Sunni faith, and he endeavoured to make the Turks recognize them as a fifth sect of the Sunnis, to be termed the Ja'fari. The Turks, however, refused to do this, with the result that there was no treaty of peace, but merely a truce. Dr. Hekmat finds difficulty in understanding why Nadir did not renew his attack on the Turks when, in May, 1736, Russia declared war on them. The reason was that Iran had been for so long in the throes of war that she had become completely exhausted; further, Nadir's treasury being almost empty, he could not afford to employ mercenaries to the required extent.

Five years later, having conquered India and enriched himself with her vast spoils and then overrun Turkistan, Nadir again turned his attention to the west, but, instead of attacking Turkey at once, he marched against the Lazgis of Daghistan, who inflicted very heavy losses on his troops. In the fighting with Turkey which followed, Nadir won another striking

victory over them, but his health had begun to break and Iran was once more becoming exhausted. Realizing that he could achieve nothing more, Nadir dropped his hitherto insistent demand for the recognition of the Ja'fari sect, thus removing the only real obstacle to peace. On September 4, 1746 (not 1747), the treaty of Kurdan put an end to the long period of hostilities between Turkey and Iran. As Dr. Hekmat remarks, this treaty is important as it constitutes a return to the Zuhab settlement.

Dr. Hekmat has, on the whole, presented his facts well and drawn sound conclusions from them, but his book suffers from some lack of proportion. In the reviewer's opinion, it would have been better to curtail the introductory matter, so as to devote more space to the highly important course of events during Nadir's régime. The book bears evidence of having been produced in some haste, because there are many misprints and all the numbers of the pages in the author's forward and backward references have been omitted.

Two maps have been reproduced; one by de l'Isle shows the countries bordering on the Caspian, while the other is of those to the west of that sea; the latter map is by Major Gärber (not Gerber, as stated), one of the Russian frontier commissioners appointed under the 1724 treaty. Dr. Hekmat does not appear to have utilized Gärber's interesting *Nachrichten* in vol. iv. of G. F. Müller's *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*

L. L.

Painted Pottery from Jemdet Nasr, Iraq. By Henry Field and Richard A. Martin. Reprinted from the *American Journal of Archæology*, vol. xxxix, (1935), No. 3.

Mr. Field was present at the excavations in 1925 and 1928 which were carried out by the Field Museum-Oxford University Joint Expedition at Jemdet Nasr, some eighteen miles north-east of Kish (which is eight miles east of Babylon), and he has herein published certain new types or designs of primitive painted pottery which are not shown in Dr. Ernest Mackay's report. As is well known, excavations at Jemdet Nasr have produced complete jars of painted pottery, cylinder seals in archaic form, and, what is most important of all, a large collection of pictographic tablets. The first indication of the value of the site was brought to Dr. Mackay by an Arab in the shape of fragments of painted pottery, and in consequence of Dr. Mackay's inspection of the place excavations were begun there by Professor Langdon.

These additional paintings, excellently portrayed by Mr. Martin, although affording nothing that is strikingly new, are of interest. One (Pl. XXXI.), that of a gazelle suckling its young (*cf.* Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr Anthr. Mem.*, i., Pl. LXXX., No. 1), is paralleled by a fragment from Nineveh 5, now in Baghdad (*Liverpool Annals*, xx., Pl. LVI., 10); another (Pl. XXXIV., 4) presents a pair of large human eyes. The monograph concludes with a useful short bibliography of literature on Jemdet Nasr, and contains a sketch-map of some of the sites (not all) where painted pottery has been discovered.

R. C. T.

Archæology in the Soviet Union. By Henry Field and Eugene Prostov. Reprinted from the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, No. 3.

An admirable monograph which supplements two previous reports in the same journal with the results of archæological expeditions during 1935-1936 in the Soviet Union, summarizing the finds from several hundred sites (ranging from Georgia to Siberia) which have been made by fifty-six Soviet expeditions. These include, among many other discoveries, palæolithic implements from new sites, burials in tumuli in the Karabakh region, painted pottery of the copper age of Anatolia from Kizilvank, neolithic remains from Armenia and elsewhere, while a study was made of the archæological monuments of the Amur Valley, and of about eighty reliefs in Daghestan.

R. C. T.

Journey to Turkestan. By Sir Eric Teichman, K.C.M.G., C.I.E. Pp. 194. With Appendix giving itinerary of motor route from Peking (Suiyuan) to Kashgar and sketch-map of same. One hundred and one illustrations from photographs. Sketch-map of line of journey in cover. Index. Hodder and Stoughton. 1937. 15s. net.

Sir Eric Teichman of the Consular Service was sent on a special mission from Peking to Chinese Turkestan in 1935, and this book is a straightforward account of a remarkable journey from Peking to Delhi, via Suiyuan, Urumchi, Kashgar, and Gilgit. It has excellent illustrations, and a valuable itinerary and compass traverse of the central Gobi route from Suiyuan to Kashgar.

The southern route from China to Chinese Turkestan, followed by Maillart and Fleming earlier in the year, was closed by the chaos prevailing in Western Kansu, and the northern and best route through Outer Mongolia was barred to a traveller under Chinese auspices by Soviet influence in that region.

Sir Eric Teichman therefore took the central route from Suiyuan to Urumchi, along which an enterprising Chinese company maintained a lorry service at the time.

Sir Eric Teichman's journey was made by rail from Peking to Suiyuan, thence 2,543 miles in his own motor-trucks to Kashgar, from Kashgar by pony and on foot to Gilgit, from Gilgit he was flown to Delhi in the day. The whole journey, with halts at Urumchi, Kashgar, and Gilgit, took four months and ended on January 16, 1936. The crossing of the Tagdumbash Pamir so late in the year was a feat that has seldom been accomplished by a European traveller. In the gradual mechanization of Central Asian travel, it is interesting to note that Sir Eric Teichman had still to use the camel to dump petrol in the Gobi for his cars, and the harmless necessary yak to cross the Batura glacier. The conversion of the Central Asian caravaner is also remarkable, for he seems to be as capable at extracting particles of ice out of a carburettor as he was at inserting a nose-peg in a camel.

According to his book, Sir Eric Teichman's mission was to further with the authorities at Urumchi the Indian trade with Sinkiang, and to this end he was met at Urumchi by the Consul-General from Kashgar—the first time that a Consul-General had visited the capital of the New Dominion. It does not appear that much was possible in this direction, for though the Sinkiang authorities expressed the utmost goodwill towards the mission, it was obvious the economic position is dominated by the U.S.S.R., both on account of recent events and because Sinkiang is practically inaccessible for trade purposes except from Russian territory. At the time of the mission the Kansu Tungans had been driven back along the Indo-

Sinkiang border as far as Khotan by Chinese troops from Manchuria, brought up by the Trans-Siberian Railway, and assisted by local Russian forces. The latest news (September, 1937) is that the Tungans have again advanced to Kashgar, and the whole of Sinkiang south of the Taklamakan Desert is under their control, and consequently they command the trade routes to India. At the same time the connection between the local Government at Urumchi and the Chinese Government at Nanking grows weaker and more than ever dependent on the benevolence of the U.S.S.R., whose dominance of Northern and Western Sinkiang seems inevitable both economically and politically. It is significant that the old telegraph line connecting Sinkiang with China is derelict: it is not stated whether the Chinese postal service still functions.

Sir Eric Teichman observes (pages 191-192) that "Sinkiang has always in our experience been Chinese territory," but this perhaps is not quite accurate, for our first mission to that region, under Forsyth, concluded a treaty with Yakub Beg, who set up an independent Moslem state at Kashgar.

The relations between the Kansu-based Tungans, now holding Southern Sinkiang, and the Chinese Government are as obscure as those of the opposing Sino-Turki régime at Urumchi, and, with the present pre-occupation of China with Japan, it would seem that the immediate fate of Sinkiang lies in the hands of the U.S.S.R., and it will be a wonder if ancient China ever reasserts herself in her New Dominion.

R. A. L.

Orientations. By Ronald Storrs. Pp. xiv+612. Illustrated. Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 1937. £1 1s.

This is a book written under difficulties. The author lost all his papers in the destruction of Government House at Nicosia in 1931, and has had to depend on his memory and extracts from his letters to his mother, who fortunately kept them.

He comes on his father's side of Yorkshire stock (with some Scottish-Canadian connexions, I think) and draws from his mother the rich English Cust blood. His upbringing was conventional and happy—Temple Grove, Charterhouse, and Cambridge: then he turned to the East, learning Arabic and joining the Egyptian Civil Service. There he at first found little to do, then amusing drudgery in various departments: but his chance came when he was appointed Oriental Secretary under Cromer, Eldon Gorst, and Kitchener.

Even so, he might have had a humdrum career but for the War: but then his knowledge of Arabic, by this time really good, caused him to be sent down from Cairo to Arabia to arrange the "Revolt of Islam," that great *coup*, which was the beginning of the destruction of a hostile Turkey's power in the Middle East. An old friend, I watched this from afar with breathless excitement, and was involved in it, in a humble way, at this end.

For complete secrecy had been kept as to these epoch-making events: the Sherif had proclaimed the independence of the Hejaz on June 7, 1916, and captured Jedda on June 9 and Mecca on June 10; but only on June 20 were we ready to tell the world. The information was all in official telegrams from Cairo: but it was considered preferable to publish it as coming from an outside agency: and on that day I explained the whole position, sitting in a curious cabin-like room at the top of the second flight of stairs at the Foreign Office, to Reuter's representative, whom I used to see every day. The result of our confabulations may be seen in the message, professing to emanate from Reuter's agency at Cairo, printed on the leader page of *The Times* of June 21, 1916.

Storrs's second great chance came when he was chosen to go up to the capture

of Jerusalem with Allenby, rather hastily assuming military rank: and this led to his institution as civil governor, an appointment which lasted until long after the end of the War. The Holy City will always bear the impression of his loving care for its beautiful and sacred sites and buildings; and his interventions between the warring sects were marked by the highest tact, amounting indeed to most successful diplomacy.

Then came his appointment as Governor of Cyprus: and I cannot but regard with admiration the dispassionate and almost sympathetic manner in which he relates the riots of the malignant Greek Cypriotes which ended in the loss of all his effects in the burning of Government House—a truly typical way in which to treat a Phil-Hellene and Philo-Cypriot. I in his place fear that I should have written much more bitterly.

I regard with special esteem the pen-portraits in this book of three great men: his uncle Harry Cust, Eldon Gorst, and Lawrence. Cust *vivi tantum*: but I came across his tracks early in the War: he started a much-needed propaganda before the Government awoke to its necessity, but he was constitutionally intolerant of official control or even guidance, and his organization had in due course to fade away. As for Eldon Gorst, he was in an impossible position—he was not only condemned by the diehards at home, but did not get at all the right sort of support from the Liberal Government. Storrs gives a most sympathetic picture of him, and shows him bravely engaged, with failing health, in a hopeless task.

There is new light on Lawrence, which will be greatly welcomed by all his worshippers and students of Arabian history generally. I will quote an unpublished letter of his, of a later period: it is of the time when he was in the position, which he did not greatly enjoy, of Adviser on Middle Eastern Affairs to the Colonial Office (1921-22).

It was to a mutual friend of ours, since dead: some enthusiast had proposed to raise in Parliament the question whether the Sherif had claimed, or should or could claim, the Caliphate. He wrote:

> Dear . . . ,
>
> Hussein has made no such claim: but shouldn't the leader of the House write & ask him to take it off the order-paper? We couldn't discuss in Parliament the infallibility of the Pope: & no more should we this.
>
> (He has said that he doesn't claim the Caliphate: partly because as a Shia he regards it as a blasphemous pretence. They say there can't be a Caliph of a Caliph, & that Abu Bakr was the only one therefore. Hussein claims the Emir al Muminin title—an adjunct of the historic Caliphate, but not the Caliphate proper. . . .)
>
> . . . Why not say that H. has made no such claim to H.M.G., as H.M.G. is not Moslem, & has no competence to consider such a question. That if he did, H.M.G. would not recognise or answer anymore than it would if any other Moslem sovereign made such a claim, & that H.M.G. deprecate the religious susceptibilities of other people, or the dogmata of non-Christian religions, being made a subject of discussion in the House. The Caliphate is a matter for the conscience of each individual Moslem. . . . Do put your foot down about it. E. L.

What learning and sound sense!

[I need not say that Lawrence did not really think that the Sherif was a Shia, but means that his doctrine inclined in the same direction as that of the Shias. In the same way we might describe a Jansenist of the seventeenth or eighteenth century as "Puritan," without crediting him with the extreme creed of Protestant Nonconformity.]

I should add that this book is written in a style at once lively and literary, and

that I believe it will be thoroughly enjoyed by "Easterners" and others. The author is a man of culture as well as of action.

STEPHEN GASELEE.

The Unveiling of Arabia. By R. H. Kiernan. Illustrated. George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd. 12s. 6d.

One takes off one's hat to Mr. Kiernan for his industry and devotion to a self-appointed task in producing *The Unveiling of Arabia*, for here we have a very complete and exhaustive record of every journey made into the peninsula of Arabia. Mr. Kiernan has read assiduously all the books available on the subject, and in his volume gives a brief outline of the objects and details of each expedition with extracts from the authors where possible.

He touches lightly on the voyage made by the admiral of Alexander the Great—Nearchus—in 325 B.C.; then comes a fuller account of Gallus's invasion with Roman and Nabatæan troops in 24 B.C.; and after this we read of the journeys of Ibn Battuta, Varthema, Jourdain and others in the Middle Ages and Renaissance period, till we come to the days of Burckhardt, Burton, Palgrave and Doughty.

The chapter on the wanderings of Palgrave's expedition is an exceptionally well-reasoned summing up of the writings of an explorer whose flowery, flamboyant style has caused his claims to be doubted in many circles.

To Doughty and *Arabia Deserta* he devotes considerable space, and the following paragraph will give some idea of Mr. Kiernan's ability to write on the subject:

"Nothing that Doughty wrote about the desert and its people can be spared, and that is why from the merely utilitarian viewpoint he stands supreme among Arabian explorers. This position was early recognized by the few who felt a special interest in Arab things. The approbation of the many towards the book as a work of art came later; for the literary object which Doughty averred was foremost in his adventures resulted rather in delaying popular interest. His effort to invigorate English style by a return to the vocabulary and syntax of the Elizabethan and earlier language was based mainly on various translations of the Bible, Tyndale, Wyclif, Chaucer, Shakespeare and Spenser, with a 'blending of fresh-minted Anglo-Arabisms.' Thus was evolved a stately, archaistic manner, rich with old, forgotten words and strange cadences, which, strange as it seems now, was not generally welcomed. . . . The Press generally saw nothing but affectation in the style, but praised the explorer's hardihood and courage. *The Times*, however, judged it 'the most original narrative of travel since the days of Elizabeth,' and the reviewer in *The Spectator* said that, 'After two long volumes,' Doughty, 'though he had been his own single hero, leaves us neither weary nor suspicious.' Among the leading critics Burton's, in *The Academy*, was the only discordant voice. He was annoyed at not being mentioned——, and, as one who had assumed Islam, was irritated by Doughty's contempt for that faith. The authority of Doughty himself, and that of the experts who had revised his book, did not prevent Burton from carping at many points of language, history, custom, and orthography," a proof of how history always repeats itself, especially with regard to Arabia.

Towards the end of the volume Mr. Kiernan deals with the two more or less recent crossings of the Empty Quarter by Bertram Thomas and St. John Philby respectively, and, as may be expected, he gives more space to them than to the explorers of the past. From Mr. Philby's book he quotes freely, and in selecting

the following he has chosen a few lines that will strike everyone with that author's easy telling style and gift of discernment:

"And so I parted from eight of the companions of two months' wandering in the wilderness. The farewell of the Arab is manly indeed. With fair words on his lips he strides off into the desert and is gone. He never looks back."

Until Mr. Philby called one's attention to it, one never noticed this queer habit of the Beduin folk, but Mr. Philby is absolutely correct when one comes to think of it. The Arab of the desert walks rapidly away on saying good-bye, and never by any chance looks back over his shoulder or turns to wave as would the member of any other race.

We are, however, reviewing Mr. Kiernan's book and not that of Mr. Philby, and it only remains to say that *The Unveiling of Arabia*, though it contains nothing new, constitutes a very necessary addition to the bibliography of the country.

C. S. J.

Remembering Kut. By D. L. Neave. $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. x+322. Frontispiece and map. Barker. 1937. 7s. 6d.

Townshend surrendered Kut and its garrison on April 29, 1916, and on that date the strength of his force, according to *The Official History of the War*, amounted to 13,309 of all arms, including 277 British officers, 2,592 British rank and file, and 3,248 Indian non-combatants. On that day there were 1,450 sick and wounded in hospital. Of this number 1,136 were in due course exchanged and sent down river, to be followed later by another batch of 345 men, who were despatched from Baghdad. Approximately 12,000 men then were marched off into captivity, during the period of which some 4,000 of them died. Of the British rank and file, more than 70 per cent. died in captivity, and of the Indians 1,300 are known to have succumbed to hardship and disease.

A Parliamentary Report on the treatment of British prisoners in Turkey, which is quoted in the Official History, begins by saying ". . . the history of the British prisoners of war in Turkey has faithfully reflected the peculiarities of the Turkish character . . ." (a subject on which it is to be noted that Lady Neave discusses all too briefly and none too effectively in Appendix B in the book under notice) ". . . some of these . . . are sufficiently characteristic, others are due to the mere dead weight of Asiatic inertia and indifference; others again are actively and resolutely barbarous . . . there have been prisoners treated with almost theatrical politeness and consideration, prisoners left to starve and die through simple neglect and incompetence and prisoners driven and tormented like beasts. . . ."

And, as the History indicates, the Turk took care to see that the outer world should see and know nothing about what was going on because neutral inspection was not permitted.

To continue the story, ". . . it is certain," says the Report, "that this desert journey rests upon those responsible for it as a crime of the kind which we call historic, so long and terrible was the torture it meant for thousands of helpless men . . . there was no one in the higher Turkish Command who could be ignorant that to send the men out on such a journey and in such conditions was to condemn half of them to certain death unless every proper precaution were taken. . . . Turkish apathy is not so simple as it seems; it betrays considerable respect of persons and it continues to evade the most dangerous witnesses of its guilt. . . ."

* * * * *

Lady Neave indeed should be well qualified to act as an historian in part, or of the whole, of the struggle between the Allied Powers and what in those days was still regarded in not very well-informed quarters as the Sick Man of Europe. Her father was for many years a distinguished member of the Supreme Consular Court in Old Constantinople. She knew personally many of the principal actors in the drama.

She explains that her purpose in writing this book is to revive an interest in the heroism of the defenders of Kut and to make better known something of their services under conditions only comparable to some to be found in the worst and most revolting records of the Indian Mutiny. She feels, and there are few nowadays but will admit, that the survivors who eventually reached home after the Armistice received scant recognition. She feels, in fact, that these men were ignored, practically forgotten and lost to sight and memory in the whirl of other stupendous happenings. And that also is true.

And yet a great deal has been written since then about the famous siege, and many books, some of absorbing interest and excitement, have been published, in which life in Turkish prison camps and subsequent escapes have been vividly described. But for some reason, which it seems impossible to explain, the story of the siege of Kut has never caught on with the public. Perhaps that may be because there has been no Lawrence to tell the tale, no one able to bring all those numbers of deeds of individual heroism back to life and make them live again in memory. Wilson with his back to the Shangani, the men and women in the Residency at Lucknow, the tales of the forts at Manipur and Chitral—these and many others somehow stick in the memory. It may be that the horror of the story of Kut makes us feel that it were better to forget it. But one reason for its comparative oblivion is not that it constitutes one of the major reverses of the British Army, equal to, if not of greater importance than, the surrender of Cornwallis at Saratoga. It is not on account of that, because the English sometimes seem to take a pride in their reverses and certainly feel that they cannot arrive at a successful conclusion to a campaign unless, and until, they have had a Graspan, a le Cateau and a regular "Black Week" to begin on. No, Kut was not news. However, to the already considerable amount of literature on the topic Lady Neave adds what is by no means a mite.

* * * * *

To accomplish her purpose and complete her objective she divides her work roughly into two main parts. The first five chapters may be said to comprise the first part. Here she gives a general preliminary survey of the military events leading up to the investment of Townshend's force in Kut al Amara. This is a most unsatisfactory section. Military history requires, possibly, special treatment in narrative. Lady Neave's historical section lacks the military touch. As a criticism, it may be suggested that all the reader, the uninstructed reader that is to say, for whom Lady Neave presumably is writing, would really be interested in, is a clear and concise appreciation of the situation which led Townshend to pass up river after Kut in pursuit of the Turkish army, with his own force in no sort of condition for such a military adventure. It might so well have been emphasized that the capture of Baghdad was the lodestar, and the curiously Victorian idea that the seizure of the enemy's capital somehow means the end of a campaign, no matter what may have happened to his field army, somehow was still persistent. Townshend, with a river-fleet at his disposal, with a river as his main line of supply, chose the time of the year least favourable to himself, in so far as the river then was at its lowest and his ships therefore were bound to get stuck. Then came Ctesiphon, an action again which he was in no fit condition

to fight, and where indeed he may be said to have been fortunate not to have been exterminated. Following which he had to fall back, always with the problem still before him as to what position he was to fall back on, having once got himself in such a mess. Arrived back at Kut, the two-mile base of the U may at first sight have seemed to be a promising position for a stand against the oncoming enemy. And yet he knew his danger. In his telegram to Nixon he says that lessons of history all point to the danger of getting shut in, and he was unwilling to run that risk. He did not want to stay in Kut one bit. But Nixon ordered him to stand fast, and promised him that he (Nixon) would keep the line open from Al Gharbi. It is suggested that the historical section of the book might with advantage have made clear on whom lay the primary responsibility for the disaster. Those who have not made a careful study of the campaign are so apt to lay all the blame on Townshend's shoulders.

* * * * *

The second part of the book is made up of a series of personal narratives, written and furnished by officers and soldiers of the Kut garrison. This section occupies some seventeen chapters. Lady Neave suggests that if the word Kut were mentioned to the young man of to-day, it would mean little or nothing to him. That is true also of a good many incidents, also supremely heroic, in the Great War, and the reason to some extent is that our young men do not read military history. And incidentally if they were to read the history of the campaign in Mesopotamia they might be in danger of losing forever all faith in the technical skill and wisdom of our general staffs and certainly of those to whom they were responsible.

In the chivalrous sense of the word, there was nothing heroic about the fighting in Mesopotamia. The legendry and glamorous history of the country might for a few moments have given a thrill, but the misery of life under active service conditions soon knocked the glamour out of the story. Mud and flood: heat of an intensity impossible to describe to those who know not Basra in July with the south wind blowing: an *ersatz* war, with everything makeshift except food, which was often short, and medical supplies which were mainly non-existent: disease in every known and unknown form. All these made up the background of a dull, flat-toned picture. But a campaign, it is true, that called for the highest forms of individual heroism against an enemy who, if the English language has any meaning, was "savage." Let it be said to-day, and let it still be believed, that a wounded man fallen into the hands of the enemy was indeed unfortunate to have escaped the bullet or bayonet of the Kurd or Arab murderer as he lay helpless out in the No-Man's Land. If, however, any young man has any wish to read what war against a savage foe means, then let him read this book. The Turk and his friends had for years before the war been practising savagery and cruelty on his own nationals, the Armenians, and there was no reason why he should suddenly change his habits when he found a new victim.

There may be some of us who would like to start again now that there is a new Turkey, and there are some of us who would like to forget what passed after the surrender of the garrison of Kut. But there is no reason why we should not remember the heroism of those who had to undergo the most terrible suffering. To such, Lady Neave's book may come as cold comfort.

D. S. S.

Triumphant Pilgrimage. An English Muslim's Journey from Sarawak to Mecca. By Owen Rutter. 6″×9″. Pp. 278. Two portraits; one map. George Harrap and Co., Ltd. 1937. 10s. 6d.

This is a very readable book with a story to tell, not the less interesting because it is true. A young Englishman, who as a district officer in Sarawak came into contact with Muslim Malays, found himself gradually drawn to Islam, which he eventually embraced. Anxious to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and knowing that there are difficulties in the way of a new convert, he married a Muslim Malay woman and took her with him so that he might the more easily disarm suspicion. After a little delay in Jedda, which to him seemed most unreasonable but which is actually the minimum of precaution, King Ibn Saud granted him exemption from the regulation requiring a new convert to spend some years in Jedda before being allowed to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. With dramatic effect he is pictured as spending a most anxious time waiting for the King's sanction, which he receives in the eleventh hour just in time to perform the pilgrimage. But having at last got to Mecca, he is quite happy and all ends well.

The portions of the book dealing with the manners, customs, beliefs and mode of living of the Malays are among the most interesting and show insight, sympathy and understanding. This cannot be said of the portion dealing with the Arabs. The reason is not far to seek. Both the hero and his biographer are quite familiar with Sarawak and the Malays, whose language they know as a result of study and personal contact over a number of years, to say nothing of the influence of "Munirah," the hero's Malay wife. Neither of them, however, has had any direct contact with the Arabs or any knowledge of their language until "Chale," to give the hero his assumed name, became converted to Islam. Little wonder, then, that so many mistakes occur in that portion and that there is a complete lack of understanding of everything Arabian. But to the hero the Arabs represent the opposition which he has to overcome before he can reach Mecca, and it is perhaps natural that an author should try to exaggerate the obstacles which his hero is supposed to encounter and surmount. But this is sometimes overstrained, as when a man like King Ibn Saud is made to blench before the all-conquering hero.

With all its faults, and they are many, the book does some public service by explaining many features of Islam to the English-reading public, whose ignorance of things Islamic is incredible, and by drawing attention to the democracy of Islam, its power for peace and its potentiality for world-fellowship. It is rather unfortunate that it should, at the same time, be guilty of misrepresenting Islam on two main points:

1. Chale seems to believe that, in Islam, the end justifies the means, and he himself acts and makes other people act accordingly, as when he assures the Saudi Arabian Legation in London that he is "not a journalist trying to scratch up copy" and then gets Mr. Owen Rutter to write his story, when he says he considered himself justified in telling the Arabian authorities that he had been Muslim for six years when he had been Muslim only for six weeks, when, knowing gambling to be forbidden in Islam, he gambles on the Stock Exchange with the express purpose of making the money he requires to go on the pilgrimage, and when he makes, in the course of the book, a certain Muslim Malay woman resort to prostitution in order to make the money necessary for the same purpose. Chale should know that, in Islam, it is not enough that the end should be pure; it is essential that the means be pure also. The idea of resorting deliberately to gambling or prostitution, to make the money necessary for the pilgrimage, so completely outrages all Muslim principles that one's ignorance of his or her religion

must be abysmal if he or she were to entertain such an idea even for one moment. One might as well think of getting the money by committing theft or even murder.

2. The whole book is built on a complete misconception of the pilgrimage. We are told on page 18 that if a Muslim goes on the pilgrimage to Mecca "his sins are forgiven and he starts afresh." On page 41 we are told that the pilgrimage to Mecca "cleansed the human soul from sin and enabled it to start upon a fresh journey, like a cloth that has been wrung clean in clear water." Everywhere else in the book the same idea of forgiveness and absolution is repeated over and over again. Now, this conception of the pilgrimage is absolutely erroneous and without the slightest foundation. No act of worship, in Islam, be it pilgrimage, prayer, or fasting, gives its performer absolution from his sins. Sincere repentance, coupled with restitution of the wrong committed and the dedication of one's life to the doing of good to others, is the only way in which a Muslim can hope to obtain God's forgiveness. Chale's idea of obtaining absolution by simply going on the pilgrimage to Mecca reminds one of the equally ridiculous, if somewhat different, story which for many years has kept the Muslim world chuckling. I mean the famous story of the ignorant Bedouin who, while on pilgrimage, was heard saying: "O God! Forgive me, and if You will not forgive me, then You must forgive me in spite of Yourself," and yet even he did not take God's forgiveness for granted.

These two serious blunders betray an alarming ignorance of Islam, which a longer stay in Jedda would have helped to remedy. Thus the wisdom of the much criticized restriction on new converts receives fresh justification.

The author gives far too much space and prominence and far too little critical examination to superstitions such as the story of the "mysterious hot whirlwind of Arafat," which is supposed to come at every pilgrimage exactly on the same moment; but about which there is really no mystery, as it does not differ from any other storm and, of course, does not come at every pilgrimage. Chale is so fond of the mysterious and so uncritical that he tells us that he "did not doubt the word" of the man who told him that he had seen the executioner's sword rebound from a condemned man's neck some three or four times without even scratching it because of a charm which the condemned man had secreted under the skin of his arm.

Throughout the book, with amazing consistency, everything Arabian is misunderstood or misrepresented. To give but a few examples, Bank Misr's praiseworthy enterprise of running pilgrim ships is attributed to the wish of the Egyptians to impress everyone with their importance, while King Ibn Saud's conquest of the Hejaz is attributed to people who had nothing to do with it, but never to the King's own initiative. Here is Chale's account of it: "The pro-British trend of the Arabs in Arabia was largely due to Philby's constructive work. The Arabs recognized that they had him to thank for Hussein's downfall and Ibn Saud's success." This delightfully original bit of news is further explained by the most fantastic story of the imaginary part played by St. John Philby and the British Government on the one hand and the Ali Brothers of India on the other, who are supposed to have supplied the money and arms, a story in which there is not one single word of truth. As everyone knows, not a single penny or cartridge came from India or from the British Government, and neither Mr. Philby nor the Ali Brothers knew even of King Ibn Saud's intention to conquer the Hejaz, while it is an open secret that the British Government was, for many years previously, the only barrier between King Ibn Saud and the conquest of the Hejaz. Chale's explanation of the state of disuse into which the Hejaz Railway has fallen since the World War as a result of the work of

destruction which was considered essential to the success of the operations of the Arab forces against the Turks is on a par with the above statements. We are told that "Hussein forbade the use of engines in Arabia, and Ibn Saud's Wahhabis like them no better." The same disregard of accuracy characterizes all the references to slavery in Saudi Arabia, including the supposed incident in which a British destroyer and the British Minister in Jedda are made to figure. Equally untrue are the statements that either King Ibn Saud, or any of his sons, sits on a "throne" or wears an "igal of solid gold." There is neither a throne nor a crown in Saudi Arabia; but for a man who is photographed in Arab clothes to speak of an igal of solid gold is something beyond comprehension. After all these extravagant statements one is not astonished to read of King Ibn Saud consuming great quantities of meat and milk when it is common knowledge that he is a moderate eater, or to read of him as going to Arafat by motor-car when he always goes by camel, or as standing beside the granite pillar on the top of that hill when, as a matter of fact, he always stands away from the granite pillar, the Iman being the only one who stands beside it.

The book creates the impression that Chale is the first Briton to become Muslim in Sarawak. This is not the case. Her Highness the Dawang Muda of Sarawak embraced Islam at least four years before him. But perhaps if this were mentioned there would appear to be little need for Chale to give a lead to the Malays. But Chale is even more ambitious. He wants to reform the whole Muslim world. Be that as it may, the would-be reformer must know his subject first.

MAHMOOD R. ZADA.

Steel Chariots in the Desert. By S. C. Rolls. The Story of an Armoured-Car Driver with the Duke of Westminster in Libya, and in Arabia with T. E. Lawrence. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 286. Jonathan Cape. 1937. 10s. 6d.

In several books which have been written about the War and in others about the Western Desert of Egypt there are accounts of the campaign against the Senussi which took place in 1915-16, and a great many books, good, bad and indifferent, have been written about the Arab Revolt. This book describes those two desert campaigns from a rather unusual point of view. The author was not a journalist or a general or a politician, but a young man, then twenty-one years old, the driver of an armoured car, first with the Duke of Westminster in Egypt and then with Lawrence in Arabia.

The first half of the book is about the Senussi campaign; it is an interesting straightforward narrative, in places very exciting. The author took part in all the main engagements in that desert war. He drove the leading car of the column which made the famous dash across a hundred and fifty miles of uncharted desert from Sollum to Bir Hakim to rescue the unfortunate English sailors from the ship *Tara* who were prisoners in the hands of the Senussi, and he was with the first column of cars which entered the Siwa Oasis.

One realizes from reading this book that the life of an armoured-car driver during the War was not as enviable as some of his comrades on foot imagined it to be. When the temperature was frequently 115 degrees in the shade, two or sometimes three men would be cooped up in one of these steel travelling forts deafened by the noise of the machine-gun, half suffocated by heat, unable to see much of the country they were crossing and unable to receive orders or send messages to the other cars which were often some distance away. The men who operated the armoured cars had to rely much on their own initiative.

The descriptions of places on the Western Desert are good, and to those who

know that fascinating coast they will recall pleasant recollections. There are some amusing stories and descriptions and various personal touches which are interesting. The author did not apparently suffer from the peculiar form of melancholia which attacked some of the Englishmen who were stationed at Sollum, although he mentions it. It was the feeling of being shut in on the narrow strip of shore between the towering cliffs and the sea which affected a number of men who were there during the War. The author mentions hunting gazelle in cars with a machine-gun; this form of sport continued to be indulged in by the light-car patrols, who afterwards formed part of the garrison of Sollum, until it was officially forbidden.

The second part of the book is less interesting, perhaps because it deals with incidents and personalities which have been well described elsewhere. The author is an ardent admirer of T. E. Lawrence and tells a number of stories about him. On the Western Desert the author had several shots at Nuri Said, the Turkish General who was leading the Senussi; afterwards in Arabia he frequently acted as driver to Nuri, who had joined Feisal and was then fighting for the Arab cause.

The book has no index, which in a book of this description is an irritating fault, and the spelling of some of the Arabic words is peculiar: the Senussi should not be called "Senussites." C. Dalrymple Belgrave.

The Controlling Minds of Asia. By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 311. Herbert Jenkins. 15s. net.

The author is, of course, a well known authority on the East by the East for the West. Besides a valuable book on the late Fuad of Egypt, he has produced other volumes and many thoughtful contributions in monthly journals, always seeking to portray things Eastern as seen by one who essays to appreciate the best of both worlds.

In this vein he gives us forty to fifty pages each on Kamal, Gandhi, the Aga Khan, Feisal, and Nadir Shah, and something less on Ibn Saud, Fuad, Reza Shah, and Sun Yat Sen. Few will quarrel with his selection, though his studies themselves cannot be regarded as quite so free from controversy, a statement which requires explanation. It seems to be one of the penalties of Eastern publicists, evolved, as they might themselves admit, from older and more accommodating civilizations, to favour such statements in their biographies or comments as the subjects of these studies might themselves approve. They are less obsessed by the urge and record certain hard and unpalatable facts which the more uncompromising writers of the West regard as essential in giving the true perspective of their pictures. One cannot help wondering, in reading this volume, how far any potential personal influence on the life of the author, which the controlling mind in question might be able to exert, may have subconsciously modified his manuscript. Thus Kamal, the Aga Khan, Ibn Saud, and Reza Shah can do no wrong. Yet there are many features in "Grey Wolf" and other biographies of Kamal which the Sirdar omits altogether. The pages on the Aga Khan, while understandable, readable, and one of the most enlightening in the series, paint his world influence and cosmopolitan outlook perhaps even too brightly, even for a man whose only modern counterpart seems to be Jan Smuts. This applies, too, in degree to the rulers of Persia and the Hedjaz, but is less apparent in a more balanced account of Feisal, though in omitting practically all reference to T. E. Lawrence in the Arab Revolt, the author seems to be describing the clock without mentioning the mainspring. One can forgive a little colour in respect of his own

Afghan hero, Nadir Shah, whose task had elements which must have seemed to the latter even more hopeless at times than Kamal's. Fuad and Sun Yat Sen, if shorter sketches, are dealt with impartially.

Gandhi's chapter is perhaps the most interesting of all, and in the most balanced proportions. One would hardly go out of one's way to select a Moslem opinion in regard to a Hindu about whom there is probably more controversy than of any living man, yet here some will find the Sirdar's most convincing effort, comparable with the best work of Western biographers.

And so we have a curate's egg, very readable, with facts hard to come by, worth a place in most bookshelves, but not all its pages can, in official language, be quoted as authority.

G. M. Routh.

By Order of the Shah. By H. W. and Sidney Hay. $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 5\frac{5}{8}''$. Pp. xiv+340. Sixty-one small illustrations. Cassell. 1937. 15s.

This is firstly a rather inconsequent account of a journey in Iran in 1936, from the 'Iraq frontier via Kermanshah, Sultanabad, Hamadan and the Caspian Sea to Teheran and down to Isfahan. This part occupies a third of the book. The next chapter describes a visit to Abadan and by plane to the Oil Fields at Masjid-Suleiman. We are then taken from Basra to Bushire and up to Shiraz and from there to Isfahan again.

The narrative is light-hearted and vivacious and suggests the viewpoint of an Air Force pilot on holiday. It is plentifully spun out with samples of folklore and fantasy and stories, mostly well-worn, recounted by the author's native courier, whose florid phraseology and far-fetched metaphors are like nothing in ordinary speech. There is some fresh description of scenes and places such as the Taqi Bustan inscriptions and the show places of Isfahan, but the record of place-names, facts, and history is distinctly shaky and inaccurate.

The 130 pages which comprise Part II. are made up of historical chapters and miscellaneous articles of rather second-rate journalism about aspects of life in Iran.

The book is more readable than reliable, but the *raconteur* "Rumi" becomes tiresome before long, and the scrappiness of these impressions of bright young travellers makes the value of their publication doubtful.

The photographs at the end are of like quality with the book.

F. H.

The Legacy of India. Edited by G. T. Garratt. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xviii+428. Twenty-three illustrations. Map. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 10s.

A legacy implies both a legator and a legatee. Previous compilations in the Legacy series, notably those of Israel and Islam, have treated the subject from the point of view of the influence of those cultures on the Christian civilization of Europe. In the book under review this aspect has not been retained as the guiding purpose. Apart from the chapter on "India in European Literature and Thought," in which Mr. H. G. Rawlinson has produced in a manner both illuminating and convincing a mass of evidence as to the close intercourse that existed between India and the West in the first few centuries B.C. and A.D. (though Dr. F. W. Thomas is inclined to minimize the effects of such contacts), and from a few remarks by some of the other contributors, the book consists of a series of essays on some of the aspects of Indian life and culture. To deal fully with such a subject would greatly exceed the limits of a single volume. The account given is consequently incomplete. Furthermore, the choice made has not been uniformly judicious: important

tracts have been entirely omitted, while others, of less importance, are treated in detail. There is, further, considerable overlapping. The book, in fact, is without plan or purpose and shows little signs of editing.

The essays are of unequal merit, some falling considerably below the standard to be expected in such a book. There is a masterly sketch of Sanskrit literature by Dr. F. W. Thomas, while Mr. W. E. Clark's essay on Indian Science is of great merit. Of less value is Mr. J. G. Ghosh's essay on the Vernacular Literatures, which entirely omits mention of Marathi (except that provision for teaching it existed in the Fort William College), while his dictum that "the future hope of Indian literature lies in more intensive assimilation of Western literature" is not likely to win universal acceptance. The chapter on Philosophy by Mr. S. N. Das Gupta is written in a jargon that had better been absent from a book which is intended for a wider public than the elect few who alone can be expected to assimilate such information as that "it is held by the Sāmkhya that pyschical experience is possible only through a negative failure on the part of the psychic complexes to represent in the content the distinction that exists between the *guna* complexes and the non-relational transcendent *purusha*." A serious blemish in the book is its comparative neglect of Southern India and its failure to recognize the importance of the Dravidian element in Hindu culture.

The most notable omission is in respect of Art. Mr. K. de B. Codrington's chapter on Indian Art and Archæology, which, apart from its great merit, is the more valuable from being written with a clarity of exposition and with a soberness of judgment that are in marked contrast with so much of the modern critical evaluation of the æsthetics of the East, deals exclusively with sculpture. Mr. Fox Strangways has a chapter on Indian Music, which, he says, had practically no influence on European music, and Mr. Martin S. Briggs a chapter on Muslim Architecture, while in Mr. Abdul Qadir's account of the Cultural Influences of Islam there are references to the interest taken by the Mogul Emperors in painting and in the arts and crafts generally. The illustrations include well-chosen examples of Indian sculpture and of Muslim architecture and a few pictures of the Mogul and Rajput schools. Apart from this, and from an isolated picture of an eighteenth-century stencilled cotton cloth, the affinities of which are not discussed, Indian art is disregarded: little or nothing is said about Indian textiles or metal work, and we look in vain for an account of the chief schools of Indian painting. Beyond the mere statement that the walls of Ajanta were decorated with frescoes, which "dominated the whole conception," there is no mention of these stupendous paintings, which rank high among the masterpieces of the world.

It is in the domain of art especially that we look for an estimate of the legacy of India to Europe. The influence of the East on early Christian art has been emphasized by Strzygowski and is now generally recognized and acknowledged, though most English writers on the subject content themselves with a mere statement of the debt and exhibit little knowledge or appreciation of the principles or the technique of Oriental art. It is true that the influence came through Syria and the Near East; but there are grounds to justify the tracing of the ultimate source of this influence in many respects to India. A partial attempt to work out this influence was made in *The Influences of Indian Art*, published by the India Society in 1925. Much more remains to be done, and it was hoped that the main purpose of the volume under review would be a further attempt to satisfy the need.

Mr. Rawlinson and Mr. Garratt have dealt with some of the results of the impact of Indian philosophy on the thought of the West in modern days. But little or no reference is made in the book to the influence of Indian art on applied

art in European countries. There is no need to accept the extravagant claims of Professor Wilhelm Slomann, who has attempted to show elsewhere not only that the style of English furniture in the seventeenth century was influenced by Indian models, but that types of furniture (such as the so-called Charles II. chairs) the European origin of which is incontestable came direct from India. But the extent to which England and other Western countries have borrowed from India their designs, especially in the decoration of dress and household fabrics, needs no demonstration.

The chapter which will probably attract most attention is that on Indo-British Civilization by Mr. G. T. Garratt, the editor of the book. His estimate is that "the last 150 years have proved the most disappointing, and in some ways the most sterile in Indian history." In the realm of art and architecture his criticism is perhaps not without some justification, though he might have modified his condemnation by a mention of some of the noble works created by the late Mr. Wittet, notably the Gateway of India and the Prince of Wales' Museum in Bombay. But the whole chapter is informed by a tone which is hardly consonant with a judicial presentation of the case and by an animus which will surely prejudice the reception of his contentions. It is left for Lord Zetland, in his introduction to the book, to play the Balaam to Mr. Garratt's Balak. He does so in the following words: "The legacy of India is not static, it is an organism growing in richness and content, and for generations yet unborn it may well be that the contribution made to it by the British people may prove to have been an incalculable one. . . . Purity and efficiency of administration; the equality of all men in the eyes of the law; these together with ideals of liberty and of the sovereignty of the people expressing itself through representative institutions have been sown by Englishmen on Indian soil. What will come of them? Will they prove to be purely exotic plants which when no longer tended by those who sowed the seed will wither and die? Or has the genius of the Indo-Aryan race that in it which will enable them to draw new life from the soil in which they have been planted?"

F. B. P. L.

India Reveals Herself. By Basil Mathews. 6″ × 4″. Pp. vi + 192. Milford. 5s.

The author here records his impressions formed during a journey of only three months in India. He had, however, prepared his mind by long study of Indian problems, political, social, religious, and economic, to enquire into and understand the trend of those movements that are effecting such great changes in the life of India to-day. The above title suggests a successful outcome to his investigations, but the heading of the concluding chapter, the unanswered question "Whither?" seems an admission that he was baffled by the immense complexity of the problems that he envisaged. In the course of his enquiry he associated with many prominent persons, British and Indian, men and women, official and non-official, of varied opinions and ideals. His sympathy with Indian aspirations and friendly attitude to his informers evidently gained him their confidence and a frank expression of their views, but his contact with Indian politicians and students has led him to depict India as seething with unrest and struggling for emancipation from the thraldom of British rule. The extent to which he yielded his judgement to such influences appears in his account of a discussion at a conference in Bombay. The so-called "discussion" was by his own showing mainly a flood of passionate foolish vituperation against the British, yet he writes that "this conference was a focal point" in his experience in India. The author, when addressing a group of students on another occasion, told them what would befall students in Japan, Italy,

or Germany, not to speak of Russia, if they were to criticize their Governments in such abusive terms as Indians freely employ. It is regrettable that Mr. Mathews did not extend his contacts to the more virile and saner races in the north, whose one complaint against the British is that they allow a voice in the Government of the country to such people as he associated with in Bombay. Nevertheless this study by an independent observer is opportune. The forces that he regards as powerful in shaping India's future are: The inrush of Western ideas of individualism and self-expression, upsetting the old Hindu family system with its authoritative relationship between father and son, and in which individual self-assertion was sacrificed for the good of the group: the emancipation of women, perhaps the most momentous of all the changes taking place in India's life. (This subject is illustrated by a pleasing account of a visit to the refined home of Begum Shah Nawaz in Lahore, and description of the political activities of the Begum and other Indian ladies.) The enlightenment of the vast rural population by facilities for travel by railway or motor bus; by wireless broadcasting of news, propaganda, and entertainment; by the cinema; also, as evil influences, by cheap inflammatory journalism, and "the affectionate solicitude of astute revolutionary politicians now that the peasant has a vote under the new Constitution."

To such causes are attributed a stirring of village life throughout India, and an awakening from the apathy induced by the doctrine of "karma." In this connection, too, the author rightly devotes attention to rural reconstruction, and pays a tribute to the Viceroy's "inspiring and sustained stimulus." He mentions with appreciation various agencies for the improvement of the lot of the peasants, and gives a prominent place to the practical work of Mr. Sam Higginbottom's farm and agricultural Institute near Allahabad.

The most profound and historical significance is, however, attributed to Gandhi's efforts to reform Hinduism from within and to bring the outcastes within the fold; pages 136-141 are devoted to an examination of his motives and his influence, and a comparison of his teaching with the foundations of Christianity.

Mr. Mathews visited both Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, the revolutionary President of the Congress Party. He pays enthusiastic tribute to the idealism of the latter and his fearless devotion to his cause. Though he shared with Gandhi the ideal of an independent India, the methods by which they would achieve it differ widely. Though Nehru still professes himself Gandhi's disciple, "they differ as the poles asunder on religion, on economics, and on social theory." Nehru, the uncompromising revolutionary; Gandhi, the advocate of non-violence and achievement of emancipation by soul force. "Nehru saturated with the culture of the West, Gandhi of the very soil of India." The writer considers "unfortunate" Nehru's statement in his Presidential Address to the Congress that the Government does not concern itself with famine, flood, and drought, when "he must surely know that it has done more than any other rule on earth to fight these things" (p. 177). "Unfortunate" seems a mild term for such misrepresentation, hardly consistent with "the spirit of truth and absolute honesty" ascribed to Nehru by Rabindranath Tagore (p. 44), and apparently endorsed by Mr. Mathews.

After the publication of this book, the impasse created by the refusal of the Congress Party to accept office arose. It has now been dissolved by the favourable decision of the Working Committee of the Congress at Wardha, near Gandhi's home. This decision made on Gandhi's advice is a welcome proof that the moderate element in the party is the stronger. It also confirms the writer's opinion that Gandhi's voice is the prevailing one, and that Nehru acknowledges and defers to it.

When visiting Gandhi at Wardha, the author met his disciple Abdul Gaffar Khan, the Pathan leader of the Red-Shirt movement on the North-West Frontier. He affirms his certainty that nothing is further from Abdul Gaffar's mind than the creation of a revolutionary movement with Red tendencies. This statement is hard to reconcile with the wearing of the red shirt, whatever its shade, combined with the badge of the hammer and sickle. Abdul Gaffar's "conviction that if the British Government would provide him with the requisite funds for five years he could lay the foundations for the pacification of the North-West Frontier by a system of village schools and dispensaries" must seem grotesque to those who have spent the best part of their lives in grappling with the problems of this frontier.

The writer, with all his sympathy with the desire for self-rule, doubts whether even Nehru or Gandhi have ever realistically envisaged the immensity and complexity of the task that awaits a new Government. He expresses something like despair at "the angry refusal of the vast majority of Indian Nationalists to look straight into the face of this colossal issue, and frame some policy," and at the reiterated answer that nothing can be done while the British are there. He deplores the intense preoccupation of Indians with their own problems, blinding them to the world forces which vitally concern the future of their country: Jawaharlal Nehru is quoted as expressing similar thoughts.

Regarding communal antagonism, the author found it quite useless to argue against the accusation that the award of representation under the new Constitution was made by the British Government in order to foment antagonism for their own ends; an accusation made by those who well know that the burden of solving the problem was thrown upon the Government by the Hindu and Muhammedan leaders when they failed to come to an agreement themselves.

A highly appreciative reference is made to Sir John Anderson's system for regenerating the young Bengali terrorists by agricultural and industrial training in the detention camps (pp. 80-82) and to his economic planning for Bengal through the agency of an able Bengali, Mr. Mitter. Also (p. 179) to the village improvement scheme in Nasik under Lord Brabourne, and to his effort to reclaim criminal tribes by developing employment.

A visit to Benares with its sordid squalor gave a shock to Mr. Matthews' idealism, and he pays well deserved tribute to the heroism of the English ladies who work among the miserable Doms to raise them from the utter degradation to which Brahmanism relegates them. Brighter aspects of Benares are revealed in the Hindu University and in the new Buddhist temple and pilgrim hostel of Saranath.

A brief chapter on "India of the Princes" can only be regarded as inadequate for such a title. Excepting a few generalities, it is limited to meetings with Sir Mirza Ismail in Mysore and with Sir Akbar Hyderi in Hyderabad. The condition of the people in both these States under the administration of these enlightened Ministers suggests that little response is likely from them to the policy of the Congress Party as outlined by Jawaharlal Nehru, who regards the independent rule of the Princes as an anachronism perpetuated by the British, that must cease in his scheme for a free united India.

A chapter on Cultural Renaissance gives an account of a visit to Rabindranath Tagore's School of Art and Culture near Calcutta. Elsewhere glowing descriptions are given of the Taj Mahal at Agra, of Fatehpur Sikri, and of the Jama Masjid in Delhi at the 'Id festival; but it is the beauty of the Caves of Ajanta that awakens the author's highest enthusiasm.

To anyone desiring more information on the subjects of this book, I would

commend the illuminating articles which appeared in *The Times* of July 27 and 28 on Broadcasting in India; and on Congress in Office on July 30.

J. K. T.

Indian Medicine. An eight-hundred-year-old book of Indian Medicine and Formulas. Translated from the original very old Hindi into Gujerati character and thence into English, by Elizabeth Sharpe, Limbdi-Kathiawar, India. London: Luzac and Co. 1937.

This book is a translation of an old manuscript written by a monk, a pupil of a great priest of the Jain sect in Kathiawar, Western India, and is dedicated to the present Thakore Sahib of Limbdi. The book is divided into chapters devoted to the prevailing diseases of India, containing in each case one or more prescriptions varied according to the nature of the complaint. The prescriptions are of the usual complicated type of the Middle Ages, consisting of from ten to twenty ingredients, some of which are burnt to ashes and the others are powdered and boiled with water or oil. Some of the medicines are made by the "Gujput" or "Putpak" process, where the ingredients are sealed in an earthen pot and heated and the product collected by dry distillation. Recipes are given for certain pills and powders the composition of which have remained a secret to the lay world for many ages; and for a hidden reason the names "Camphor Pill" and "Clove Pill" do not, by any means, represent the basic ingredient. A series of preparations called "Ghrita," or medicinal ghees, hold a very important place in Hindu materia medica. These are sold in the form of ointments containing the essences of various plants combined with ghee or melted butter, and are used for internal administration. Brahmi ghrita is a specific for curing madness; Maha ghrita is a remedy for skin diseases. "Sarasvati-Ghrita or ghee of the goddess of learning" is made in large quantities and is very popular with students; it is said to increase brain power and "sharpen the memory to such an extent that what is read or memorized today will be remembered for a month." The writer speaks with the greatest confidence of many of his remedies. On taking a mixture of nutmeg and saxifrage root, "the passing of blood in dysentery will be stopped." In burns, by an application of human milk and myrobalans "the pain will be removed and the patient will feel happy." Six drugs prescribed in Chapter XXII. "will kill all worms in the stomach."

The preparation of cosmetics seems naturally to have been taken over by the medical department at this period. Recipes are given for dyeing the hair and making the complexion fair; for removing pimples or filling up wrinkled skin. A special black powder was made for blackening the teeth of Mohammedan women, and a red powder for reddening the teeth of Hindu women.

One of the most valuable features of this translation is the attempt to identify the crude drugs mentioned in the recipes, and the compilation of an index of the vernacular names with the corresponding English and scientific equivalents. There are about 400 crude drugs recorded in this old manuscript, and, on consulting modern works on Indian materia medica, it is noted that practically all of them are used and sold in Indian bazaars at the present day, and some of them are official in the latest edition of the *British Pharmacopœia.*

The book keeps strictly to the subject of medicinal formulæ and makes no reference to the cost or geographical source of the drugs or the value of the prepared medicines. Nor are we informed of the professional fees charged. We are assured, however, that doctors held a distinguished place in the community in these early times in India. We learn, for instance, from an introduction to the

manuscript, that "A Physician is much honoured among Kings and people; he obtains desired objects; he gets a palanquin, an honourable seat and good things to eat." J.-S.

Indian Peepshow. By Henry Newman. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 291. G. Bell and Sons. 7s. 6d.

The author joined the staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette* at Lahore in 1893, and later that of the *Statesman* at Calcutta. He went to Lhasa with Colonel Younghusband's Expedition and served in the War in an Indian regiment in Irak, the Khyber, and elsewhere.

From internal evidence it may be inferred that he acquired a good colloquial, but probably not literary knowledge of the languages of the areas near which he resided, and possessed the ability to get on with, and acquire the confidence of, the people. By frequent visits to the really rural areas and truly Indian portions of towns he has learned many curious facts and customs, not a few of which are new to the reviewer in spite of his twenty-eight years' experience of India, by no means confined to "the stations"; but there seems no reason to doubt their substantial accuracy for that reason, though the relative importance of some of the facts related seems to be scarcely correct. Thus it seems hardly right to say that the Oads (? Oddes, Ods, Vaddars or Woddas) and Nats (? Naths) are the two great gipsy tribes of India. The former, whichever Oad may represent, do not seem to be gipsies at all, though the Naths are. These two tribes would appear to be those with whom the author happened to come in contact. Then again the variety of bard, called by the author Bhang or Bhangi, would seem to be the Bhánḍ, Bhangi of course being a very usual name for a sweeper.

Of some of the facts and customs it would have been interesting to have had some detail of the locality in which, or people among whom, they occur. A peculiar custom which with great advantage might be adopted in England is one that regards it as "immoral and indecent" to make a noise, a view that would certainly be applied by its practisers to the noise of aeroplanes and motor traffic!

The book is interesting; it gives the unbiassed experiences and views of one who is clearly a keen observer of, and interested in, Indian life, but who has not, I imagine, studied the more scientific and orthodox books on the subject.

C. A. S.

The Ascent of Nanda Devi. By W. H. Tilman. The Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

After reading the book, the best I can possibly do is to quote from Dr. T. G. Longstaff's Foreword. I agree with it and shall not make a futile attempt at improving upon it. He says:

"The finest mountain ascent yet made, either in the Himalaya or anywhere else. It so happens that, besides being very difficult, Nanda Devi is also the highest mountain that has yet been climbed to the top. This is the story of a self-sufficing party of friends who provided their own finance and eschewed publicity.

"Professor Graham Brown, of Mount Foraker fame, was the connecting-link between the English and American mountaineers. There was no official leader: but when the moment came for the final attempt on the peak the author of this book was voted into the lead to direct the activities of the whole team. . . .

"I have always believed that Nanda Devi reigned over the most supremely

beautiful part of all Himalaya: only three years ago . . . I had written that the climbing of this peak would be a sacrilege too horrible to contemplate. I was thinking of the probable self-glorification of man in a 'conquest' over Nature at her sublimest, and of the loss of one more mystery. Yet in the event news of success filled me with delight. A laconic telegram reached me in Shetland: 'Two reached the top August 29': no names. They had deserved the honour: here was humility, not pride, and gratitude for a permitted experience."

W. R. R.

Plant Hunter's Paradise. By F. Kingdon Ward. Pp. 347, including two maps, thirteen illustrations, and four appendices. Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d.

This book, dealing with the borderland of Burma and Tibet, is really as delightful as the publisher would have us believe. It contains a mass of interesting information, both scattered through the text and concentrated in the appendices. It is not a book to borrow, but to buy and treasure; to be read slowly, and then read again; to be dipped into on warm quiet evenings in the garden.

Every gardener should possess it.

I have only two errors to note and those are trivial ones. On pages 22 and 23 the author implies that the Burmese Rebellion of 1930-32 lasted for only nine months and was confined to one district. Sporadic outbreaks occurred in several districts, and eighteen months would be a more accurate estimate of its duration. On page 328, does the author mean New Year's Eve, 1931, or New Year's Day, 1932?

We should be grateful to Captain Kingdon Ward for such a charming record of an arduous adventure.

C. R. M. Orr.

The Far East in World Politics. A Study in Recent History. By G. F. Hudson. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1937.

This is a very handy volume, containing much valuable and correct information on the political events and problems in the Far East and their development in the last hundred years. It should be particularly useful to those who desire to understand that part of the world without making a deep study of it.

Although a chapter is devoted to Anglo-Dutch relations in the Malay archipelago, the book mainly deals with China and her relations with the outside world.

It is an easy-flowing and completely unbiassed narrative of events. As a whole century is compressed into one volume it is of necessity concise, and it seems therefore a pity that the author, except in a few instances, has not seen fit to give for his numerous statements of facts, assertions and quotations the sources from whence these have been obtained and where the reader might go deeper into the subject. This would have increased the usefulness of the book in the way that Joseph's *Foreign Diplomacy in China 1894-1900* has proved so exceedingly valuable to students.

Contrary to what has almost become a fashion, the author does not maintain that the first Anglo-Chinese war of 1839 which led to the Treaty of Nanking of 1842 was fought just to force opium upon China. He rightly observes that the dispute about opium merely brought to a head a conflict which had been developing for many years owing to the Chinese inflicting the maximum of humiliation and hazard on all foreigners trading in Canton.

It is the early Chinese attitude towards Europeans which has given that peculiar character to Sino-foreign relations which marks them even to-day, and now embitters Chinese feelings. It led to consular jurisdiction and foreign settlements, both at present developed into a state of affairs which at the outset could never have been contemplated.

Imperialism in its worst form was let loose on the coast of China after Japan had exposed her military weakness. The author might have shown that it was the Kaiser who immediately upon the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war mooted the idea of occupying a Chinese port, and that Russia's proposal of intervention was principally a result of German scheming.

It is probably not generally known that John Hay's famous American proposal to the Powers of September 6, 1899, about the "Open Door" in China was a direct result of the efforts of Mr. A. E. Hippisley, a British Commissioner in the Chinese Customs Service, urging the American Government to take this initiative.

It is too strong to say that England threatened China with naval action to obtain the lease of Wei hai wei. Sir Claude MacDonald did say that in case of refusal "the matter would be out of his hands," but it must be remembered that the offer of the lease came from the Chinese themselves in February, 1898.

The last chapters and the conclusions form the best and the most interesting part of the book, as they deal not with what is now already ancient history but with the problems of the day: the revolutionary efforts of Moscow; the Chinese opposition against existing treaties; the Russo-Japanese tension; the activities of the Kuomintang; the creation of Manchukuo and Japanese politics and aspirations; and finally the United States policy in the Western Pacific.

There are a few small mistakes in the book, probably due to clerical errors. On page 129: February, 1903 (outbreak of Russo-Japanese war), must be 1904. On page 142: battle of Hei tou kai must be Hei kow tai. The rebellion of Kuo Sung-ling against Chang Tso-lin was in 1926, not 1936 (p. 229).

W. J. OUDENDIJK.

Report on Economic and Commercial Conditions in Siam. H.M. Stationery Office. 1937. 1s.

This Report, written for the Department of Overseas Trade by Mr. John Bailey, H.M. Consul General at Bangkok, and published in April last, contains much that is of economic and commercial interest, and, when read between the lines, a good deal that is of political significance also. It is based on the Report of the Siamese Financial Adviser and the Annual Statement of the Customs Department, both issued in November, 1936, and covering the period April, 1935-36; and also on later information obtained by the writer down to January, 1937.

The annual publication of the Siamese Financial Adviser's Report, an unfailing event for the last thirty-five years of the recently abolished Absolute Monarchy régime, went into abeyance shortly after constitutional government was introduced. Now, after three years, the financial silence is broken and the report for 1935-36, clearing the air of any dark suspicions that may have been aroused by that same silence, exhibits the financial situation as stable and, on the whole, not unlike that which obtained under the old conditions. Changes of course there are, and certain weak spots are apparent, but the budget is balanced, the currency position is sound, and the Treasury balance, though drawn upon somewhat freely in the latest financial forecast (1937-38) is still considerable. It is to be noted that the great savings expected to result from the disappearance of autocratic rule have only partially materialized and have, in fact, no more than sufficed for the addition

of such strength to the armed forces as may ensure the peaceful acceptance by the people, of the new government that is said to have been set up solely in their interests. Also, it appears that to finance the extension of primary education, promised as the first fruits of the new constitution, the wise provision for the Avoidance of Debt, a feature of former budgets, has been suspended; and that in contrast to the large sums devoted to "Defence," Public Instruction, and Communications, is the paucity of the provision for Agriculture, Justice, and Scientific Irrigation.

COMMERCE.—Ten years ago Siamese imports amounted to £13,500,000 and exports to £16,000,000. For 1935-36 they were £9,800,000 and £14,300,000 respectively, from which it appears that, while the balance of trade is now more in Siam's favour, the actual volume is less than it used to be. Against the favourable balance, moreover, must be placed the large remittances made by the Chinese immigrant population to their native land. The Customs figures show clearly the invasion of the import trade by Japan. Textiles, once the strong suit of the British Empire, have passed almost entirely to Japan, and iron and steel manufactures, also a big item, seem to be going the same way. Total imports from the British Empire, formerly more than half the entire import trade, have dropped to 29·8 per cent., while those of Japan have risen from practically nothing to 25·6 per cent.; and all within the last decade.

Rice, for the last hundred years the chief export, still holds pride of place, but while ten years ago it represented 70 per cent. of the value of all exports, it was last year, at £8,000,000, less than 60 per cent.; some half-million tons increase in quantity notwithstanding. But as the war in China has already caused a 30 per cent. rise in the price of rice, the proportion seems likely to be restored for the time being to its former level.

Tin, valued at £2,100,000, is now second in importance of Siam's exports and, under the liberal quota granted to this country by the International Restriction Committee, will doubtless maintain its position.

Rubber also has benefited from liberal restriction arrangements, and though until recently an almost negligible export, now, at £1,200,000, comes third on the list. But the area in Siam suitable for rubber is small and no great further increase in this item is to be looked for, unless smuggling across the frontier from more rigidly restricted British Malaya, is allowed to increase beyond the dimensions to which it has already attained.

Teak, formerly second in importance of exports, now occupies fifth place. The forest leases, under which it has hitherto been produced by European firms, are now expiring, and it is rumoured that the Government may decide to reissue these only to Siamese nationals, which, as Mr. Bailey observes, introduces an element of uncertainty as to the future of the industry. The present value of the teak export is about £450,000.

The ample leisure enjoyed by the Siamese peasantry in the intervals of rice cultivation is fitfully occupied with the growing, for home consumption, of sundry small crops, the fortuitous overflow of which provides, with sundry forest products, the hundred and one minor articles of export shown in the Customs returns but not severally noted by Mr. Bailey. Amongst these is cotton. Since cotton (piece-goods, clothing, and yarn), is by far the biggest import item, it is thought by some that every Siamese must dress exclusively in foreign cloth, but as the total value of cotton imports amounts after all to only about half a crown per head of the population, this cannot be so. In fact, a considerable quantity of cotton is grown, spun, and woven by the peasantry for home use, and, as the soil in many parts is eminently suitable for cotton, efforts have been made for the last twenty or more

years to persuade the people to grow it for export, but with practically no result. Tobacco, sugar, and silk are in like case, all being imports of some importance, though all are produced locally and might be widely developed.

GENERAL.—Reference is made in the Report to the anxiety of the Government to attract the internal trade of the country into Siamese hands: an anxiety which, the writer adds, seems likely to be long in the allaying, in view of the absence of trade instinct in the people. This anxiety is no new thing. Though a Siamese can spend money as easily as another when he happens to have any, he has hitherto shown no aptitude for amassing it by laborious methods. But to keep pace with the times, his rulers have found it necessary to create wealth, and to do so have grudgingly admitted foreigners and foreign capital to develop internal trade. The people have accepted the cash results but have always resented the process, and at any time would willingly have dispensed with their "uitlander" exploiters but for the knowledge that they could not replace them with any hope of efficiency. Under the old régime spasmodic attempts were made to take over business from the foreigner, but these seldom met with any sort of success. Now, under the new order, the anxiety has become a passionate urge with the intelligentsia, and plans are being carefully laid which, if faithfully persisted in, may ultimately wrest from the alien a considerable share of the internal trade and business of the country; with what effect upon the well-being of the people, time will show. At present the workers in the rice-mills, rubber plantations, tin mines, and sea fisheries, the inland carriers and the retail traders, are practically all Chinese and other foreigners, the Siamese giving about four months of the year to rice cultivation and the rest to more or less comfortable leisure. The average standard of life is low, but if it is to be raised only by hard labour, the Siamese peasant would as lief have it so. About 95 per cent. of the working population are rice growers.

The Report, which contains also notes on conditions in the outlying Chieng Mai and Sôngkla Consular Districts, is prepared with the usual care and humorous insight of the distinguished writer and should be read by all who are interested in the commercial possibilities and the present and future economic condition of Siam.

She was a Queen. By Maurice Collis. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 301. Maps and illustrations. Faber and Faber. 1937. 15s.

Mr. Maurice Collis is much to be congratulated, for, whilst the demand for his book, *Siamese White*, published eighteen months ago, was still active, he produced in *She was a Queen* another which seems to be attracting an equal, if not greater, degree of public interest. Both works are in the nature of historical romance, but, whereas in the first the author had the authentic records of comparatively recent events to brace the fledgling wings of his imagination, now, with pinions suddenly full-grown, he sails serenely on the upper airs of fantasy with only a tenuous thread of vaguest legend to hold him to prosaic earth.

There are many known annals of the kings who have reigned in Burma and adjacent lands from the most ancient times, in most of which thin veins of crystallized fact run through an amorphous mass of fable and bombast; and in none are the veins of fact thinner or the cloying mass more dense than in the *Hman-nan Yazawin*, a vapouring epitome of former magniloquent works, compiled about a hundred years ago to amuse and console King Bagyidaw of Burma, badly disgruntled by the results of the first Anglo-Burmese war. Students in search of information as to history, customs, ceremonies and superstitions of

ancient Burma for long have quarried in this uncertain field, and local poets have extracted from it themes for the conventional drama of the country, but, with the possible exception of some of Fielding Hall's *Palace Tales*, it has not hitherto yielded matter for the delectation of English novel readers. Now, however, Mr. Collis has dug from its recesses a gem in the shape of a little Burmese Court Lady who flourished in the thirteenth century A.D.; a gem that he has cut and polished and now presents, with its original native setting elaborated and modernized, as the centre of a thrilling romance of the closing years of the old Pagan dynasty of Burma.

That the lady in question existed and greatly influenced the fortunes of her country is certain; that she was clever, charming and sexually adroit is more than probable, since such qualities were always indispensable to female success at the Burmese Court. For the rest, for the supernatural portents that foretold her elevation to power, guided her actions and assured the many triumphs of her long career, there is the dubious authority of the annals, while for the intimate descriptions of her mind, her person and her moral and physical sensibilities, and for the circumstantially reconstructed scenes of tragedy and comedy at the Pagan Court in 1280 A.D., the author's acquaintance with Burmese character and mentality, his liberal adaptations and inferences from records of recent Burmese Court life and other sources, and, above all, his inventive dexterity are entirely responsible.

The historical value of the book is negligible, for the author has not always adhered strictly even to the known facts with which he has come in contact in the pages of the *Yazawin*; such facts, as also his own knowledge of Burmese chronology, ethics and culture, being freely moulded to suit the exigencies of his tale. But, actually, historical value is not here in question. Romance is the author's inspiration. History may provide the *mise en scène*, but romance informs the work. And romance, if its fulfilment so demand, must not be bound by the trammels of hard fact!

What though the lovely heroine never achieved, nor probably desired, the serene happiness in seclusion with a philosophic lover with which the author ultimately rewards her, but continued a frenzied pursuit of power into extreme and repulsive old age. What though the intrusion of Marco Polo as a member of Kublai Khan's ill-fated embassy to Pagan and the desperate parthian encounter of a few Tartar bowmen with the entire Burmese cavalry (Chapter XXVII.) are quite unsupported by evidence. What though the appearance of "Upsara," mythical angels of the Brahmanic heavens whose effigies adorn the Angkor Temple, as naked acrobats in the streets of Dalla be the height of absurdity (p. 102). All these, as well as the interpellation of the quite extraneous Indian Rope Trick (Chapter X.) and the all-pervading thaumaturgical atmosphere in which the author seems to revel, are but ingredients to ensure the full flavour and pungency of the bold and intriguing melodrama that he sets before his readers.

The flowery metaphor in which romancers are wont to render the naturally ornate idiom of the Orient is here discarded for a straightforward modern English phraseology, tense and vigorous in the narrative and, in dialogue, colloquial to a sometimes startling degree. That a timorous Court Chamberlain, finding himself responsible for a military catastrophe, should exclaim, "No one could fix a party like me. Why didn't I stick to illuminations and fancy menus? Campaigning is so different," is not, perhaps, beyond the bounds of verisimilitude, but that a stately and dignified queen, herself of royal descent, should call a rival a "tart" in the course of an argument (p. 128) is something whereat the imagination of the student of things Burmese will surely boggle.

At the Court of Pagan, under the baleful shadow of ignorant, superstitious and bloodthirsty tyrants, life was probably a tragic affair alternating between a hectic revelry and the terror of unbridled cruelty. Yet this tale of the humble but strangely sophisticated country maiden who at the first bout, told in one short but priceless chapter, enslaves a tyrant king and becomes the power behind the throne, leans towards comedy rather than tragedy. Though there are gruesome episodes enough to satisfy the amateur of such matters, and though the constant intrusions of the occult are recorded with a becoming gravity, the author's eye is on the light side of things; the humour of each situation, delicate or broad (and Burmese humour can be broad enough for even modern novel readers), is indicated, at times with an alluring subtlety and at others as with a sledge-hammer. An unusual book: crisp, virile and yet easy of style; smile-provoking, fascinating and—literature!

The illustrations are nearly all inappropriate and might well have been left out.

W. A. GRAHAM.

The Shanghai Problem. By William Crane Johnstone, Jr. Pp. xi+326. 8vo. Stanford U.P., O.U.P. 1937. 13s. 6d.

The International Settlement at Shanghai may be said to resemble the 'Efreet of the Arabian tale which so terrified and astonished the fisherman that the muscles of his sides quivered, his teeth were locked together, his spittle dried up, and he saw not his way. He did not refuse, however, to believe that so gigantic a figure could ever have come out of so small a bottle. Professor Johnstone, on the other hand, apparently refuses to believe that there could be any treaty basis for the great modern city, which is the International Settlement of Shanghai. The treaty basis may be exiguous, but it certainly exists. Professor Johnstone says that "when foreigners with spurious legal reasoning and broad implications added to their rights and privileges by creating foreign municipalities on Chinese soil, a thing not contemplated in the treaties, the Chinese Government was too weak to do more than protest." The evidence does not support this view, and Professor Johnstone appears to have been misled by events that happened long after the original British settlement had grown into a cosmopolitan city.

Article 7 of the Treaty of Bogue (not quoted by Professor Johnstone) provided that, as British subjects had a treaty right to reside at the open ports without molestation or restraint, ground and houses should be set apart by the local officers in communication with the Consul. Bearing in mind the Chinese doctrine of devolution of responsibility, which already in pre-treaty days had been applied to the foreign community at Canton, it is not difficult to see how this article came to be spontaneously interpreted on both sides as meaning that an area was to be set aside in which foreigners were to manage their own affairs and provide themselves with the amenities which they desired but which the Chinese at that time did not value. From the Chinese point of view it was an ideal solution that the foreigners should lay out and manage a little settlement of their own outside the walls of Shanghai, for it avoided all the difficult problems that would have been caused by the presence of a foreign community within the city. The first Land Regulations of 1845 clearly contemplated a Council with power to levy contributions for municipal purposes, and, as Professor Johnstone observes, they were drafted by the Taotai himself. The clue to all subsequent developments is to be found in the fact that in the China of those days Government was reduced to a minimum. There were very few human activities—in the municipal sphere practically none—with which Chinese administration concerned itself, and when

foreign administration developed and expanded it was for the most part filling a vacuum. It was only much later, after China had begun to modernize her institutions, that conflicts arose.

In such questions as the position of Chinese in the Settlement, the Mixed Court, taxation, etc., Professor Johnstone is not a safe guide because he does not appear to have grasped the fact that questions of jurisdiction are dealt with in the treaties and are beyond the scope of the Land Regulations which are confined to matters of municipal administration. The principles that regulate the administration of justice in China are not affected by the Land Regulations or by the existence of foreign concessions and settlements. A Chinese, equally with a British or a French national, whether resident within a settlement or outside, can appear as defendant or accused only in the courts of his own national authority. The difficulties that have arisen have been in connection with the exercise of administrative control within the Settlement, and these have sometimes affected the functioning of the Chinese Courts set up in the Settlement to exercise jurisdiction over the Chinese residents. The loose use of the term "jurisdiction" leads to such questionable statements (p. 40) as that the "municipal authorities assumed exclusive jurisdiction over Chinese in the Settlement."

The general reader will derive from Professor Johnstone's book a fair idea of the sort of place Shanghai is and the peculiar and intricate pattern of its problems. It is interesting also to read the opinions of an intelligent observer. Professor Johnstone praises the administration of the International Settlement, which he thinks has been on the whole efficient, well organized, and certainly free from many defects found in large cities. He qualifies this with the observation that there is hardly a city in the world in which the masses of the people are living under worse conditions and are being exploited to a greater degree than in Shanghai, but perhaps this indictment is meant for Shanghai as a whole and not the International Settlement only. He pays a well deserved tribute to the great progress made by the Chinese in the development of municipal institutions in Greater Shanghai, contrary to the expectations of the foreign community, but he accepts some of the ill-informed criticisms that have been levelled against Chinese judicial administration. The speech by the Chairman of the Municipal Council quoted on page 165 is evidence not of any failure on the part of the Chinese courts but of one of the fundamental defects of the foreign community; and when Professor Johnstone suggests (p. 137) that a sound court system cannot be developed in the Chinese municipality so long as the municipality is under the control of the National Government, he can hardly have thought out the full implications of such a view.

JOHN BRENT.

Shanghai Policeman. By E. W. Peters. Edited by Hugh Barnes. Rich and Cowan, Ltd.

This is a frank and unpretentious account of the author's career as a policeman in Shanghai, a career ended by a charge of murder and a trial at the end of which he was found "not guilty" and acquitted. Not the least interesting part of the book is that devoted to the narration of the events out of which the charge and the trial grew. Mr. Peters joined the Shanghai Municipal Police Force after serving for five years in the Royal Tank Corps in India. The way of a private citizen in Shanghai, that most cosmopolitan of cities, may easily become sufficiently complicated; that of a police officer is inevitably difficult, demanding for a variety of reasons, constant vigilance, unfailing tact, invincible patience, and not

a little diplomacy. The circumstances in which the police work are surely unique, for the city has three areas: the foreign settlement, the French Concession, and Chinese territory, a vast mixed population and boundaries as zealously observed as frontiers. The author considers that many of the difficulties that arise are due to a lack of understanding between the governing bodies. The police force itself is a cosmopolitan body consisting of British, Japanese, Indians and Chinese; there are also some Russians "who make up for their paucity of numbers and their incapacity as policemen by causing more trouble than anyone else." The book is largely anecdotal and reflects the reactions of a well-ordered mind to a state of affairs intolerable in any Western city, or indeed any Eastern city of defined nationality. Squabbles, quarrels, jealousies and exasperating misrepresentations of regulations appear to be frequent, while, says the author, "I should think that crime was worse in Shanghai than in any other city in the world both in amount and in degree." He goes far to substantiate this charge in a book which paints a sombre and often startling picture of life in the city's underworld; but it is not wholly cast in dark tones and frequently it is relieved by passages dealing succinctly and informatively with the ordinary lives of ordinary folk.

The final chapter describes the author's attachment with a Japanese girl, his personal tragedy, trial and acquittal. Written in a straightforward style, it is a convincing document and only one more illustration of the generally unaccountable and often cruel ways of the Far East.

The book gains an enhanced value from the present course of events in Shanghai and the surrounding country.

R. C.

Territoires et Populations des Confins du Yunnan. Translated from the Chinese by J. Siguret, Elève breveté de L'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Secretaire-Interprète E.O. Published by Henri Vetch, Peiping, China.

This book, a collection of notes and essays by several Chinese authors, the whole translated into French by Monsieur J. Siguret, is disappointing.

The title of the original may be translated as "A Study of the Yunnan Frontier Question." The translator in his preface, however, explains that he has been impressed by the fact that the Chinese have for the first time shown an inclination to modify the national attitude of contempt for "barbarian peoples" and to observe with some attention the tribes-folk within their country. It is for this reason, he says, that he has undertaken the task of translation, and has altered the title of the result to "Territoires et Populations des Confins du Yunnan."

This alteration is, perhaps, hardly fair, for it leads the reader to expect what the original did not purport to contain.

Yunnan must rank as one of the most interesting corners of Asia. In area comparable to Great Britain and Ireland, Yunnan is the third largest, but the second most thinly populated of the former eighteen provinces of China. Among its inhabitants, however, it comprises so large a collection of diverse peoples that the province has been described as an ethnological museum. One of the chief towns of modern Yunnan, Ta-li-fu, was the capital of the once powerful Shan kingdom, known to Chinese historians as Nan Ch'ao, which existed from the early part of the eighth century until it was finally conquered and added to the Chinese Empire during the Yuan dynasty. Apart from the Shans, who still inhabit, in isolated but often large communities, the west and south-west of the province, there are also within Yunnan a large number of different tribes of Tibetan,

Burmese, or mixed stock—one authority puts this number as high as 200—each with its own language, dress and customs, several with a peculiar script, which in some instances is practically extinct and is still unknown or little known to the rest of the world.

The Chinese have for many years been jealous of the work of Western savants within the Empire. Recently Chinese scholars, trained in Western universities, have done excellent work themselves, principally in the arts and in the realms of archæology, history and philology. Misled by the altered title, one approaches this book, therefore, in high hope that they have begun to imitate the example of the Government of India in studying systematically the ethnology of their country before it is too late, and in recording adequately the features of so fascinating a region of Yunnan before the rising tide of modernism submerges the tribes-folk for ever.

It is therefore disappointing to find that the book is inspired by political rather than by scientific considerations. Several sections of the international frontier of Yunnan have never been delimited. For example, in about latitude 26, the most appropriate boundary line, west of the Salween River, between China and Burma, has long been a matter of dispute between the two Governments concerned. The area in question, containing the insignificant village of Hpi-maw or Pienma, is small and unimportant, but the Chinese, after perforce swallowing the camel of territorial loss in the north-east, are still straining unconsciously at the Pienma gnat in the south-west, and it is to the official determination not to yield a square inch of jungle to foreign aggression that the original of this book appears to be due.

Incidentally it contains various notes about some of the tribes-people; but these notes are obviously not the work of trained ethnologists, and, though of some interest and value, add but little to the already recorded observations of Western travellers.

E. B. H.

The Analects of Confucius. As translated into English by William Edward Soothill, M.A.(Oxon.), Hon. M.A.(Cantab). Late Professor of Chinese Literature, Oxford University. Edited by his daughter Lady Hosie, M.A.(Cantab.).

The analects are what we, in our language, might call the Table Talks of Confucius. These sayings were the familiar and spontaneous remarks made by the Sage in his intimate and casual conversations with his disciples. The little band that continued with him in his wanderings from one to another of the Petty States into which China was then divided.

The Master's ambition was to be appointed administrator of a principality where he might put his theory of government to the test. For a brief period he held the post of Minister of Justice in the State of Lu. But the Duke of that State, being sunk in debauchery, the Master left in disgust and devoted the rest of his life to expounding his theory of government to his disciples. Put briefly, that theory was for the ruler to do justice and love mercy. Being once asked, "Who in these evil days could unify the Empire?" then divided into warring states, ruled by evil men. He replied, "He who hates killing could unify the Empire."

Later dynasties paid such honour to the memory of China's great Sage as were given to no other man in her long history. Every city had its Confucian temple wherein honour, falling just short of divinity, was paid to the Master's memory.

The only textbooks in the schools were the writings, or sayings of the Master.

The boys (girls in China were not educated in those days) chanted the sayings of the Master without the least comprehension of what the words meant. When they could repeat this whole book of the analects, with others quite as long, and as heavy, without a stammer, then the teacher would proceed to enlighten them on the meaning of the words they had learned parrot-like. Knowing the words thereof, but not the meaning.

But yesterday Confucius' honour would have stood against the world in China, and to cast a doubt on anything "the Master" said was the equivalent of blasphemy. The classics were the open sesame to government employment, and he who could not repeat the whole of the five books, without a stammer, was not educated. But before I left China, two whole years ago, I heard a scholar refer to Confucius, contemptuously, as "Old Kung." Had he said that in the Dominie's hearing not so long ago I am sure that man's soul would not have spared for his crying.

But *pace* the new learning, Confucius was a great man and, what was better, a good man. Young China has no use for the Sage, but young China will grow old, and old age will bring wisdom, for beyond doubt Confucius was China's greatest son.

This book is Dr. Soothill's last gift to us. He has passed from us while still not old, and the book before us has been capably edited by his daughter. A worthy tribute to a good man.

J. D.

The Romantic Age. By Professor R. B. Mowat. 8¼" × 5¾". Pp. 280. Harrap. 6s.

This is an interesting and instructive book, distinguished by scholarship and discriminating judgment. No country, it seems, can claim a monopoly of Romantics, and in pursuit of these elusive personalities Professor Mowat surveys all Europe.

What differentiates the Romantic movement from other schools of thought incidental to the early nineteenth century would perhaps puzzle the reader, did not Professor Mowat on page 61 obligingly define it as "an intellectual revolt of the younger generation against convention, rigidity and tradition." It is an intelligible and reasonable definition, and Germany was the first to react to the new influence. Kant, Fichte, Schelling, the brothers Schlegel, and Hegel of the men, Rahel Levin, Henriette Herz, Dorothea Veit of the women, were its apostles. An elect company no doubt, yet elect with certain qualification. Kant, for example, was a poor writer, and Fichte, whom Mowat incidentally considers to have originated National Socialism, a disciple of violence.

The majority of Romantics were disposed also to regard existence with jaundiced eyes, perhaps to emphasize the better their break with the more cheerful classicism. The spirit of the movement sank deep into the hearts of the German Burgertum. "Whatever their fate," observes the acute Mowat, "in the dark days that succeeded the Napoleonic struggle, the Burgertum did not resign their liberal and universal outlook."

Every page of this book is seductive reading, and the chapter entitled "The Aristocracy," spiritedly and dramatically told, is an instance in point. A mysterious anglomania had overtaken Europe in the first years of the nineteenth century. Scott's novels and Byron's poetry were the rage in every country; Beau Brummell and Count D'Orsay the accepted leaders of fashion. Respite from war permitted also travel, and adventurous souls explored the Near East. Lamartine

and Chateaubriand were among the early pioneers: Lady Hester Stanhope, Robert Curzon, "that pleasant antiquarian," as Mowat calls him, Kinglake and Disraeli came with others. Mehemet Ali of Egypt, *fermier et douanier impitoyable*, according to Chateaubriand, was a great attraction.

It needed spirit and leisure to journey so far afield. Piracy was common in the Mediterranean, banditry in Europe. Progress from one to another country was slow, and Mowat recalls that Sir Robert Peel took a fortnight to pass from Rome to London on urgent business. A contrast indeed from to-day, when a man can breakfast in Egypt and dine the same night in England.

The final chapter traces an interesting "similarity between the Peace Conferences at the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the end of the Great War and between the treaties of 1814-15 and 1919." The parallel is disconcerting and worthy of attention. Aristotle believed ideal government unlikely till either kings were philosophers or philosophers were kings. Would he have said of war treaties made two thousand years later that no one was likely to be permanent, unless plenipotentiaries were historians or historians were plenipotentiaries?

The Romantic Age may be highly commended.

P. G. ELGOOD.

Stranger Wonders By Christopher Sykes. 6½″ × 5″. Pp. 261. Illustrations. Longmans, Green and Co. 7s. 6d.

In the introduction to this work, which describes *le fou anglais*, the author makes himself the centre of stories which swing from the macabre to the bacchic and from the mordant to the genial. The first story, entitled "The German Character," comes under the first-named category and gives an account of the dire effects of post-war conditions on an erstwhile genial German baron. His character became morose and savage, and the children were whipped and starved. When, however, the author consoled one of the daughters whom he was escorting back to her school, she replied: "I like home because with Father there is order and discipline. At school we can do what we like. There is no order." Surely this was an almost incredible point of view for a normal child, but the family had become abnormal.

To turn to the next story, "The Wailing Wall," is clever and is illustrated by a delightful sketch of a British soldier watching two Jews "who had come, quite simply, from a wealthy soulless life in Berlin, Paris, or New York, in order to mourn over the ancient fall of their nation." The article "Invention" I cannot appreciate, but, generally speaking, Christopher Sykes finds adventures, which fall to few, wherever he goes. Of Moscow he writes: "A month in Russia, of which a quarter of every day must be spent arguing with desk-proud Jews about very simple matters, is exhausting." Yet he had as his reward a truly gargantuan banquet.

Elsewhere he glories in drinking as the ancient Greeks drank. "If you were drunk, you said so. You fashioned garlands, and put them about your head and leaped and tripped in the Orphic mystery." He would certainly sympathize with Baber, although that conqueror once confessed that he was "miserably drunk."

To conclude this brief review, the author of "Wassmuss," and the joint-author with Robert Byron of *Innocence and Design*, has inherited his late father's gift for drawing clever sketches—very clever sketches in some cases—while, unless I am mistaken, he will, in due course, rank high as a writer. The present work might be summarized by a journalist as "arresting."

P. M. SYKES.

OBITUARY

The Council regret the deaths of two valued members: Colonel H. Picot, one of the very early members of the Society, and the Honble. Desmond Parsons, a Chinese scholar.

By the death of Lieut.-Colonel Picot, C.B.E. and Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, the Society has lost one of its original members who also served on its Council.

When Military Attaché at Tehran, Colonel Picot mastered the language, and the translating of Persian poetry became perhaps his chief interest in his later years.

During the war he was Military Attaché at His Majesty's Legation, Berne, and was appointed British Officer in charge of our soldiers interned in Switzerland, writing an interesting book on the life and activities of these Prisoners of War.

Mr. Parsons had lately lived for two or three years in China and was rapidly making his name as a student of Chinese art and literature. His translation from the German of a book of Chinese Fairy Tales was brought out some weeks after his death. His early death is a loss to all friends of China and the Chinese.

Even a greater loss is that of Earl Peel, a past Chairman, past President and Honorary Vice-President of the Society. A note on this outstanding and valued member will appear in the next number of the *Journal.*

VISCOUNT SAMUEL'S SPEECH ON PARTITION

The speech of Viscount Samuel in the House of Lords during the Palestine debate has been referred to several times in this "Journal." The portion of it relating to the proposed partition and suggesting an alternative plan is given here. The whole speech can be found in the "Official Report of the House of Lords Parliamentary Debates," Vol. 106, No. 94, July 20, 1937.

After praising the general tenor of the Report and adding his criticisms on points of Government, Viscount Samuel continued:

However, we are all of us much less interested in the past than in the present situation and in the plans for the future. Whatever the causes may have been, whoever may have been to blame, I agree in the conclusion of the Commission that we have now reached a deadlock and we cannot go on as we are. I can see no reason why a British Government should engage in a policy of repression and coercion. It seems to me a monstrous thing that we should be required to lock up a whole division of our small Army in Palestine with the possibility that in any world crisis we might have to lock up even two or three divisions. Meantime, while the British Government are subjected to active and sometimes bitter criticism from the Jewish side, they find that they are alienating the whole of the Arab world, and offending the Moslem world outside the Arab countries. Furthermore, they have been called upon, and at any moment may be called upon again, to sacrifice the lives of British soldiers and British policemen in order to maintain our authority there.

I agree with what has just been said by the noble Marquess speaking on behalf of the Government, that the British Government are right to say that this cannot continue as it is indefinitely. It is a delusion to think that all that is necessary is to remove the Mufti, and that then all will be well. We used to hear that kind of thing in the old days with regard to Ireland. It was said: "Only let the priests and the land agitators be quiet and the Irish people will be entirely contented." We used to hear it with regard to trade disputes and strikes—"Only let the paid agitators be still and the working people will give no trouble." We heard it in regard to India—"Arrest Gandhi"; and with regard to Egypt—"Deport Zaghlul." But movements of this kind cannot be dealt with in that way. As the Commission rightly point out, the Arab national movement is the same in Palestine as it is in Syria, as it is in Egypt, and as it is in 'Iraq. It is analogous to the movement of Indian nationalism and similar movements in other countries in the world, and it is not to be disposed of easily and lightly, simply by using the strong hand and applying methods of coercion.

So far I agree. When we come to the proposal for partition then I part company. It appears to me a bad proposal and I shall give reasons for my various criticisms. I know that all the time that I am making these criticisms there will be in the minds of noble Lords the thought: "What is the good of criticizing this scheme; is there any alternative?" Therefore, beforehand, I will give the assur-

ance to noble Lords that before I sit down, if they will bear with me so long, I will give what appears to me to be a practicable alternative. Meanwhile let us examine this proposal for partition. We are told that we are now to make a clean cut, or as clean a cut as may be, that the Jews are to be on one side and the Arabs on the other, and that if they cannot agree when together they may be able to agree when separated.

What is this partition to consist of? The number of Jews in Palestine, the Commission says, is 400,000. But these are not all to be in the Jewish State. The Jews of Jerusalem are to be excluded, and they number 76,000. But also for a period of years the towns of Haifa, Acre, Safad and Tiberias are to be kept under the Mandatory Power. They contain 58,000 Jews. In addition, Jaffa is to be in the Arab State. There is no figure given by the Commission of the Jewish population of Jaffa, but Jewish sources state that it is 8,000. In any case the precise figure matters little. That means that out of 400,000 Jews one-third or 142,000 will not be in the Jewish State at all. The number that is left is 258,000. Two hundred and fifty-eight thousand Jews in the Jewish State, and in the same category, the Commission tell us, there will be 225,000 Arabs. And that is to be an independent Jewish State, which is to have a seat in the League of Nations, which is to fulfil the aspirations of the Jewish people—258,000 Jews and 225,000 Arabs! But it may be said these four towns of Haifa, Acre, Safad and Tiberias are only temporarily to be removed and will be brought in before long; but when they are brought in it will make the position worse from this point of view, for there are 10,000 more Arabs than Jews in those four towns. There would thus be this position, that the majority of Jews over Arabs would be reduced by 10,000.

It is now suggested that the Jewish quarter outside Jerusalem, in which almost all the 76,000 Jews live, should be brought into the Jewish State, connected with it as a kind of enclave. The noble Earl, the Chairman of the Commission, rather deprecated that, and thought that there was difficulty about it, but even if it were done—in my view, if partition goes through it certainly ought to be done—still that would make the total only 344,000 Jews, and the proportion of the population of the Jewish State would still be two Arabs to every three Jews. The Commission say there ought to be a removal of population, or what is called, strangely enough, an exchange of population, that the Jews from the Arab State should be brought into the Jewish State and the Arabs in the Jewish State should be transferred. But how can you have an exchange of population where there are 225,000 Arabs in the Jewish State and 1,250 Jews in the other? The Royal Commission says: "Well, after all, a great exchange of population was effected voluntarily in the case of the Greeks and Turks." Quite true. It was admirably done. I have had the opportunity, as no doubt some of your Lordships have had, of seeing something of those settlements in which the Greek population from Anatolia have been settled. But the circumstances are not in the least the same. Then the Greeks who lived in Asia Minor were fleeing from the country. It was immediately after the disastrous Greek campaign there. Their armed forces were heavily defeated and the Turks were sweeping down upon them and the whole population fled. They took whatever ships they could secure and fled to Greece, where they were afterwards settled.

There is nothing of that kind in Palestine. There is nothing of that sort to induce 225,000 Arabs to leave the land in which they and their fathers have been settled for a thousand years, where they have their mosques and where they have their graveyards. But the Royal Commission say that strenuous efforts should be made to secure agreement for the transfer of population and in the last resort the population of the plains should be removed compulsorily. That is the proposal—that the new Jewish State should be built upon the basis of taking away 100,000

Arabs, or whatever the number may be, from this district, compulsorily disposse ing them, no doubt with compensation, and finding them land elsewhere. Yet another part of the Report there is reference to the need of guarantees for t protection of minorities in each State. Protection of minorities! Will not these minorities, and is the form protection is to take that they should be compulsori uprooted and put elsewhere?

I very much question whether it would be possible to relieve this extraordina discrepancy in the population of the so-called Jewish State by securing a transf of this kind. It is said that the Jewish population will be increased, and that will be left to the Jews themselves to limit or not to limit immigration. But this tiny territory, possibly cut off from any hinterland for the sale of produce an unfriendly Arab State, how can there be any guarantee that the numbers wou be increased in a reasonable time to any considerable extent? We have to co template a State in which 250,000 Jews will have to govern 225,000 Arabs. Tl Royal Commission say that you will get rid of the complications due to the mi ture of races, that now you have three official languages, the laws published three languages, officials of three different communities, three separate holida one for each religion, and that all that will be ended. Does that mean that th half or nearly half of the population of the Jewish State are to have no Ar officials, that they are to be governed simply by Jews, that they are to have their public affairs conducted in Hebrew, which they do not understand, that cas are to be tried in courts of law in a language foreign to them? You will hav exactly the same complications in that regard as before, except that there will two languages instead of three.

The noble Earl, Lord Peel, said that at all events this plan would free the Jev from the watchful hostility of neighbouring Arab States. Will not these Ar States be watching day by day what is happening to their irredenta, the Ara living in the Jewish State, making grievances of every small point. If there a not a sufficient number of Arab officials, if there are not sufficient Arab schoo you will have exactly the same problems as you had with regard to minorit throughout Europe. I would ask your Lordships to look at the map to see what proposed. You have as part of the Jewish State a strip of land sixty miles lor and between ten and twelve miles broad running along the coast with a larg piece away to the north. But that is not the only division. Let me say, in passin that I have carefully measured the length of this frontier and I find that this tir State will have a land frontier of almost exactly two hundred miles and a seaboa of eighty miles.

Then you are to have the enclave under British administration. That co tains Jerusalem and Bethlehem and a corridor to the sea. That corridor, may point out, is not a corridor merely for the British, it is a corridor for commur cation with the Arab States beyond, who will have rights to go down the corrid to the port of Jaffa. There are to be other places all over the country und British Mandate, Nazareth, Acre, Tiberias, Haifa, Safad. But observe what is happen to the town of Jaffa. Geographically Jaffa will be within the corridor, b politically it is to be part of the Arab State with Arab law, no doubt, and Ar officials. There is to be a strip of land between Jaffa and the Jewish port of T Aviv, but the two towns are to be provided with a joint harbour to be manag by a joint harbour board. The Commission seem to have gone to the Versaill Treaty and picked out all the most difficult and awkward provisions it containe They have put a Saar, a Polish Corridor and half a dozen Danzigs and Meme into a country the size of Wales.

Furthermore, the Arab and Jewish States are each to have their own Custon

tariffs. It is true the Commission say it would be a great advantage if as far as possible they were identical, but they do not say they will be identical throughout. Therefore with regard to some articles you will have different duties, and you must have Customs examination because otherwise you cannot enforce the duty. Imagine a Customs system in which you have to have Customs examinations all along this frontier of two hundred miles, besides the sea coast and around all all these little enclaves, each of which is apparently to be under a separate administration. There is another point. The main railway goes in and out of this boundary, at one moment in the Jewish State, at another moment in the enclave, and at another moment in the Arab State. Is it intended that there shall be a Customs office and passport examination for each train, or is it intended that goods should go through in bond as they go in and out of this extraordinary patchwork?

Then, again, there is road transport. What is proposed with regard to the roads which run across the frontiers at every moment; the village lands, the movements of the pasturage—the flocks and herds? How to regulate immigration? It is difficult enough now, with one State, but when you have this map—which is less like a map than a patchwork quilt—how are you to establish and enforce rules with regard to immigration? Much illegal migration goes in and out now, but what will it be in the future? You might as well attempt to hold water in a sieve as attempt to apply any form of regulation to frontiers such as this. Systems of law, national *status*, passports—is there to be differentiation in all these little odds and ends of territory? Defence: is it intended that the British Army shall guard the frontier? Certainly not; why should it? Well, then, the Jewish State and the Arab State will have to have their armed forces watching each other continually on each side of the frontier—unless they happily arrive at some stable treaty of amity and friendship. They may, or they may not. I wonder whether the Government have received military advice with regard to this plan? I should be very interested if, when the noble Viscount, Lord Swinton, replies in this debate, he would say whether the Committee of Imperial Defence have advised on it, or whether the military authorities in Palestine regard it as a feasible scheme.

Are not all these points valid? What about public security and the prevention of crime? I look at this matter from the standpoint of an administrator. Let any noble Lord suppose himself in charge of the administration of a territory such as this. A political terrorist, or any ordinary criminal, could come across from the area of one State to an area with another police authority, commit his crime and depart again half a mile away into another State under another police authority, and have to be dealt with perhaps, by diplomatic conversations between the two countries. How is it possible to maintain public order in countries such as that, unless, indeed, you have the utmost measure of good will and continuous co-operation between the two authorities? The Report says nothing whatever on this point of public security, not one word; and indeed, in an admirable volume of 397 pages, only 12 pages are given to the merest sketch of this scheme of partition. Finance: what is to be the position of the Jewish State with regard to its finance? It will have to guard its frontier, it will have to maintain order, it will have to care for the Arabs, who are two-fifths of the population; and, in addition to all this, it will have to pay a subsidy to the Arab State. Will it be possible for the Jewish State to establish any adequate system of finance?

Judged on its merits, this is clearly a bad scheme. I do not think anyone would have invented it if he had not considered himself compelled to do so in default of something better. Therefore the question arises, is there any alternative? The Commission declare that there is an incompatibility which is absolute

and that no accommodation can be looked for in the future. They dwell upon every element in the situation which would lead to that conclusion. They rather remind me, if I may say so, of the speaker who said at a meeting: "It is difficult to exaggerate the gravity of this matter, but I will do my best!" They have forgotten that from 1921 to 1929, during my time and the time of my successors, the country was quite peaceful. Not a blow was struck between Arabs and Jews; there were no riots, no disturbances of any kind. It is true that there was an underlying tension all the time. It is true that the Arabs missed no opportunity of declaring their opposition to the *régime*. It is true that they maintained their political position consistently throughout. The fact remains that there was a considerable measure of co-operation and the country was completely peaceful. There were no riots, no troops had to be called out, and, so far as I know, there was nothing involving the use even of a considerable body of police. It is true that now the position has greatly deteriorated and we are faced with a much harder condition of things than we were faced with before 1929. Still, it cannot be said that it is in the nature of things that these two communities cannot dwell together.

Now the alternative, and I should have been wasting your Lordships' time if I had merely contented myself with negative criticisms and left the matter there. The suggestions that I would make are not improvised. I have considered them long and deeply and have consulted persons representing both points of view, and they have found favour, although I am not entitled to quote the approval or support of anybody. My proposals are these. It appears to me that the Jews must be ready to make a sacrifice. They must reassure the Arabs. We cannot go on without it. Therefore they must consent to a limitation of immigration other than on the principle of economic absorptive capacity. They must accept the principle proposed by the Commission: that political considerations must be brought in. I see no reason why the figure of 12,000 should be the one adopted. The Commission give no reason for the figure of 12,000. The noble Earl said that it is quite arbitrary; apparently it was chosen because it would just keep the present balance of population between the Arabs and the Jews in the future, but they do not say so. The Jews might well be asked to consent to an agreement covering a period of years—it might well be a substantial period—and during that period the Jewish population of Palestine should not exceed a given percentage of the total population, perhaps 40 per cent. or whatever might be agreed upon, but that is the figure I have in mind.

Secondly, the Jews must consent to recognize the reality of Arab national aspirations, and that those aspirations are entitled to respect and to their co-operation. The Arabs are intensely aware of their own history. They know that they began merely as a group of desert tribes, that there were centuries of expansion during which they acquired great territory, built up a remarkable culture and gave the world one of its greatest civilizations. Then there was a period of standstill, then of recession, and now, after the Great War, there is the beginning of a revival. Arabism is once more in the ascendant; once more Arab kings and princes tread the stage of history. The Arabs of Palestine, the younger generation, regard themselves as an outpost of that movement. They have in their charge one of the three most sacred places of Islam, the *Haram esh Sharif*; they regard themselves as the trustees of a sacred charge, and they would rather die at their posts than surrender that possession. The Jews have never been sufficiently aware or sufficiently understanding of this underlying loyalty.

Now let them frankly recognize that there is this Arab movement, and that it is a great movement, entitled to respect and, indeed, to admiration. Let them co-operate with the Arabs as they did in the great days of Arab civilization, when

Jewish statesmen, philosophers and scientists helped the Arabs to keep alight the torch of knowledge. And let Britain also help in this movement. Indeed, the Commissioners say that British public opinion is wholly sympathetic with Arab aspirations towards a new age of unity and prosperity in the Arab world. Therefore, the first point being the limitation of immigration, my second point is that Britain, with the assent of France and with the full co-operation of the Zionist movement, should assist in every way the formation of a great Arab Confederation—not to be built up in a day or a year, but gradually, perhaps, built up, including Saudi Arabia, 'Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine as well. In that great confederation Palestine would bring wealth. It would be the wealthiest member of it. And that confederation would come to the industries of Palestine for a hinterland and a market that would make them far more prosperous than they otherwise would be.

Thirdly, I suggest the consideration of this point: Would the Arabs consent to the opening of Trans-Jordan to development and settlement both by Arabs and Jews, with funds provided for that purpose? I see no reason for the recommendation by the Commission that the British taxpayer should make a gift of £2,000,000, either to Trans-Jordan or to any other country in that part of the world. I think that the British Government might guarantee a loan to Trans-Jordan, and that the interest and sinking fund should begin after a period, as soon as it appeared to be convenient. I suggest, fourthly, that the Holy Places of Islam in Palestine should be guaranteed solemnly by the League of Nations, in perpetuity; and, fifthly, that within Palestine there ought to be two communal organizations, Jewish and Arab. The Jewish one already exists, and an Arab one should be created. Those organizations should have large powers, should be representative bodies, and should have the control of the education of their children, public health, agricultural development, and local government, with considerable revenues drawn from the public revenues of the country under their own control, to expend upon those purposes. Further, the Arab organization, if they so desired, should have power to prohibit land sales within their own territory, and there should be a Central Council in Palestine, not elected by the people and not based on numbers, but representing the two communities; that is, a kind of federal council, with British officials present there to help and advise. Will that be agreed to? Is it practicable?

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AIR (VISCOUNT SWINTON): Who would govern? There is to be a Parliament elected by two communal organizations. With whom will rest the function of government? With that Parliament, or with the British Mandatory?

VISCOUNT SAMUEL: In my view each communal authority would manage its own communal affairs throughout the country. The Council should be an advisory body, and the British Government should continue the mandate. This would be a kind of federal council, representing Arabs and Jews, with the help of British officials. It should have an advisory character at the outset, at any rate. If the two bodies came together it might grow into something more definite, formal and democratic. As I have said: Will this be agreed? I doubt it. I should be sorry to prophesy that it would be agreed, but the Arabs, perhaps, may be brought to recognize that the links of the Jews for four thousand years with this country cannot be broken; that because they are not economic they are all the stronger. They are intangible links and in the long run spiritual ideas are more potent than material things.

The Commission recognize that Jewish immigration cannot be stopped altogether. The Arabs must recognize that. The Commission reported:

> "We cannot accept the view that the Mandatory, having facilitated the establishment of the National Home, would be justified in shutting its doors."

These are realities of the situation which the Arabs must be called upon to recognize. I am not unhopeful that perhaps they might, for intolerance and terrorism are foreign to their nature. I am sure that the Arabs would prefer, after the safeguarding of the main position, accommodation of that kind. It is often said that this proposal of the Commission is a judgment of Solomon. That, to my mind, is a false analogy. In the case of Solomon you had one claim which was spurious and fraudulent. Here both claims are legitimate. If King Solomon had had before him a man and a woman, husband and wife and parents of the child, who had quarrelled and separated, and each demanded the custody of the child, and then he had said: "Let the child be cut in two, and half given to each," and then the story had ended happily by the two claimants being reconciled and saying "we will come together and live together for the sake of the infant," that, perhaps, would be a better analogy.

So my conclusion is that we cannot preserve things as they are, that partition is a bad solution, that better than that would be a scheme of which I have ventured to sketch the leading features. We are not here at the last stages in this debate and the debate to-morrow in another place. As the noble Lord has said, the matter has to go to the League of Nations. The League of Nations cannot compel the Mandatory to undertake a policy of which it disapproves, but if, when the matter comes before the Mandates Commission, the two parties were to come and each say that rather than partition they would prefer some scheme of this kind, then I am sure that His Majesty's Government would readily accept such an agreement. If not, then we should have to agree to partition, and make the best of it, in spite of all its disadvantages. This country has great concern in Palestine. The graves of ten thousand British soldiers link the British Empire, and powerful influences link the British people, with Palestine, and I am sure that the whole nation would rejoice if now this period of strife and struggle could be brought to an end, and that at last we could fulfil the behest:

> "Speak comfortably unto Jerusalem and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished."

ISLAM IN KASHGAR

It was reported in *The Times* of August 21 that Mahmud, Commander-in-Chief of the Turki troops in the Kashgar district, has left Turkestan for India. The significance of this news lies in the fact that it is connected with a recrudescence of Tungan influence in the southern part of the province.

It will be recalled (see *R.C.A.S. Journal* for July, pp. 441-3) that between 1933 and 1934 the Tungans, Muslims from Kansu, entered Sinkiang and established themselves in the Khotan district under a leader, Ma Hu San (who must not be confused with Ma Chung Ying: "The Big Horse"). For a short time they held Kashgar also, but in 1934 they were expelled by Chinese and Turki troops sent by the Government at Urumchi, and have since held the Khotan district only.

Of these Government Turki troops at Kashgar Mahmud was in command at the end of last April. It seems, however, that he disapproved of the innovations in social and political life in the province brought about during the last two years by the new "modernized" Chinese administration. Finally, deciding that he might better throw in his lot with the fanatical Muslim rulers of Khotan, and in some apprehension for his own safety, he fled from Kashgar. Mahmud himself left for India, but in going he engineered successfully a rising at Yarkand in which the Commander-in-Chief of the local garrison, the mayor and some other leading officials were killed, and many of Mahmud's Turki soldiers deserted Kashgar for the Yarkand district, so the way was prepared for an advance of the Tungans from Khotan during May. It seems that the Tungan leader Ma Hu San has assumed authority in Yarkand, has taken over Mahmud's Turki troops, and has control of at least part of the Kashgar district, although Hancheng appears to be holding out.

Ma Hu San may claim the allegiance of the Turki population on the ground of their common Islamic faith; but it has not yet transpired whether he will succeed in persuading Urumchi to recognize his self-assumed governorship, or whether he will again be expelled from the district.

RECENT ELECTIONS

The following new members were elected in July and September:

Major R. A. Bagnold.
Sardar Sahib Balbhadra Singh.
The Dowager Lady Boyle.
Major R. S. Y. Buller, O.B.E.
Brig.-General R. C. Coates, D.S.O.
Air Vice-Marshal C. Z. Courtney, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.
P. M. Crosthwaite.
C. Suydam Cutting.
Flying-Officer J. Darwen.
C. M. Dodkin, Lieutenant 8th K.G.O.L.I.
Henry Field, D.Sc.
F. B. Foster.
Prince Yuri Galitzine.
Iain Gordon-Campbell.
Captain C. C. Graham.
B. J. Gould, C.M.G., C.I.E., Indian Political Service.
Mrs. E. M. Gull.
Mrs. George Halahan.
Major R. S. Haslett.
W. Hendry.
J. Heyworth-Dunne.
O. E. Holloway.
J. B. Howes, Indian Political Service.
Miss Charlotte Hussey.
Basil Judd.
P. H. B. Kent, B.L.
Flight.-Lieut. A. F. McKenna, R.A.F.
Major I. P. MacNamara, R.A.M.C.
P. Marsden, I.C.S.
Captain F. J. O'Dowd, R.A.M.C.
Colin Oppenheim.
Lieut.-Colonel F. G. Peake, C.M.G.
General Sir Henry ap Rhys Pryce, K.C.B., C.M.G., A.D.C.
Mrs. William Rathbone.
J. Vaughan Russell.
P. Rutenberg.
Miss Isabel Savory.
Lieut.-Colonel J. E. Shearer.
Mrs. Stiven.
Flight-Lieut. F. C. Sturgiss, R.A.F.
Miss Elise Stephens.
Brig.-General C. G. Stewart, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
A. C. B. Symon, India Office.
Miss M. K. G. Warrand.
Captain G. L. M. Welstead.

And

Lieut.-Commander P. G. Agnew, R.N., M.P.; W. L. Milner Barry; D. F. H. Brickell, Consular Service.

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OCTOBER, 1936, TO OCTOBER, 1937.

(Copies of the Library List are available on loan.)

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